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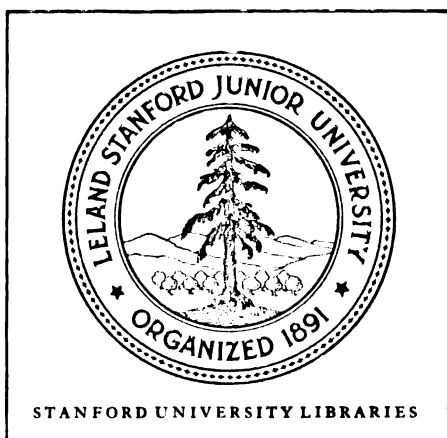
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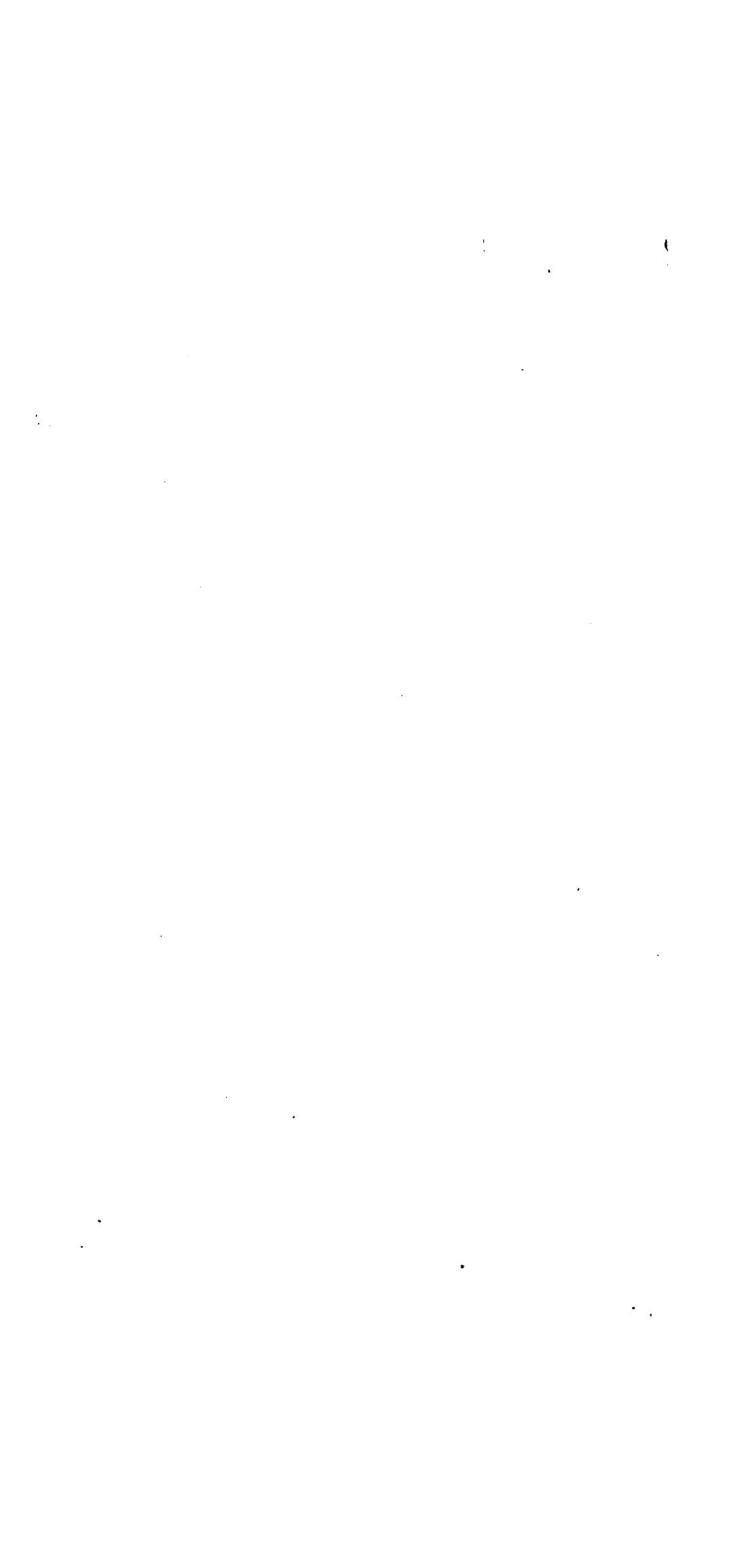
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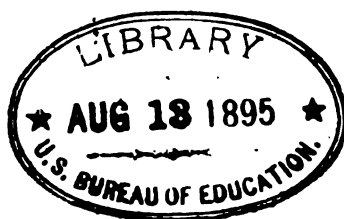


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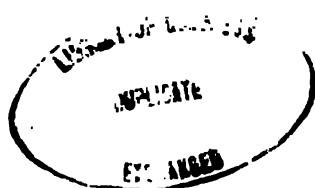
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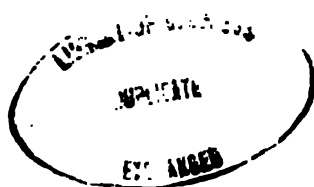


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WITHDRAWN

INDEX TO VOL. I.

JULY TO DECEMBER, 1892.

- America, Civil Relations of the Discovery of, 579.
- Bennett, Hon. Frank P. The Endowment Craze in Massachusetts, 514.
- Blanchard, Charles A. The Folly, Expense, and Danger of Secret Societies, 48.
- Brown, M. Fillmore. Is Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic Practicable? 570.
- Building and Loan Associations, 622.
- Burnett, Jean La Rue. The College Man in Politics, 284.
- Buxton, Rev. Edwin O. Ideal Education in our Cities, 72.
- Chinese Exclusion, 130.
- Church Property, Why Not Tax? 503.
- College Man, The, in Politics, 284, 402.
- Columbian Exposition, How Shall it be Opened? 44. Woman's Part in, 124.
- Cox, Theodore. How to Rebuild our Merchant Marine, 377. Wool and the Tariff, 231.
- Crisp, Hon. Charles F. Protection—A Help to Few, A Hindrance to Many, 100.
- Dalzell, Hon. John. Our Tariff Policy, 172.
- Dean, Hon. Sidney. Chinese Exclusion, 130.
- Debervill, F. B. The College Man in Politics, 402.
- Debs, Eugene V. Confederation of Labor Organizations Essential to Labor's Prosperity, 63.
- Dexter, Seymour. Building and Loan Associations, 622.
- Drunkenness, A Curable Disease, 27.
- Education, Ideal, in our Cities, 72.
- Education, Negro, 295.
- Education and Politics, 250.
- Endowment Craze in Massachusetts, The, 514.
- Factory Inspection, 546.
- Farmers, Organization of, 320.
- Farquhar, A. B. and H. The Government and the Currency, 239.
- Fleming, Sandford. Electoral Representation, 262.
- Flinn, John J. The Keeley League and its Purpose, 654.
- Flood, Ned Arden. Nationalism as an Economic Factor, 148.
- Foote, Allen R. The Foundation of American Industrial Independence, 593.
- Foreign Relations, Concerning our, 351.
- Futures and Options, 449.
- Galbraith, W. T. The Non-Protectionist Idea, 419.
- Government, The, and the Currency, 239.
- Grange, The, in Politics, 113.
- Great Issue, The, 407.
- Gundy, Judge A. A. The Problem of Negro Education, 295.
- Horwitz, S. Gross. Trade and the Tariff, 364.
- Howe, E. F. Chasing a Political Phantom, 603.
- Hurd, Hon. Frank H. Industrial Slavery, 471.
- Industrial Independence, The Foundation of American, 593.
- Industrial Slavery, 471.
- Industry, The Protectionist Idea of, 225.
- Irwell, Lawrence. A British View of the Tariff Question, 395. Wanted, A Policy, 628.
- Jarrett, Hon. John. Protection and Free Trade, 528.
- Jeffrey, William H. How to Abolish War, 492.
- Jones, Rev. W. M. The Homestead Riot, 275.
- Keeley, Dr. Leslie E. Drunkenness, A Curable Disease, 27.
- Keeley League, The, and its Purpose, 654.
- Kingerly, Henry. The Tariff not a Local Question, 496. Labor Organizations, Confederation of, 63.
- Labor Reform, 427.
- Larmer, James E., Jr. Why not Tax Church Property? 503.
- Lockwood, Belva A. Fourth Conference of Peace, 506. How Shall the Exposition be Opened? 44.
- Love, Alfred H. The Modern Peace Movement, 607.

INDEX.

- Luckey, Geo. J. The Teacher's Influence in Politics, 200.
 Mead, Edwin. How to Rebuild our Merchant Marine, 587. Fallacies of the People's Party, 288.
 Merchant Marine, How to Rebuild our, 577, 587.
 Morals, Progress in, 466.
 Nationalism as an Economic Factor, 148.
 Odds and Ends, 432, 556, 667.
 Olsaver, Frank T. The Secret Society Question, 642.
 Palm, A. J. Do Reformatory Prisons Increase Crime? 83. Is Corporal Punishment Degrading? 187. Odds and Ends, 432, 556, 667. Political Platforms, 206. The Benefits of War, 327.
 Palmer, Mrs. Potter. Woman's Part in the Exposition, 124.
 Party Rule in the United States, 383.
 Peace, Fourth Conference of, 506.
 Peace Movement, The Modern, 607.
 People's Party, Fallacies of the, 288.
 Plea for a Diplomatic Career, A, 561.
 Political Phantom, Chasing a, 603.
 Political Platforms, 206.
 President, Our Method of Electing the, 481.
 Prisons, Reformatory, 83.
 Prohibition, 570.
 Protection, 160.
 Protection and Free Trade, 528.
 Protectionist, Idea of the Non-, 419.
 Punishment, Corporal, 187.
 Read, Sheridan P. A Plea for a Diplomatic Career, 561.
 Reeve, C. H. Education and Politics, 250.
 Representation, Electoral, 262.
 Richard Cobden, 1.
 Riot, The Homestead, 275.
 Roebing, John A. Is our Method of Electing the President Republican? 481.
 Sands, Rev. J. D. The Basis of Wages, 337.
 Secret Societies, The Folly, Expense and Danger of, 48.
 Secret Society Question, The, 642.
 Shaw, Rev. Anna. Woman's Right to Suffrage, 309.
 Silver, 16.
 St. John, ex-Gov. John P. The Great Issue, 407.
 Stickney, Albert. Party Rule in the United States, 383.
 Suffrage, Woman's Right to, 309.
 Sutherland, Rev. John R. Progress in Morals, 466.
 Tariff, The, Not a Local Question, 496.
 Tariff Policy, Our, 172.
 Tariff Question, A British View of the, 395.
 Teacher's Influence in Politics, The, 200.
 Trade and the Tariff, 364.
 Trumbull, Gen. M. M. Richard Cobden, 1.
 Wages, The Basis of, 337.
 Walker, Prof. Chas. S. Civil Relations of the Discovery of America, 579.
 Wanted, A Policy, 628.
 War, How to Abolish, 492. The Benefits of, 327.
 Warner, Gen. A. J. Silver, 16.
 Washburne, Hon. W. D. Dealings in Futures and Options, 449.
 Watchorn, Hon. John. Factory Inspection, 546.
 Weippiert, G. W. Practical Labor Reform, 427.
 Wells, David A. The Protectionist Idea of Industry, 225.
 Whitehead, Hon. Mortimer. The Grange in Politics, 113.
 Willard, Frances E. The Woman's National Council, 134.
 Woman's National Council, The, 134.
 Wool and the Tariff, 231.
 Woolsey, Theodore S. Concerning our Foreign Relations, 351.
 Young, A. P. Organization of Farmers, 320.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

JULY, 1892.

RICHARD COBDEN.

BY GENERAL M. M. TRUMBULL.

THE name of Richard Cobden is familiar to the American people, not because they know much about the man ; but because they have been frightened by that awful apparition of peace and plenty known as the Cobden club.

It is a perverse paradox and a very mockery of common sense, that the name of Richard Cobden has become an incantation for the use of political conjurers in the United States, a hobgoblin and a scare. As it was in his own country in his own time, so it is in the United States to-day ; monopoly, aristocracy, plutocracy, caste, and privilege ridicule the name of Richard Cobden. As nursery maids frighten children by fictitious bogies, so in like manner do the nurses of the Protective tariff scare American laborers by the ghost of a mythical dragon which they call the Cobden club. This they pretend is the arch-enemy of American industry, animated by the spirit of Richard Cobden to overthrow American prosperity and degrade American labor.

It might be an exaggeration to say that Richard Cobden was the greatest friend the American people ever had in Europe, for John Bright and others were equally interested in the welfare of the United States ; but we may confidently say that he was the greatest benefactor the United States has had in Europe during the nineteenth century ; and we may say more, that the only commercial friend we have in Europe with any

great power or influence is the club that bears his name. It works for the protection of American industry, and will not allow any tax, tribute, or impost whatever to be levied on American products, except on spirits and tobacco; and on them for revenue only."

A merchant who would tell his clerks to be civil to all his patrons excepting his best customer we should consider a good deal of a fool, and something of a knave; yet that is just what our Protectionist statesmen, journalists, and politicians do. England buys more of our merchandise than all the other nations of the earth put together; and in revenge for that, the Protectionists denounce Great Britain, and revile the memory of Cobden because he made England our best customer and friend.

The inspiration of Cobden's public life was the sublime sentiment, "Peace and Free Trade among Nations." On these two commandments hung nearly all the law and the prophets; not quite all, for as a member of Parliament he took an active interest in all the other political topics of his time, popular education, England's foreign policy, the extension of the suffrage, the American war, the landlord system, the labor question, and the many other problems that agitated social and political England. On all of them the majority verdict of his countrymen is now that he was right, except on the labor question; and on that the majority verdict is that he was wrong; at least on that branch of it that relates to factory labor.

Cobden thought that the government should abolish child slavery in factories; but he doubted the justice of regulating by law the hours of labor for grown up men. He wanted to see the workingmen strong enough to dictate their own hours of labor, without asking the patronage of the state; and without placing themselves under the guardianship of government. His unpopular opinions on this question are to some extent vindicated by the fact that the workingmen of England under the Free Trade system, have themselves reduced the hours of labor; and soon without any assistance from the state, they will establish the eight-hour working day.

The factory is a gloomy subject, but Richard Cobden was the owner of a cotton factory ; and the factory question is one of the social problems that must be solved ; and solved according to the law of righteousness. In the biography of Jack the Giant Killer mention is made of one Blunderbore, a giant, who used to go about croning and droning, "Fee, fi, fo, fum, I smell the blood of an Englishman ; let him be alive, or let him be dead, I'll grind his bones to make my bread." Well, Blunderbore is the factory, with its droning wheels from everlasting to everlasting grinding the Englishman's bones into bread ; and Cobden so regarded it.

Cobden was the son of a farmer ; and when he contrasted the "black country" of the north, polluted with the smoke of ten thousand factories, with the fields of Sussex, fair and undefiled ; when he breathed into his lungs the sulphurous air of Lancashire, and then remembered the Sussex breezes, fragrant of the cherry and the hawthorn blossom, he said in bitterness of spirit, "If I had the making of a social system for my country, there should not be a factory in England." This of course was purely sentimental, for Cobden knew as well as we know that the factory is indispensable to our social existence. Instead of killing Blunderbore, it would be better if little Jack would convert him into a bountiful giant, not grinding bones into bread, nor coining the sweat of little children, but working shorter hours, dividing profits fairly, and clothing the naked with cheap goods.

In the politics of Richard Cobden, cheap clothing is a blessing, like cheap air, although we have in the United States the highest authority to the contrary ; for a very important personage has told us that under a cheap coat we shall find a cheap man. This is the opinion of the cheapest man with the biggest wages of any in this land, and he may find out some day that a ragged people are very costly citizens.

When he was thirty years old, which was about the time of the Reform Bill revolution, Cobden was one of the most learned men in England ; and yet in the jargon of conceited scholarship he was called "an uneducated man," that is to say, a man whom

the colleges did not know. The truth is that although he had little schooling, few of his critics had read as many books or as many men as he had read. The best scholar is not the man who learns the most, but the man who forgets the least, and Cobden forgot little. There was not a man at Oxford who had read as many chapters in the Book of Realities as Richard Cobden had. He had studied man as a moral, intellectual, spiritual, social, agricultural, manufacturing, and mercantile being, in his relations to this moral, intellectual, spiritual, social, agricultural, manufacturing, and mercantile world. His political wisdom grew out of a vast accumulation of useful knowledge; and herein it was that when he entered Parliament at thirty-seven years of age, there was not a man in the House of Commons so well equipped with political information, not one so competent in debate.

Cobden had a capacious brain, and his brain had shelves in it. Many other men have capacious brains, but without shelves. They have plenty of knowledge in their heads, but it is all out of order, tossed and tumbled in heterogeneous mixture, like the contents of their own libraries. Cobden furnished his brain with good knowledge, drilled and disciplined; every fact in its proper group, and every group on its proper shelf. By systematic economy of that kind he always had at hand an abundant supply of instances, facts, lessons, comparisons, and *proofs*. He was thus overwhelming in debate, especially in the House of Commons, where they care little for the pomp of declamation or the cadences of eloquence, except as these are emphasis to solid argument, and the vehicles of useful information. It was predicted that because Cobden succeeded on the platform he would fail in the House of Commons. This was a careless mistake, because the style of oratory that captured the crowds at Manchester and Stockport was the only style that the House of Commons will endure with patience; speech full of information, comparison, argument, and illustration; speech easy to understand, and without rhetorical superfluities of any kind. Although the House was unfriendly to him, his very first speech in Parliament was a success; because, in the vernacular of that House, "there was no nonsense in it." The members listened

to him with attention and ill-concealed annoyance, and what was of dangerous portent the prime minister listened also. The importance of this feature of it will appear further on.

After a man has become famous, and has passed away, his biographer, who is generally his eulogist, has the advantage of his hero's completed career to guide him in describing any portion of it; and the description will be colored accordingly. Better, therefore, to read contemporary criticism when studying the character and work of any historic man; and for that reason some remarks made by *The Illustrated London News* of July 6, 1842, are put in evidence here. That paper was in livery at the time, and very servile toward the aristocracy and the court. It affected nerves, gout, and other genteel accomplishments; and it could be as hysterical as Volumnia Dedlock herself over the presumption of workers in wool, and cotton, and iron, and brass. And Sir Leicester Dedlock could not be more shocked than *The Illustrated London News* pretended to be, because the time had come in the evolutionary and revolutionary development of British politics, when the House of Commons could so far forget itself as to receive instruction from a cotton spinner covered all over, in a figurative sense, with the factory dust and smoke of Stockport. Mr. Cobden had been in Parliament only a year when the notice of him accompanied by his portrait appeared in *The Illustrated London News*. After some feigned contempt for Cobden, by way of apology to the aristocracy for speaking of him at all, it said:

"Mr. Cobden is one of those men of the age to whom enterprise and industry have brought wealth, the Reform Bill gave the advantages of becoming a senator, and whom the election of last year converted into one. He is a man of some talents and extreme opinions. . . . We have taken Mr. Cobden this week, not so much from the actual position he occupies in the estimation of the public, as that he is a very fair specimen of the class of men who are considered by many as representing the manufacturing interest, though this is not entirely the case."

Comparing Mr. Cobden with the kettledrum ranter Ferrand, it says: "We do not contrast the opinions of those men from any great importance we attach to either of the individuals holding them." Then, after insinuating that Cobden denounced

the aristocracy because he did not belong to the order, it continued thus:

"Mr. Cobden sits for the Borough of Stockport, and as a debater occupies a very creditable position in the House. He is a close reasoner, very seldom going beside the question or losing sight of the main points of his own or his opponent's argument. He has sufficient power of declamation to impart energy to his manner, but he is never led away by it, or falls into that style which invariably meets with the greatest contempt from the House—that of the loud-tongued, empty ranter. He is always well prepared to support his statements, and generally has with him a formidable array of documents. It is a creditable tribute to his abilities that he generally commands the attention of the House; and if he has failed to convince the premier of the expediency of the policy laid down by the Anti-Corn-Law League, it is not because the Right Honorable Baronet has failed to listen to him."

The point and pith of all are in those last words, which admit that Cobden, even thus early in his parliamentary career, had compelled the attention of the prime minister; and this of itself was an achievement full of important consequences to England. It is easy to say now, after what occurred in 1846, that Sir Robert Peel was captured by what Lord Beaconsfield called "the persuasive eloquence of Cobden"; but here is contemporaneous evidence that Cobden had begun to fascinate Peel as early as 1842. This was a wonderful conquest, considering the quality and political rank of Peel. He was a very great man, the undisputed master and chief of the Protectionist party, a mature statesman who had been a member of the House of Commons for thirty-five years, and in the language of his vitriolic enemy, Lord Beaconsfield, he was "the greatest member of Parliament that ever lived." He had been prime minister seven years before, and in some capacity or other he had held high rank in the Tory councils as a cabinet minister almost from the days of Pitt. He possessed a very large private fortune and was grandly independent. In manners he was haughty and reserved; but the aristocracy leaned upon him as the ablest politician in England, although they were always doubtful and fearful about the strength of his backbone.

After the demoralization of the Tory party by the revolution of 1832, Sir Robert Peel gathered the fragments together and

put them into such a state of discipline and efficiency, that in the general election of 1841 he was able to lead the party to a most astonishing victory, so that when the new Parliament met, he became prime minister with an obedient majority behind him in the House of Commons of nearly a hundred votes over the Whigs, Radicals, Free Traders, the Irish party, and all the other opposition elements combined. Out of 658 members in the House, there were scarcely a hundred Free Traders.

To confront Peel in command of this victorious majority appeared a new and untried man, a cotton spinner from the "black country," armed with some "dismal science" called political economy; a "bagman" as they derisively nicknamed him, for Cobden had been a commercial traveler in his younger days. In a letter written at this time to his brother, he said, "I am regarded as a Gothic invader." The best that a new member of that kind could expect from the haughty prime minister was the condescension of a patrician sneer or a display of tired feeling made exasperating by a supercilious air of inattention, indifference, and contempt. Many aspiring men of good ability have been condemned to years of obscurity in Parliament by treatment of that kind; but Cobden was not to be snuffed out in that way; and from the very beginning the House realized that here was a man who had something to say; and willing or unwilling, all parties were compelled to listen to him. Referring to the hypnotic spell which Cobden wove around his great antagonist, Lord Beaconsfield says:

"Sir Robert Peel had a dangerous sympathy with the creations of others. He was ever on the lookout for new ideas, and when he found them he embraced them with eagerness, and often with precipitancy. . . . There was always some person representing some theory or system exercising an influence over his mind. In his "sallet" days it was Mr. Horner or Sir Samuel Romilly; in later and more important periods it was the duke of Wellington, the king of the French, Mr. Jones Lloyd, some others, and finally Mr. Cobden."

It is necessary to refer briefly to the Free Trade struggle which, chiefly under the direction of Cobden, was carried on from 1838 to 1846. In the year 1838 seven men in a little room in Manchester organized the Anti-Corn-Law League, the most

powerful moral force combination outside of Parliament that had ever been seen in England. Of this body Cobden was the organizing genius, the commissary general of its argument, and its most convincing orator.

In 1838 the Protective system was almost at the zenith of its mischief. It had pampered the landlords and the aristocracy; but it had reduced the middle classes to a "shabby genteel" condition; and the workingmen to comparative destitution. It laid a heavy tax upon bread for the protection of landlords; and upon manufactures for the benefit of mill owners; and the chronic condition of the English laborer was that of hunger. Class ignorance, stupid and strong as a ship of war, guarded the Protective system. Even the workingmen opposed Free Trade as a conspiracy to lower wages; and sensitive through moral ignorance, their passions were bitterly aroused when it was proposed to put the noble British workingman into competition with the "pauper labor" of the continent.

The strategy of the League outside of Parliament was a campaign of education; inside, it was a campaign of demonstration, the condition of England being illustrated by ghastly word pictures that made Peel solemn and uncomfortable. He was in office to maintain Protection, and the facts made the Protective system responsible for a large part of the public misery. Cobden felt a business contempt for the Tory majority that frowned upon him from the ministerial benches. He regarded most of the lordlings and squires over there as overfed and underbred, vain, insolent, and dull. He looked upon Lord Stanley and Sir Robert Peel as the only formidable men on the Tory side; and, in a letter to his brother written just after making his maiden speech, he said: "Stanley scowls and Peel smiles at me, both meaning mischief; there is no other man on their side who is at all formidable." Here he underrated Gladstone, who was always formidable, although Cobden did not think so, for he said, "Gladstone makes a very clever aid-de-camp to Peel, but he is nothing without him."

It is not necessary to describe in detail the progress of the struggle: how monopoly held on with a death grip to its unjust

privileges; how desperately the landlords fought for dear bread; the great meetings; the popular agitation that rolled like an earthquake under the English monarchy; the combative charges and countercharges; the fierce denunciation, and the angry debates in Parliament; the gradual conversion of the prime minister. It is enough to say that by the fall of 1845 the campaign of education had converted the English people, and the campaign of demonstration had converted the House of Commons with the prime minister at its head. The awful destitution in Ireland brought about by those twin scourges the Landlord system and the Protective system, gave Peel his opportunity; and he took advantage of it to sweep the Protective system from the statute books of England. On the day that the Free Trade measures passed the House of Lords, the government of Sir Robert Peel was overthrown by an adverse vote of the House of Commons on the coercion bill for Ireland. The relations between Peel and Cobden had always been unfriendly; they regarded each other with aversion; and they had never spoken together in their lives. Although Peel was exclusive, reserved, and shy, there were many elements of moral greatness in him, and he was too magnanimous to take to himself the credit that belonged to Cobden. In surrendering office he said:

"The name which ought to be associated with the Free Trade measures, is not the name of the noble lord, the member for London, nor is it my name. It is the name of a man who, acting, as I believe, from disinterested motives, has, with untiring energy, by appeals to reason, enforced their necessity with an eloquence the more to be admired because it was unaffected and unadorned; the name which ought to be associated with those measures is the name of Richard Cobden."

The abolition of the Protective system in England has doubled the ration of comforts to the workingman. It has also increased his wages, and reduced his hours of labor. As to these things it may be well enough to offer a couple of witnesses, and the first is Mr. Justin McCarthy, the present leader of the Irish Home Rule party in the House of Commons. In his *History of Our Own Times*, he says:

"The Corn Laws, as all the world now admits, were a cruel burden on the poor and the working classes of England. . . . They who were the uncompromising opponents of Free Trade at that time are

proud to be its uncompromising zealots now. Indeed there is no more chance for a reaction against Free Trade than there is against the Rule of Three."

The next witness is Mr. Gladstone, who certainly ought to be believed. He was himself a Protectionist, and a member of Sir Robert Peel's cabinet. After Lord Stanley went up to the House of Lords, Peel and Gladstone were the chief debaters in the House of Commons on the Protection side, against Cobden and Bright on the Free Trade side. Speaking a few years ago to the electors of Midlothian, Mr. Gladstone said :

"When the Free Trade reform began trade increased to a degree unexampled in the history of the world. Periods of distress have been due to special causes which were beyond human agency to deal with. Such times of hardship have become almost if not absolutely unknown owing to the blessed effects of Free Trade. The country has made a great step forward and will not go back."

Wandering in the north of England the traveler will come to a town where Sir Robert Peel was formerly burned in effigy. In the market place he will notice a stately monument surmounted by a statue of that minister, and on the base of it these words, "He gave the people cheap bread." What has become of the statesmen who opposed him; the champions of dear bread, and the Protective system? Morally and historically speaking, most of them have passed into outer darkness, into the oblivion of contempt. So it will be with the American statesmen who two years ago sentenced us, our wives, and our children, to half rations of clothing and blankets, and other things, leaving us by way of recompense the sole consolation of sugar. Few of them will be remembered at all; and even those will appear only as warnings in the pillory of history.

After Cobden had negotiated the commercial treaty with France, Charles Sumner wrote him a letter congratulating him on his Free Trade victories, and in that letter he said :

"I am happy in your true success. You are the great volunteer with something in your hand better than a musket. This commercial treaty seems like a harbinger of glad tidings. Let that get into full operation and the war system must be discontinued."

The tenor of that letter leads to the opinion that if Charles Sumner had been in the 51st Congress, there would have been

one senator from Massachusetts against the McKinley Bill. Mr. Sumner's letter introduces us to Cobden as an apostle of international peace.

Cobden believed that international peace is a branch of political economy; and that war is a hindrance to commerce, consuming without producing, expensive, wasteful, and unnecessary. He opposed it also on higher grounds. To him universal peace was not only a political doctrine, but also a moral sentiment and a religious rule. As a member of the Episcopal church he often partook of holy Communion; but he thought that the holiest communion was the Feast of Nations, where the whole brotherhood of man sit in equal rank at the table of the Lord. And the table of the Lord is this round earth, where there is neither head nor foot; no highest place nor lowest place; and woe to the man who devours the share of his brother and drives him from the table. Cobden believed that war is cruel, savage, and unnatural, and that a people who come into the world in war time are morally and mentally inferior to a people born in a time of peace; and that the brutal passions, inflamed by international strife, are transmitted from generation to generation.

Cobden preached the gospel of peace to his countrymen, but at the cost of a popularity which was dear to him, and of which he was proud. It was a painful sacrifice, but he made it; and although his action brought him agony he swerved not from his integrity. He stood firm as a rock against the rage of England. With the skill of a surgeon he dissected a style of patriotism very common in England and America; and he showed that it was composed of national egotism and metropolitan swagger. He opposed the Crimean War, declared that it was unjust on the part of England, and in language of bitter invective pinned the guilt of it upon the English cabinet, and especially upon Lord Palmerston. He saw his popularity fade away because of this, but while he prized the good opinion of his fellow-countrymen he loved his own self-approbation more. He would not forfeit his own esteem for office, titles, money, or applause. His distrust of Lord Palmerston grew into personal dislike; for he thought him deficient in moral statesmanship, vain, meddlesome,

quarrelsome, theatrical, and altogether a dangerous minister. Palmerston reciprocated the dislike, but he always had a respect for Cobden, that Cobden never felt for him. Their mutual hostility resulted in the parliamentary duel of 1857, wherein each of them received an ugly wound.

The challenge from Cobden to Palmerston appeared in the form of a resolution censuring Sir John Bowring, governor of Hong-Kong, for his conduct in the affair of the *lorcha Arrow*. The Chinese authorities had boarded the *Arrow*, and had taken twelve Chinamen from the ship on a charge of piracy. Bowring protested against this, claiming on very feeble grounds that the *Arrow* was a British vessel. He demanded the surrender of the men to him, with apologies for seizing them. The Chinese gave up the men but protested at the same time that Bowring was wrong, and that his demand was illegal. To this Bowring replied by bombarding Canton, and plunging the two nations into a cruel and costly war. Cobden was greatly shocked by the savagery of the proceeding; and although Bowring was his intimate friend, and co-laborer in the work of the League, he condemned his action and challenged the government upon it. Lord Palmerston, the prime minister, accepted the challenge, adopted and approved the action of Sir John Bowring, and upon that approval staked the fate of his ministry. In the debate upon the resolution Cobden made one of the most effective speeches ever heard in Parliament; and after a desperate contest which lasted four nights, his resolution was adopted and the government was beaten by a majority of sixteen votes. Instead of resigning, Lord Palmerston dissolved the Parliament and appealed from the House of Commons to the voters at the polls.

The result of the general election which followed, was a triumphant vindication for Lord Palmerston, such as few ministers have ever obtained in England. The "Rule Britannia" sort of patriotism made the people drunk, as whisky would have done, while the carnivorous press, made eager and ferocious by the smell of blood, tore the peace party to pieces with its talons. Every man who did not glorify the bombardment of Canton was

"un-English" and "anti-English," epithets which Lord Palmerston himself had applied to Cobden. The peace party was routed, and scattered. Cobden was beaten at Huddersfield, John Bright and Milner Gibson were both defeated at Manchester, William J. Fox lost his seat for Oldham, and many other members of kindred sentiments met a like fate.

Cobden's wound was painful; he felt his defeat keenly, but he bore it with dignity, consoled by the approval of his own conscience. The defeat of John Bright, however, made Cobden lose his temper; he could not think of it with ordinary patience, and to the end of his life he never forgave Manchester for degrading Bright. It was the ingratitude of it that provoked him, for Manchester owed much of its prosperity to Bright. Besides, Bright was in Italy at the time, trying to recover his health, broken down in the service of Manchester. The reproaches that Cobden poured upon Manchester, scorch to this day.

Suffering a great deal on account of his defeat, Cobden retired to his home in Sussex, and spent a year or two in work, study, and contemplation. Then he came over to Chicago. As the custom is whenever an eminent stranger comes to town, the city authorities offered to take him to the stock yards, but he said, "No, no, show me the public schools." They took him to the public schools, and he spoke lovingly to the children. After spending a few months in America, he went back to England, where he found great news. While on the sea, he was elected member of Parliament for Rochdale; as he learned from letters which awaited him at Liverpool. This compliment was a great surprise to him, for during twenty-seven days he had not heard anything from England. More surprising still, he found a letter from Lord Palmerston, offering him a place in the cabinet and urging him to take it. Another from Lord John Russell pressed him to accept Lord Palmerston's offer, and told him that it was his *duty* to enter the cabinet. He found also scores of letters from personal friends, all to the same effect; but his equipoise was not affected in the least; he never thought for a moment of accepting the offer; and on his arrival in London

he called upon Lord Palmerston to tell him so. He told the prime minister that having censured his policy for years, he could not with any self-respect take office in his cabinet. Tradition says that Cobden remarked to Palmerston, "I have said over and over again that I thought you the worst minister that England ever had." "What of that," said Palmerston, "look at those others in the cabinet, and remember what they have said about me." "Yes," replied Cobden, "but I meant it." Palmerston pressed the appointment upon him in a manly way and with a good many strong reasons, but Cobden was firm; he refused the office, and to the day of his death, he never accepted place or title from the government, although both were offered him.

As to Cobden's action on other important questions it may be briefly said that he was the friend of popular education, an advocate of universal suffrage, and all kindred measures of radical reform. In short, while he endured the monarchy and made the most of it, he was a republican. During the war, his moral influence on the union side was of immense value. Cobden was a fervent admirer of the American republic; and with the exception of De Tocqueville, no other foreigner had such a clear perception of the genius, character, and tendency of American institutions; and not even De Tocqueville had such an extensive knowledge of the natural resources, the manufacturing and engineering skill, and the mercantile aptitudes of the American people.

The reformation of the land system had not become a political question in the days of Cobden; and when he thought the time had arrived to make it so, the hand of death was upon him. In the last speech he ever made, he said, "If I were 25 or 30 years instead of twice that number, I would take Adam Smith in hand, and I would have a league for free trade in land as we had a league for free trade in corn." Volumes have been written to explain what Cobden meant, for he died a few days after saying that, but the comments are speculations only. What he meant will never be definitely known. That he intended a radical change in the land system is very likely: First, because

he was a radical in opinion and in practice ; and secondly, because in a hundred speeches he had shown his hatred of landlordism and his contempt for landlords. His ridicule of their pretensions turned their wine into vinegar, and they feared him above all other men. One night in the House of Commons when they were masquerading as "the agricultural interest" he said, "A landlord is no more an agriculturist than a shipowner is a sailor." *The London Times* once compared him to Gracchus and accused him of an intention to confiscate the lands of the rich and divide them among the poor. He denied this in an angry correspondence with the editor of *The Times*. How far he might have gone we do not know ; but we know this, that his death was a good thing for the feudal system of landlordism in England.

Cobden believed not only in the harmony but in the absolute unity of all the moral forces. In his opinion there could not be any discord between moral laws and economic laws ; nor did he believe that a falsehood in politics could ever dovetail with a truth in algebra. He carried the doctrine into geography and politics, he believed that all mankind constituted one commercial community, and to him the Atlantic Ocean was a very small creek. He could easily stretch his arm across it and shake hands with a man on the other side. He left his likeness on the politics of his country, and the impress of his mind on the constitution of England. He followed the advice of Shakespeare, "To thine own self be true" ; and consequently he could not be false to any man. His eulogy may be condensed into this : He gave more food and better clothes, higher wages, and shorter hours of labor to all the workingmen of England.

M. M. TRUMBULL.

SILVER AS IT WAS, AS IT IS, AND AS IT SHOULD BE.

BY GENERAL A. J. WARNER, CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL SILVER COMMISSION.

I.

THE first form of trade, doubtless, was simple barter, swapping one thing for another. Then, by a sort of natural selection, some one thing generally desired came to be used as a common medium of exchange. Anything used as a common medium of exchange is manifestly more convenient than barter, for whoever exchanges anything for this particular thing possesses that which can be readily exchanged again for anything else.

Gold and silver and copper were known to the Greeks in the time of Homer, but still things were valued in oxen, as when Glaucus gave his arms of gold for arms of brass,—“the worth of fourscore oxen for the worth of nine,” or when four beeves are given as the worth of a damsel “trained in household arts.” It is not to be supposed, however, that oxen constituted a circulating medium in any strict sense like coined money; but they constituted a standard for estimating the value of other things.

Just when and in what part of the world gold and silver first came into use as common media of exchange is not known. Their selection was no doubt a process of evolution, in which their superior fitness for this use became manifest. The first use of these metals as money was by weight, although their use as ornaments no doubt preceded their use specifically as money, and probably gave rise to “ring money.” How long the use of these metals by weight or as ring money preceded coinage is not

known, but doubtless in places and among certain races for a long period.

"Great and flourishing empires [says Lenormant], like those of Egypt, of Chaldea, and of Assyria, have existed thousands of years in wealth and prosperity, with commercial relations as extensive as those of any people of antiquity, making use constantly of the precious metals in their business transactions, but entirely ignorant of the employment of (coined) money."

But the difficulty of determining the purity of the metals and the liability to fraud in weighing them out must have been a serious drawback to trade, and the art of coining, which was but the certification of weight and fineness upon discs of metal, was a great step in advance. Which metal was first used as money, and where, is involved in doubt. Herodotus credits the Lydians with the invention of the art of coining money. Phidon of Argos is supposed to have coined silver at Ægina in the 8th century before the Christian era. Silver was coined, at any rate, at an early period in Greece, but gold coins were probably not struck till Philip's time. In the Greek cities of Asia Minor and in Lydia, gold was the first metal coined. The earliest money of India, of Rome, and of Egypt probably consisted of discs of burnt clay or of copper paid out by weight. There seems to be good evidence, however, that both gold and silver were coined in India prior to the date assigned for the first coins of Greece or of Lydia. Seals had long been in use to attest and solemnize obligations and the earliest mode of coining was by the impression of a seal upon pieces of metal certifying weight and fineness, and this practice may have originated in different countries at the same period or at different periods.

But in what way and at what particular time and place coins may have first been made, it is certain that for centuries before coins were struck, gold and silver were known as precious metals, and in definite proportions had become the common medium of exchange wherever commerce was carried on; in other words, gold and silver by common consent had become money metals and in them and by them the value of all other things was estimated. The law of supply and demand operated upon them the same as upon everything else. There was no

more restriction or limitation to the production or use of these metals than to commodities generally, and in the long run the supply of the metals was governed by the same laws that govern the supply of other things; and in this lies the whole advantage of metallic money. The moment we depart from the principle of automatic regulation of money, that moment the advantage of metallic over other kinds of money disappears. The significant fact, therefore, connected with the early use of silver as money is that the metal itself was money, and that coining was only a certification by government of weight and fineness. In this manner for centuries before coins were struck, and for three thousand years under coinage, gold and silver have passed up and down the world, performing the work of money wherever commerce has been extended.

The ratio at which gold and silver were first coined in Lydia and in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, was the ratio at which they had previously gone into use by weight, which was about $13\frac{1}{2}$ of silver to 1 of gold. In Lydia, Persia, and the Greek cities of Asia Minor, gold seems to have been the more abundant metal, and the Lydian stater and Persian daric became standard coins throughout the East. But in Greece, Lycia, and other parts of the world, silver was the metal mostly used as money. Boeckh, in his "Economy of Athens," says, "the value of gold is more variable than that of silver, which therefore may be considered as the standard of price for gold as well as for other commodities." In like manner the gold supposed to have belonged to David and Solomon was valued in silver, which was the standard money of Palestine. The ratio of silver to gold in Greece fell from $13\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, to 10 to 1 after the conquest of the East by Alexander.

Silver was coined in Rome about 250 years before the Christian era, but gold was probably not coined till the time of Augustus. The coins of the Roman Empire underwent so many changes that before the end of the second century the money system of the Roman world was in a state of chaos.

During the Middle Ages the monetary condition of all Europe was most lamentable. According to Jacobs, the quantity of

gold and silver circulating in Europe had fallen from \$1,790,000 to \$165,000. Wheat fell to one twelfth its value in the time of Pliny. Moreover, in consequence of the great scarcity of money both gold and silver coins were so debased and clipped that the common people could not tell their true value. According to Levasseur, the value of silver coins was changed in France by legal enactment two hundred and fifty times between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries, and gold one hundred and forty-seven times. Silver reached its greatest purchasing power about 1510, or just before the newly discovered continent of America began to increase the stock of money.

In England from 1257 to 1664 the value of gold coins was declared from time to time by proclamation, silver being the standard. From 1666 to 1717 silver was the only legal tender. In the year 1717 the ratio of the coins of the two metals was fixed at twenty-one shillings for a guinea, which was an over-valuation of gold, the market ratio being about twenty shillings eight pence, and gold, in consequence, became the principal money of England, and in 1816, on the recommendation of Lord Liverpool, the single gold standard was adopted. So generally was silver the money of the world at the time Locke wrote his celebrated essay on the value of money that he says:

"I have spoken of silver coins alone, because that makes the money of account and measure of trade all through the world. For all contracts are, I think, everywhere made, and accounts kept in silver coin. I am sure they are so in England and the neighboring countries."

As Spain, before the revolution which led to the independence of the Spanish American states, controlled nearly all the gold and silver mines of the new world, most of the products of these mines passed through Spain, and Spanish coins everywhere became standard coins. Especially was this true of the Spanish milled dollar, or piece of eight (eight reals), which for more than three centuries was accepted as a standard coin in every part of the world. The production of silver from the discovery of America to 1849 greatly exceeded that of gold and constituted the larger part of the money of the world.

During the colonial period of this country the metallic money

consisted almost entirely of foreign coins. By the Articles of Confederation, the Spanish milled dollar was made the unit of value and money of account. Thus, when the Constitution of the United States was adopted, gold and silver were money by the common law of England, by enactments of Parliament, and by the Articles of Confederation, and anybody had the right to have either metal coined for his benefit. When the people gave to Congress the power to "coin money" everybody understood what that meant. Gold and silver were money and the power to coin these metals and "to regulate the value thereof" was the power to strike coins of gold and silver for whomsoever asked it, and to determine the ratio of the metals in coinage. If Congress has the right to refuse to coin silver for the benefit of any holder of silver, it has the right to refuse to coin gold for the benefit of the holder of gold, and thus to demonetize both metals. Webster, referring to the constitutional power of the government over money, said :

"I am certainly of the opinion, then, that gold and silver, at rates fixed by Congress, constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and that neither Congress nor any state has authority to establish any other standard or to displace this."

And this was the interpretation of the Constitution before 1873.

The first law relating to coinage under the Constitution was the act of April 2, 1792. Under this act anybody could take gold or silver to the mint and have it coined for his benefit "free of expense," which coins were legal tender for all dues and debts whatsoever. In the language of the act the silver was to be coined into "dollars or units," "each to be of the value of a Spanish milled dollar as the same is now current." The gold was to be coined into eagles, each to be of the value of "ten dollars or units." As the Spanish milled dollar, as then in circulation, was found to contain 371.25 grains of pure silver, the dollar was made to contain the same quantity of pure silver, or 416 grains of standard silver, the alloy at first being 44.75 grains. The alloy was reduced in 1837 to 41.25 grains, so as to make the coin exactly nine tenths fine, but the weight of pure silver in the silver dollar has never been changed. The weight

of the gold eagle has been changed from 247.5 grains of pure gold to 232.2 grains, or from 24.75 grains to the dollar to 23.22 grains.

From the first coinage act under our Constitution down to 1873 anybody could take gold and silver to the mints and have them coined for his benefit, free of expense, into legal tender. Thus the metals themselves were potentially money, and both together constituted the money standard. As long as the right existed to take either metal to the mint it mattered little in what proportion they went there. Bimetallism consists in the *right* to have either metal coined into money at the ratio fixed by the government. This ratio in the United States, under the act of 1792, was 15 to 1, afterwards changed to 15.988 to 1. I do not propose to discuss here the wisdom of adopting the ratio of 15 to 1 in 1792 or of changing it to 16 to 1 in 1834. So long as both metals without restriction could be taken to the mints we had bimetallism, and it mattered little whether more gold and less silver went to our mints while more silver and less gold went to the French mints; the two metals together performed the function of money for the world and together constituted the money standard.

There were coined in the United States from 1792 to 1853, under free coinage, into full legal tender money, \$88,000,000; for up to 1853, all our silver coins were full legal tender. Moreover, up to 1857 foreign gold and silver coins were legal tender for all sums, so that it was of little importance whether silver was minted in the United States or elsewhere. Our mints had coined altogether up to 1873, about \$142,000,000, of which over \$93,000,000 was full legal tender. The coinage of gold from 1792 to 1848, or before the gold discovery of California, was in round numbers, \$43,000,000. But the actual coinage of either metal cuts comparatively a small figure in determining the power of the metals in the commercial world. Everything lies in the *right* to have them coined. With this right inhering in the metals, the *metals themselves become potentially money*.

Silver before 1873 was therefore a money metal, not only

in India and China, but in nearly all the western world. The exception of England did not affect the stability of bimetallism since the preponderance of bimetallic countries was so great that through open mints on the continent, the bimetallic standard was securely maintained. There were two metals, but one money; as much one money as if the metals had been fused together and coined as a compound metal. Silver was no more redeemable in gold than gold in silver. Both metals were absolute money and equally available for the redemption of all other forms of money and equally the basis of all forms of credit.

Thus, for centuries before coins were made, and before the recorded history of man began, as well as through the whole historic period of our race, wherever commerce has gone, until 1873, gold and silver have been recognized as money metals, and without limit or restriction have performed the work of money.*

II.

But in 1873 a monetary revolution was inaugurated. Silver was shorn of its power as a money metal in the United States and in Germany, and, subsequently, in nearly all Europe, by being denied the right of mintage. The purpose to reduce the coined silver of Europe and the United States to a subsidiary money, by making gold the sole standard and gold coins the sole money of final redemption, has not yet, it is true, been entirely consummated; but this is the logical and necessary outcome of the denial of equal and coördinate money power to both the precious metals. France has not yet undertaken to redeem her own silver coins in gold, but any of the states of the Latin Union can call upon the other states of the Union to redeem in gold the five-franc pieces of their coinage held by the state making the demand; and as France holds the larger part of the coinage of the states of the Union, it rests with France to make this demand. Such a demand would undoubtedly greatly increase the strain on gold and would doubtless cause trouble, if it did not precipitate panic. Nevertheless, these coins are becoming worn and sooner or later they must be recoined or retired. There are supposed to be at least a thousand million dollars of standard silver coins now in circulation

in Europe, upheld at the level of gold by the force of legal tender. This surely cannot be counted a stable monetary condition. Without automatic regulation, through free mintage, metallic money possesses little or no advantage over paper money. Whenever France determines to declare its silver coins redeemable in gold, it might as well at once substitute paper for its silver, franc for franc, and melt down and sell off its silver coins. It would be the richer by the gold it received for its discarded silver.

In the United States from 1878 to 1890, the government bought about two million dollars' worth of silver a month and coined it into money. Since July, 1890, the government has been buying four and a half million ounces of silver bullion per month, and upon this issuing notes in amount equal to the value of the bullion at the time of purchase; the notes being redeemable in coin, gold or silver, at the option of the government.

The silver dollars coined under the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 are legal tender for all debts public and private, except where otherwise specially provided in the contract. There is nothing in the act of 1878 itself that prefers gold to silver, unless the contracts people enter into stipulate gold. And then, how far gold contracts can be specifically enforced may be a question, as suggested by Senator Morgan in a recent speech in the Senate.

But the Treasury Department has acted constantly upon the theory that the silver coins of the United States, including standard dollars, are subordinate to gold, and could be kept at par with gold only by being redeemed in gold when required. Thus, Mr. Leach, director of the mint, stated to the coinage committee of the House in 1891 that the silver dollar was kept at par with gold "from the fact that it is the general faith of mankind that we will always redeem a silver dollar with a gold dollar." In October last a \$1,000 treasury note, issued under the act of July 14, 1890, was presented at the subtreasury in Boston and gold demanded for it, which was refused by the assistant treasurer. Mr. Foster, secretary of the treasury, telegraphed to Mr. H. C. Lodge, October 14:

"Treasury notes will be redeemed at any subtreasury of the United States in gold coin. The refusal at Boston was an error on the part of the assistant treasurer."

The option to redeem greenbacks or treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, in gold coins, undoubtedly rests with the secretary, but the law imposes no obligation upon him to redeem in gold coin rather than in silver coin. In fact, the government has no outstanding obligations, except gold certificates, not redeemable at the option of the government in coin of either metal.

Under the acts of 1878, 370,000,000 silver dollars have been coined, and under the act of 1890, about \$100,000,000 worth of treasury notes have been issued for the redemption of which silver may be coined. The question of vital importance in this connection is: Is this silver or is it to be absolute money? Will this silver, if coined, be money of final redemption for everything else the same as gold or must it itself some day be redeemed in gold if demanded? Does it as much constitute the basis of other kinds of money and of credit as gold or is it but a kind of subsidiary money, resting at last, like paper, on gold?

We are thus led back to the foundation principle of metallic money. Is the metal itself endowed with the money function or is it not? Manifestly in the United States and Europe silver has been deprived of this function, and only a certain quantity of it given *quasi* money power. But the present position of silver in the United States is less tenable than anywhere else. We continue to buy silver to make money of without endowing the metal itself with the essential quality of money. If the notes issued under the act of July, 1890, are redeemable in gold, at the option of the holder, as held by the secretary of the treasury, then it were folly to buy silver to store up in the treasury as a mere commodity. Some other commodity might be selected that would afford quite as good collateral security. Either the silver purchased must be held as actual money material or it must some day be sold off as a commodity for what it will bring.

It therefore must be plain enough to any one who views the situation impartially that the present policy of buying silver and issuing notes without coining the silver and making it money as absolutely as gold cannot last long.

Nobody but the holder of silver has any interest in the enlarged use of silver *per se*. The question with bimetallists is one of money supply and of the money standard of the future. Is that standard to be gold alone, with a diminishing supply and an increasing demand for this metal, or shall it be made to consist again of both metals as in all the ages of the past? In short, shall the money standard consist of the two metals automatically regulated or shall we give up automatic regulation for legislative regulation, or for fiat money? In the United States at this time regulation is partly automatic and partly legislative; a condition that cannot long continue.

III.

From what has preceded, the reader can conclude what the condition of silver should be, if it is to be made money at all. If silver is not to become money of final redemption for all other forms of money and of credit, as absolutely as gold, then it is a needless waste to make money of silver. If the value of silver money is to be made to depend on legislative limitation of quantity or on redemption in gold, all this can be as easily secured with paper or anything else as with silver. There is no middle ground; either silver must be restored to the place it held so long in the history of the world, coequal with gold as a money standard, and left to automatic regulation or it may as well be abandoned altogether.

The restriction of the coinage of silver since 1873 has operated to increase enormously the value of gold. The abandonment of silver as standard money would throw the whole burden of sustaining the credit of the world upon gold. To make money out of silver, if that money has to be sustained by being made redeemable in gold, affords no more relief to gold than would so much money made of aluminium or of paper. The whole question is, shall silver and gold together, and equally, on some prescribed ratio, constitute the foundation

of other forms of money and of credit or shall the huge structure of modern credit be made to rest on gold alone?

There never was a time when there was too much gold and silver for monetary use, and there is not likely to be. There have been times when there was not enough of both, as in the Middle Ages, and the world suffered as from a perpetual drouth. The time now is when the supply of gold is so short of requirements for it, that it undergoes an increase of from 2 to 2½ per cent per annum, and prices fall in the same proportion. And it will bear repeating that without automatic regulation there is no virtue in a metallic standard over any other.

Until a century or so ago, the function of the precious metals was mainly as a medium of exchange. There were no great standing debts in ancient times. Perpetual debts are a modern invention. Hence with debts aggregating thousands upon thousands of millions, the question of a money standard comes to have a significance it never had before. With a rising money standard all debts are increased and it will take but a generation with the single gold standard to double the debts of the world by the increase in the standard alone. Will the world submit to this kind of spoliation? The one way out of the dilemma is to restore the bimetallic standard of gold and silver, and leave it to automatic regulation through the production of the metals, as during so many ages of the past.

A. J. WARNER.

DRUNKENNESS, A CURABLE DISEASE.

DR. LESLIE E. KEELEY, PRESIDENT OF KEELEY INSTITUTE.

DURING the past few years, medical writers have occasionally appeared who have timidly suggested that drunkenness is a disease. This suggestion has always been overwhelmed by the popular sentiment derived from religious and moral reformers, that drunkenness is simply a moral evil, a sin, very often a crime; that it is altogether wicked, and is to be cured only by religious and moral influences.

Long after diseases were recognized in part as material, actual physiological perversions, caused by some kind of poison, insanity and kindred mental nervous diseases were still held to be either supernatural or else obliquities of the moral character. Many of the germ diseases were believed to be "dispensations of Providence" and punishments for violation of Divine laws. This state of the public mind existed because the etiology of diseases, or their causes, was unknown. Science had not ventilated the cause of typhoid, consumption, smallpox, scarlet fever, and infectious diseases. These things are now better understood; and it is the analogy of some of these diseases to drunkenness that has finally suggested to the medical mind that drunkenness is a disease and is curable.

I may say, however, that many of the writers on this subject, with whom I am acquainted, have rather ignored the fact that alcohol causes its own disease; although they have succeeded in clearly proving that drunkenness is associated with and, in one sense, caused by various and numerous diseases of the nervous and general system.

There is a relation of very definite character between bodily

and mental diseases and drunkenness ; but drunkenness is a disease caused by alcohol ; while other diseases have other causes, as I shall try to make clear as I develop this question. It is sufficient now to make the statement that other diseases may lead a person to begin drinking, though not from a craving or necessity for alcohol ; but alcohol causes the disease of drunkenness, and the craving for drink. In order to be a drunkard, a person must begin drinking from some cause, then continue drinking until the disease is produced ; and after this the person will drink rhythmically, because he is a drunkard and his disease requires alcohol.

WHY DO PEOPLE BEGIN TO DRINK?

Of course no man is a drunkard when he begins drinking. This fact follows the proposition that drunkenness can be caused by nothing else than alcohol. People do not inherit the drink mania. The laws of heredity prevent any such inheritance, as I will explain. But people begin to drink from example, fashion, disease, for medicine ; and from the thousand and one well-known causes which belong to social and physiological existence and life. But drunkards continue to drink because the disease causes a craving for alcohol.

No man has a craving for alcohol before he is a drunkard, and when he begins to drink ; such an idea is absurd. I want to make the distinction clear, so that it will not be forgotten, that people may begin to drink from any cause or no cause, and always when free from the disease of drunkenness ; but the drunkard drinks because the craving for liquor is a symptom of his disease.

THE RELATION OF HEREDITY TO DRINK.

Most writers quote heredity as the principal cause of drinking and drunkenness. I do not think so. I do not think the laws of heredity permit this deduction. The laws of heredity tend to prevent drunkenness just as they tend to prevent other diseases. No disease can be transmitted by heredity in any other way than by transmission of the germs to the ovum, or egg, or spermatozoa, or "cell impregnation." Even when dis-

ease does extend itself in this manner of germ invasion, the poison or modification of the germ is creating in the tissues a variation in the type of the cells, which is transmitted by heredity. If a resistance to disease were not built up in this way, this world would have been depopulated—certainly during the Middle Ages, if not before.

To understand this law of heredity one must remember that the forces of the world as well as the living things are so formed and arranged as to antagonize one another. We could have no phenomena of nature otherwise; neither seasons, light, darkness, living things, or life. If forces and living things opposed each other equally, the same results would follow; but they oppose each other unequally, and there is in every conflict, as a rule, a result which is the coefficient of the balance of power. The result of the conflict of bulls and bears determines the price of breadstuffs, as an instance.

But the conflict of poisons with the resisting forces of the body produces a type of cell which in time may resist the poison. It is this law of resistance that prevents diseases from destroying every living thing. This inhibitory resistance is an acquired and the most highly developed type of cell function, which acquisition is brought about only by resisting a poison; and this type being, in some instances, transmitted by heredity, enables the person to resist the disease.

By resisting a disease, in this manner, is meant a power of successful resistance when attacked by the poison.

From this law of heredity we see what must be the result of the forces of heredity. It must be that heredity will not always make drunkards or drunkenness or cause people to drink; or, at least, it cannot cause a craving for drink which has not already been initiated by indulgence; but it may give a person the power of resisting, to a great extent, the poisonous effects of alcohol, whenever alcohol is drunk.

But something else may be said to be transmitted by heredity. A weak resistance to alcohol or no resistance at all may be transmitted. If a person inherits a weak resistance to alcohol, and begins drinking, from any cause, he will become a drunkard

much easier than if he inherited a resistance to alcoholic poisoning, which resistance was acquired by his ancestry.

Now let us see if these general laws of heredity, derived from biological studies, will explain the phenomena we observe in drunkenness :

The children of drunken parents are likely to be inebriates, and are said to inherit the disease or the habit.

This is undoubtedly true, but the inheritance is not alcoholism, or the habit of drinking. The inheritance is a weak resistance of the tissue cells to the poison of alcohol. If the child inherited a sufficient cellular resistance to alcohol to prevent him from becoming a drunkard, he might drink because his father or both parents did ; but would drink "temperately," as it is called. The greater quantity of alcohol manufactured is drunk by the fashionable drinkers—the people who keep sideboards and wine cellars and who drink, but are not known as drunkards. They do not become drunkards, because they drink wine and not the stronger alcoholic liquors. They can "control their appetites," as people say. They can drink moderately.

But why do the children of drunkards drink ? They do so, to a certain extent, by the force of example. It is noticeable that these people drink, because they become intoxicated, and become drunkards ; but they may not be greater drunkards than are the people whose ancestry were drinkers, but not drunkards.

If this law of heredity is true, it must hold good in the transmission of other diseases and the transmission of the power of resisting diseases, which all people inherit more or less.

The power of resisting a disease may be acquired in no other way than by having the disease, in a modified form. The poison of a disease, during an attack, causes a variation in the type of the tissue cells that are poisoned, and the physiology of this variation is simply increased power of resisting disease. A man may be protected from scarlet fever during his lifetime, because he had the disease during early life ; but his children may not be protected, because the parent thus acquired and enjoyed an immunity. However, when a variation in type of vegetable or animal cells, or the cells of either, is acquired

from any cause, a part of this variation will be transmitted by heredity. If one fourth of total immunity is thus transmitted in each generation, in eight generations—provided one parent transmits an acquired immunity—the immunity will be perfect; and this disease must come to an end, provided all people are equal in their relations and conditions to this disease.

Now we find that many old epidemic diseases have practically terminated, as the plague, sweating sickness, and the typhus fever. These diseases raged with terrible energy during the Dark Ages, and they terminated before any sanitary measures could have accomplished anything radical or effective.

It is an old and common observation that consumption is a hereditary disease. This is true in one sense, but not true in another sense. The germ may be transmitted to the unborn child; but beyond this, and so far as the poisoning effect goes on in the cells, the only inheritance which predisposes to consumption is that of a weak resistance to the poison. Consumption now kills one seventh of the people born. This disease has existed for centuries. It is safe to assume that all people are equally exposed to the disease, if the soil for its development is favorable; and that the disease is communicable through the sputa containing "Koch's tubercular bacillus." The only reason, then, if other things are equal, why consumption does not kill all people, is because the remaining six sevenths inherit an immunity to the disease from an ancestry who acquired the immunity by having the disease. I think the question then must be clear in its solution that alcoholism, or drunkenness, is not always hereditary; but that people who become drunkards inherit sometimes a weak resistance to the poisoning power of alcohol.

THE DISEASE OF DRUNKENNESS.

Alcoholic inebriety, alcoholism, and drunkenness are convertible terms, meaning the same pathological condition. The disease consists of the variation in type of the nervous and other cells and nuclei, which has alcohol as its factor; and this new function of variation from the physiological type is single in

character, and consists simply in a craving for alcohol. These conditions and symptoms are rhythmical or periodical in character. Acute intoxication is the immediate effect of a large quantity of alcohol overcoming by its poisonous action the physiological resistance of the cells of the nervous system. The mental manifestation varies from the cerebral excitement, or stupor of intoxication, to the condition known as delirium tremens.

Alcoholism must be studied in its relations to other diseases, and in the light of the known action of all poisons, including the poisons called ptomaines—the products of the metabolic changes in the germs of disease. There is no great difference, in general terms, between these poisons. They each cause a special disease, depending upon the facts that they are specifically different from each other; and the resistance they engender is different. They all cause a variation in cell type and all cause modifications of cell activity, relating to the cell functions of reproduction, nutrition, and special physiological perversions. But it must be remembered that in pathology like causes, meeting with like resistance, produce like results. One kind of poison, we will say, as a resultant of its resistance, causes a cancer, another a high temperature, and another gangrene, another degeneration, another atrophy, another hypertrophy, etc., etc.

Now, the rule is that one kind of poison may pave the way for another. A person may have pneumonia from a specific germ, which may weaken the resistance to tubercle *bacilli*, and consumption may result. The acute zymotic or mycotic fevers, as typhoid, scarlatina, diphtheria, measles, etc., may be followed by secondary invasions. If an old rheumatic joint takes on a tuberculous disease, no surgeon will affirm that the poison of rheumatism causes the tubercles; but their presence invites the secondary invasion of *bacillus tuberculosis*. If *septicæmia* follows typhoid, the physician will acknowledge the secondary invasion and the presence of the *streptococcus* which causes that disease.

However, during the excitement in the medical public mind,

which followed Pasteur's method of the prevention of hydrophobia, this great general law of pathology appeared to be forgotten by the many writers who published results of experiments tending to prove that animals starved or fed on shavings or inoculated with various substances would have hydrophobia. It will make no difference how an animal is fed or with what it is inoculated; if it has hydrophobia, the reason is, as far as pathological light has been shed and observed, because the germ specific or infection of the disease is present in the animal's spinal cord.

Alcohol causes drunkenness directly and nothing else. It does not cause tumors, degeneration, tubercles, inflammation,—that is, “true inflammation,” or any other pathological condition. Alcoholism is not brain suffering or nerve hardening or nerve degeneration or tuberculosis or an inflammation. It may predispose to these conditions, by nutritive perversions, interstitial and parenchymatous degenerations; but when any of these diseases are present in alcoholism, they simply prove that their special cause was there before them, excited or aggravated by alcoholic indulgence.

Various nervous diseases, as epilepsy, insanity, paralysis, nerve degeneration, etc., etc., as well as various other bodily diseases may exist in inebriates; but these conditions bear no relation to the disease of alcoholism except as aggravated thereby they may weaken the inebriate's physical resistance to alcohol, and lead him to begin drinking, and cause him to be a drunkard. But all this makes no difference in the character of the disease of alcoholism. The individuality of the disease is just the same. The intoxication is the same, the lessened resistance, while increased, the variation in cell type, the periodicity, or rhythm, are the same. An existing disease, leading a person to drink, stands in the same pathological relation to alcoholism in any particular person as does the saloon-bar, the wine cellar, example, and personal temptation. None of these things starts the “craving for drink” which belongs to alcoholism after alcohol has caused the disease. A man cannot be a drunkard until he has drunk sufficiently to cause the disease.

The law of all poisoning is that it causes modifications in type of the cells and nuclei that are poisoned. Unless death is caused profound perversions of cells necessarily follow poisoning and are more or less perpetuated by continued additions of the poison. The variation of type gives the cell the power to resist the poison. In other words, the cells thereby acquire more or less tolerance to the poison. This is why a person may begin with a small dose of morphine, arsenic, hashish, alcohol, ether, or any other poison, and gradually acquire from being poisoned a tolerance to ten times the ordinary dose. The characteristic of alcohol is that the tolerance to alcohol, up to the limit of the power of resistance, is acquired in a short time. A man may get intoxicated in an afternoon on a pint of Old Rye, but the next morning he can drink a pint of the same whisky to "sober up" and get an appetite for breakfast. In fact, many men, hundreds of them, have come under my observation, who have habitually taken from twenty to thirty drinks a day without apparent intoxication or the appearance of drunkenness.

But in all poisoning, when the poison is withdrawn, a new variation in type of the cells and nuclei of the tissues must follow. If the conditions were like those before the person began taking them, the new type will be like the old type. It will be a variation backward. We all know that an inebriate, when on a spree, will tolerate a pint or two of whisky each day for many days, before he succumbs; and a large quantity, a quart or more, is required to make him drunk. Some of these drunkards take delight and pride in the great quantities of whisky they can "carry." This power can be acquired only by gaining and establishing a tolerance given by habitual poisoning. The more a man drinks, the more whisky he can "carry."

In poisoning, the battle is between the nerve cells on one side and the poisoning power of alcohol on the other. The cells resist the poison. They build fortifications and defenses—forts, redoubts, and trenches. The meaning of this is in general terms that the cells acquire inhibitory power the better to resist the poison.

When an army invades a country there is an immediate change in the activities of the people of that country. Everything changes; their plowshares into swords, and pruning hooks into spears. All industrial, manufacturing, and commercial pursuits are checked. In a short time a variation in the appearance of the country is seen. There are forts, long lines of intrenchments, and the other changes which only war can bring. As we readily perceive, this revolution in the type of the country and its people is brought about in consequence of the invasion of an enemy. We readily see, also, that this alteration in type is for the purpose of resistance. The analogy holds good in all particulars. The variation, we may say, enables the country to tolerate the army to a greater extent. If a country is not prepared for war, it can support only a small army of invasion; but if it is not conquered, the more it resists, the greater will be its war defenses.

If the invading army retires, then immediately begins another change. Prices settle down to a peace basis. Public morals assume a higher degree of development. The brigadiers doff their shoulder straps, and go into politics with glory as their capital in trade. The sutlers buy corner lots and put up sky-scraping buildings. The forts and unsightly intrenchments disappear under the plow.

This retrogression in type backward, whether of countries after war, or of brain substance after debauch, is called atavism. The meaning of this is that the country and brain return to their former type of structure and function.

But there is another feature or factor of these changes which I must mention, in order to have the question understood. I have said that the chief symptom of drunkenness is a craving for liquor; and that, while it is true that a man may begin drinking from any cause or no apparent cause, he drinks, when he is a drunkard, because he has the disease of alcoholism, the symptom of which is a craving for liquor. This is the subjective side of the question; but objectively, the poisoned nerve cells demand the presence of alcohol in order to subserve their perverted functions. The sudden deprivation of alcohol causes

misery, varying in degree from sleepless, nervous, tremulous suffering, up to delirium tremens.

When a nerve cell is habituated to a poison ; when an animal is adapted to a certain climate ; when a nation is warlike,—then a sudden change, for a time, works trouble and inconvenience, more or less serious, though the final result may in every way be beneficial.

A child accustomed to home is homesick if sent off to school. Homesickness can even cause death. A baby accustomed to a warm bath every morning in a temperature of 80 degrees is adapted to that condition, and would, very likely, be killed if bathed in snow ; yet, in northern latitudes the mother gives her babe a bath every morning in a snowbank. Any sudden change from adaptation to any condition to another is more or less painful and dangerous. A country at war must undergo a change preparing it for that condition. "War is cruelty," but nevertheless a change back to a peace basis is often difficult, though the remote results may be good. Thousands of men are turned out and must seek work and business in an impoverished country. It requires time to procure a new adaptation to a peace basis. The reason is that war was the condition to which all things were accustomed ; and war, therefore, was a present necessity in order to maintain and prevent the temporary difficulties that belong to a change of base from war to peace.

The drunkard requires alcohol for the same general reason. The cells have habituated themselves to the presence of alcohol as a stimulus and food supply, and they perform their general and special functions of reproduction and nutrition under this false stimulus or poison. Reformation, or the withdrawal of alcohol, and the atavism, or variation of the cells backward, must be in every way beneficial in remote results ; but the change involves a revolution which requires time and the expenditure of energy, and hence the drunkard finds it difficult and painful in this sense to reform ; so he continues periodically to drink.

The next feature of the pathology of drunkenness for explanation is the periodicity, or rhythm of the habit of drinking. This

is the feature or faculty of inebriety which belongs to the domain of pure mental habit and perversion of nervous impression. By habit is meant the repetition of coördinated mental and bodily acts. Instinct is inherited habit. Habit belongs to the instinctive part of mental life, and is mostly independent of consciousness and will. The physical substratum, or the general factor of expression of physical character from which living things derive habit, is the rhythm of forces. All physical force is rhythmical. A beam of light is rhythmical in its intensity. A current of electricity is rhythmical. The action of the magnet also shows this variability. Running water in a natural or artificial stream will show a rhythm in its speed and volume. No machine—timepiece, engine, electrical apparatus, or any other machine—can run without this exhibition of rhythmical action. The reason is that all motion is the result of other forces, acting in opposition to each other; and the opposition cannot always be an equal quantity.

Habit in the lower animals is inherited instinct. The faculty, or power, of performing the given act was learned by its ancestry from generations of experience, and became an organic quality of its nerve tissues, and was transmitted as such by heredity. Migratory birds, inheriting the migrating instinct, at the proper season will migrate or make the attempt. A bird's nest is the product of many generations of bird experience, in labors and failures, before the faculty is formed which enables the bird to build the nest; but after the trade is learned this species of birds is hatched as nest builders. They will instinctively build a nest like the one they were hatched in, without any instruction in the art except the inherited habit. Coördinate acts, as I have said, if even automatically repeated, become habits independent of consciousness or volition. Most of the habits of this nature belong to the automaticity of life. The nerve centers discharging force will discharge it in the direction of least resistance, and the direction of least resistance is that which is most frequently traveled. We all know that coördinate actions at first are slowly and with difficulty learned. Learning a trade is, in the commencement, slow, and requires

education, or frequent repetition of certain definite and coördinate acts, involving volition and consciousness of nerve centers and voluntary responsive muscles. As the trade is learned, more and more of these acts are performed automatically, in a measure independent of conscious volition. The more independent these acts are of conscious volition, the more likely they are to repeat themselves at rhythmic intervals. There may be a general volitional movement which sets the machinery in motion, but this is all.

When people have learned to eat, they consciously go to dinner; but the spinal cord and automatic nerve centers "do the rest." A piano player spends years in educating nerve centers and muscles to perform and execute music on the piano. When the art is learned and a piece of music becomes "familiar," the automatic centers mechanically do most of the work of playing the piece, as a habit. A man always does work the best if he is in the habit of doing it; which means that the automatic nerve centers have learned the art in question.

After a man has been on a dozen or two dozen spree, he has given his nerve cells or nerve centers a habit; thus originating the factors of his habit. A debauch poisons the cells. The cells, like a country invaded by an army bent on spoils, resist as best they can. The cells undergo a variation in type, which enables them to resist a dangerous degree of poisoning.

But the rhythm of reaction comes—the debauch ends. The man goes through the torment of recovery from his spree. Possibly he gradually tapers off, or he quits at once and has a touch of delirium. The cells react and resume their former physiological type.

But again, for some reason or no reason, the man repeats the spree—the same results follow. Now this periodical conduct in its effect upon the cells, or variation forward and backward, is educating the higher nerve centers. The automatic centers are learning a habit, in a morbid direction. They are learning to require periodically the presence of alcohol. In time they learn it; the sprees continue; and attempted reforms and remorse follow them as regularly as the seasons,—the seedtime and harvest,—and the man is a drunkard.

The duration of this periodical interval of drunkenness and sobriety or reform may vary greatly. It may be an affair of twenty-four hours or of several months; but the same general law governs in each case.

THE CURE OF DRUNKENNESS.

The chief evidence of the cure of any disease is the recovery of the patient after taking appropriate remedies. It is not sufficient that a patient may believe and say he is cured; the patient may be deceived; he must present the objective test that he is well. People must verify by observation and test that the patient is cured. On the other hand, people are not cured unless they are sick or diseased. Some people imagine themselves sick, as well as cured.

Drunkenness is a disease that cannot deceive. The symptoms are always the same. No expert or technical knowledge or instruments of precision in diagnosis are required to diagnose the case. When a drunkard is cured the evidence is equally clear. If the patient says he has no appetite or craving for liquor, and does not drink or get drunk, then why is he not cured? It makes no difference if he sooner or later relapses. If a man is cured of rheumatism, he may present the evidence of cure that is satisfactory to himself, his friends, and the critics; but he may some time have the rheumatism again. If he does, would it disprove the claim that he was once cured? I have cured, or my treatment has cured, nearly sixty thousand drunkards. There have been a few relapses; but there is not so large a proportion of relapses as in other diseases. I estimate, from the data at hand, that five per cent of cases relapse. There are at least cases of relapse sufficient to prove the general rule of cure.

I consider myself a pioneer in this department of pathology and therapeutics. I think the medical profession will give me credit, and so will the public, of studying this subject from the standpoint of pathology and bringing the drunkard and his malady into the scope of practical medical study and placing him among the patients of the medical profession, rather than among the convicts and the "sinners." I know of no reason

why the drunkard, after he is a drunkard, should be considered a moral reprobate any more than the patient with typhoid fever or consumption. Neither, I think, is morally responsible, but if one is, the other is equally so. The state is also responsible for one of these diseases as much as for the other. The state permits the public sale of alcohol ; and the state also permits the cultivation and propagation of the germs of typhoid fever and consumption, through neglect of enforced hygienic measures.

My treatment for drunkenness is a method of cure no different from the general principles of treatment employed by physicians in other diseases. I am no magician, but a physician. I have never dabbled in hypnotism ; I know nothing about it. I am not a shrine-builder. I have done nothing but study as best I could drunkenness as a disease, and look for a method of curing the disease. It is admitted that the success is phenomenal ; but when I began the treatment of drunkenness, I was the only man in the world who was treating drunkenness as a disease, exclusively from the standpoint of medicine. If thousands of patients sought a cure, and were cured, it was simply because the treatment was a success.

I may say that, until within a few months, the few institutions treating inebriates prescribed treatment which was largely "moral" in method. Typhoid patients should also have good "moral" treatment ; but if this method is useful in either typhoid or drunkenness, it is just as much an "indication" in one as in the other. I admit that many drunkards are cured by these moral means. Many cure themselves by will power. This fact proves nothing against the theory that drunkenness is a disease and is curable. Typhoid patients will recover without treatment ; so do patients with rheumatism, scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles, consumption, cholera, and yellow fever. Yet these diseases receive treatment.

Perhaps in some instances all they need is moral support. As is well known, many of these diseases are self-limited. But drunkenness is also a self-limited disease in this same sense. The duration of drunkenness is, however, very long in most cases, and incurable without treatment ; but in a large per-

centage of cases the disease is self-limited. Almost any middle-aged man can recall people whom he has known for twenty-five years, who were in youth, or early life, drunkards, but who stopped drinking without cure or any particular moral influence. The disease "spontaneously" came to an end.

There is no disease, caused by a poison, in the nosology of human ailments, which is so speedily and so successfully cured by scientific medication, as drunkenness.

The only reason that drunkenness is so prevalent is simply because it is not considered a disease nor treated as such.

All diseases have this same history, even during the past few hundred years. In the Middle Ages the physicians of Europe were driven from the country, and the clergy took care of the sick. Many of these physicians had a scientific medical education, acquired at the University of Alexandria. The history of diseases, therefore, shows that little by little they were taken from the domain of theology and classed under the rules of science.

The cure of drunkenness is not difficult. It yields readily to medicine. Treatment will antagonize the habit—the craving for liquor. In thousands of cases which I have personally observed, I have never known the craving for liquor to last the patient over three or four days after beginning treatment. As every one knows I give the patient liquor, which he takes with him. He will not drink it after the third day.

There is much criticism regarding my method of cure. The profession claim I should publish my method. The principal drug I use in the cure of drunkenness, the chloride of gold and sodium, or the "double chloride of gold," is known throughout civilization. So far as other drugs are concerned, I may say that in using them, I do as all other physicians do; I treat each case on its individual merits.

No physician treats all his cases of typhoid alike. Doctors do not agree on the method of treating this or any other disease, so far as special methods are employed. They have no special formulæ which they would agree to publish as a cure for typhoid. In all diseases as treated by competent physicians these

gentlemen apply the general principles of therapeutics to the "indications" given by the disease, and do the best they know. They cure their patients by the knife or drug or antagonistic poison as the case may seem to demand.

I claim that the drugs and methods I use are harmless to everything but drunkenness. The cure of drunkenness does not cause insanity or tuberculosis or hypertrophy, gangrene, inflammation, or degeneration. Neither does the cure for drunkenness cure other diseases. If a drunkard happens to have a tumor of the brain, the drunkenness can be cured; but this has no effect upon the brain tumor. If the drunkard has epilepsy, insanity, chorea, or is a criminal; or, if he has tubercles or cancer or hobnailed liver or Bright's disease,—curing his drunkenness will not have any direct effect on these other diseases. A man may "go insane" or have epilepsy or chorea or tubercles, after amputation of a leg for a railroad injury; but these results cannot be properly charged up to the amputation.

I have been censured greatly for not making my cure and formulæ public. Doctors, generally, do not always believe in "cures"; though they may believe in the general principles of the treatment of disease. I have no formula to make public. If the public wish to know how to cure drunkenness, let the public study medicine and find out. There is no secret in the cure of drunkenness; nor is there anything to reveal, except a knowledge of the general principles of the cure of disease. If a doctor were to reveal his formula for the treatment of typhoid fever he would be considered erratic; and the public would be a fool to use it without the advice, personal experience, and presence of the doctor. It is as impossible to publish a formula for the cure of disease that the public can use, as it is to publish a general formula for the surgical extirpation of cancers. It would be dangerous to publish formulæ of either kind for the use of the public; nor would a wise public use them, if published. A few years ago books were published on: "Every Man His Own Lawyer" and "Every Man His Own Doctor." The burden of these books was to send for a doctor if you are ill, and get a lawyer if you are in legal trouble.

In conclusion, I will say that I consider the question of drunkenness as a disease, and its curability solved. I believe drunkenness is a disease, that it is curable, and that hereafter it will always be cured. People may oppose it for selfish reasons or business interests; but it is useless to fight scientific truth and utility in this world; they will conquer.

LESLIE E. KEELEY.

HOW SHALL THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION BE OPENED?

BY BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.

SHALL we receive our honored and invited guests with a gun in one hand and a sword in the other? Is the object of the Columbian Exposition to impress our guests with the fact that they are quite in our power during their stay in this country—to exhibit the strength of our standing army, and the fleetness and deadliness of our ships of war? Do we desire to measure swords with the nations of the Old World? Can we, if we would, make any naval showing that will at all compare with Great Britain's wonderful navy; or any display of land forces that would not seem pitifully weak in comparison with Germany's standing army, to sustain which her treasury has been exhausted, and her people impoverished? The women of that country have been forced into the fields to till the soil, to labor with beasts; because all of the young men are conscripted into the service—forced to spend seven years at the trade of war—time that should be devoted to skilled labor, to literature or science, instead of the unnecessary demoralization of army life, that hardens the sensibilities, begets immoralities and crimes, and engenders a disrespect for womanhood.

Through her war system, Germany has forced Austria and Italy into, and still retains them in, the Triple Alliance, the pledges to which require the two latter countries to keep up standing armies proportionate to her own. This great military drain has impoverished the treasury of Austria and utterly bankrupted Italy; while to maintain each her autonomy against this formidable military alliance, France and Russia are in league to

barricade their frontiers and keep up similar standing armies ; so that the peace of Europe to-day is maintained by these five great nations sleeping on their bayonets, each keeping a watchful and jealous eye on the other—a condition about as secure as that of a drunken man carrying a nitroglycerine torpedo.

The rubles of Russia, that should go to buy bread for her starving poor in the famine-stricken districts, are expended monthly to keep up this vast standing army on her European and Asiatic frontiers, that her supremacy among the nations of the world may not be lost. Thus thousands of poor are starving in that country as the result of calamities beyond their control ; while from our abundant harvests in the West and Northwest, and from our abundance of money in the East—our general national prosperity, secured during twenty-seven years of absolute peace—we are sending succor to these houseless and starving millions in the heart of the great Russian Empire, who ought to be fed from her own resources. All this for the exaltation of the few at the expense of the many.

We have on our own pension list to-day more than 753,000 invalid soldiers, and over 330,000 widows, as mementos of our "late unpleasantness," calling for an annual appropriation of one hundred and forty-one millions of dollars—a drain on our public treasury that has entirely eaten up the surplus that we were at a loss to know what to do with only three years ago.

Had we been compelled to keep up a large standing army during the last twenty-seven years, we should have had no surplus ; and to-day would have no money to pay the invalid soldiers and their widows and orphans. With a standing army of about 25,000 men and a commissioned officer to every five privates, living on the good of the land and strutting about in their blaring uniforms, the peace of the country has been maintained ; because we have had no foreign foe to disturb it. We should have had no flutter of war even with Chile, had we not introduced one of our useless war vessels into the port of Valparaiso and shown our sympathy for Balmaceda.

As it was, this little symptom of war cost our government a million and a half of dollars. England understands the nature

of our bluster and "jingoism"; and after we have exhausted it, she sensibly offers to arbitrate, and settle by a court of adjudication, the Bering Sea imbroglio.

The moral and intelligent sentiment of Christendom is to-day opposed to war. It is a relic of the barbarism of the past—more to be ashamed of than the burning of martyrs at the stake or the hanging of women as witches; because it has national sanction.

To-day, the best thought and culture of Christendom are organizing a Peace Bureau at Berne, Switzerland, for the purpose of educating governments as well as individuals to see the foolishness and brutishness of war. Governments are no more excusable for the taking of life than are individuals. The whole range of possible difficulties that may occur between nations have been in the past, and may be in the future, settled by arbitration. The principal object of this International Bureau of Peace is to impress upon the governments of Europe the advantages of resorting to arbitration for the settlement of international difficulties; and the feasibility of gradual disarmament; thus relieving the oppressed and impoverished condition of the peasantry of the Old World, and restoring her armed soldiery to the legitimate vocations of life.

But, failing to impress this moral idea upon governments, we may awaken the minds of the masses of the people to this thought, and

"Let those who make the battles
Be the only ones who fight."

Kings and emperors cannot go to war with a revolt of their subjects against it. The common soldier has nothing to gain by war; poor wages, poor food, a lack of shelter, untold hardships, the risk of life; death when the day is lost, and all of the honor and glory to the commanding generals when the battle is won. He may lie bleeding on the battlefield unnoticed, "unwept, unhonored, and unsung."

What is the object of the Columbian Exposition? Is it to revive this unholy war spirit? Is it to remind our guests who shall come here of the slaughter of human beings in the wars of

the past? Is it to encourage them in their own warlike preparations when they shall return again to their homes, by leading them to suppose that the security and prosperity of the American people are in any manner enhanced by the paltry military and naval parade that we should be able to make; and yet quite enough for the needs of this great country, where the probability of an attack is reduced to a minimum, and that minimum dependent upon some possible insult, real or fancied, that we may offer to another nation.

We have some would-be statesmen, cabinet officers, and others who are weak enough to suppose that a military parade at the opening of the World's Fair would add dignity and respectability to our government; that it would make an impression upon our foreign visitors. There is nothing that so much impresses foreigners, coming to this country, and especially the nobility of the Old World, as the absence of armed soldiery, the simplicity and approachableness of our public men; and, especially, the ease with which the President of the United States may be seen; and the fact that he is safe anywhere without bodyguard or escort.

No! we do not want any military parade at Chicago to welcome our guests. We want American ladies and gentlemen of dignity and culture who will fairly represent the progressive civilization of this age and show that the great American republic is governed by civil law, by mental and moral power, and not brute force; that we are not awed into submission by the perpetual vigilance of military power, but are cultivated into right thoughts and right actions, because we deem them best for the good of the community. The Columbian Exposition is to be a grand display of mental, and not physical strength.

Let, then, the olive branch of peace float from the harbor of New York and from the grand Exposition buildings on the arrival of our guests in 1893. Let no booming of barbarous cannon or other display of war's savagery mar the pleasure of what can and should be made the greatest peace convention the world has ever seen—a genuine love feast of nations.

BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.

THE FOLLY, EXPENSE, AND DANGER OF SECRET SOCIETIES.

BY CHARLES A. BLANCHARD, PRESIDENT WHEATON, ILL., COLLEGE.

THERE is no new thing under the sun. Secret societies are old. Since Adam and Eve after their first disobedience sought to hide from God, men have been accustomed to concealments. The Mysteries of India, Egypt, and Greece in ancient times, the Jesuits at the beginning of modern history, and the Masons and Odd Fellows of more recent date are but examples of this form of social organization. In our time, however, the principle of secret association has received its widest development. In fact, so universal have lodges become that no man can claim to be intelligent concerning this age, if he does not in some measure understand them.

They may be rudely classified as religious; *e. g.*, the Jesuits, Freemasonry, Odd Fellowship, the Knights of Pythias, etc.: political; as the Know-nothings, Knights of the Golden Circle, the Order of American Deputies, the Kuklux Klan, the White League, etc.: industrial; as the unions of carpenters, bricklayers, conductors, engineers, etc.: insurance; as the Royal Arcanum, the Modern Woodmen, the Order of the Iron Hall, the Ancient Order of United Mechanics, etc.: and the social; as the college fraternities.

It is, of course, understood that the classes of organizations are not mutually exclusive, and that they are designated by what seem to be their leading characteristics. The purpose of the Order of Jesuits is to build up the Romish Church, and

it clearly belongs in the list of religious orders. Odd Fellowship, on the other hand, while clearly religious, also involves so much of the insurance element as to make its classification a matter of doubt. Freemasonry, while clearly religious and, to a very insignificant extent, beneficiary, is so persistently engaged in seeking political power as to create a doubt whether it should not be designated as a political order. With this fact of interlapping and doubtful assignment in mind, we believe the classification of these orders as religious, political, industrial, insurance, and social sufficiently accurate for practical purposes.

Before passing to our special theme, there is one difference between the ancient and modern orders to which attention is requested. The old were manipulated by priests and were exclusively religious; the modern are in most instances composed of men in the various professions and industrial pursuits. The Romish order is really, not apparently, an exception. Though some of the others are predominantly religious, and have chaplains, prelates, priests, etc., etc., the membership of these orders is made up of, and their religious offices are filled by, men who do not devote themselves exclusively to the religion of their order. They are lawyers, merchants, railway men, farmers, ministers of the Christian religion, blacksmiths, peddlers, or physicians who are chosen to be chaplains, prelates, priests, etc., on lodge nights, and public occasions of the orders.

It should also be remarked that in discussing the folly, expense, and danger of secret societies, it will be impossible to conduct a detailed examination of each of the swarming host of lodges which now seek to sell their degrees to the young men of America. Dr. Gifford has well said that an attempt to catalogue them would be like an endeavor to make a census of the lice in Egypt. Under such circumstances we must, so far as possible, confine ourselves to general characteristics; and when we digress therefrom, name the particular order whose practices are under consideration.

All secret societies require persons coming to their membership to assume obligations which are unknown to the candidates. At least they are supposed to be unknown and, if the order

is able to conceal them, they are really so. Of course, no society can be secret which frankly tells those whose membership it solicits just what is expected and required. This simple test decides the character of those orders which, like the Good Templars and the Grand Army of the Republic, desire the support of those who are unfriendly to secretism. If these orders freely lay before candidates their oaths or obligations, and permit them to consider the promises they are to make; and if, in these obligations they do not bind them to conceal things now unknown, they are not secret orders. If, on the other hand, any order seeks to secure from a proposed member an obligation which he is not permitted carefully to examine or a promise to conceal things future and unknown, that order is a secret one.

Now, promises are, or should be, sacred. When a man says "I will" or "I will not," all that there is of the man is behind his word. If the promise is poor, shaky, and unreliable, it is because the man is poor, shaky, and unreliable. But in order to this integrity, this sterling character, it is essential that the man pause before he promise; that he know exactly what he is covenanting to do or leave undone. With this plain, self-evident principle, the whole list of secret societies is at war. Promise to conceal rites and ceremonies as yet unknown, promise to submit to laws not yet framed, promise to conceal the acts of bodies and of individuals, which acts are as yet unperformed, these are the requirements of every lodge.

It is no answer to say that in all other respects the obligations are unobjectionable, and that the transactions, yet future, are such as honorable men would naturally not divulge. All this may be true, but it is manifestly impossible for the initiate to know that it is so; and whether he is bound to honorable privacy or to the concealment of trivialities or conspiracies and crimes, his word is passed, and that without any knowledge that he has a right to make the pledge required. It seems inexplicable that men who would, under any other circumstances, insist upon knowing what was required before promising to conceal or obey, should be so prompt to assign their consciences, judgments, and wills to a group of men gathered in a lodge.

The folly of promising to do, one knows not what, seems sufficiently obvious; but this folly rises almost to moral insanity, when one considers the circumstances under which these pledges are made. In the first place, some of these orders, notably the Masonic and Odd Fellows, so situate the candidate as to render it almost certain that the average man will neither understand nor remember the obligation which he assumes.

The Masonic candidate is stripped of his clothing until he has on only his shirt and drawers. He has one foot bare, the other slippered. His eyes are bandaged, and he has a small rope about his neck and arm. In this condition he is led about, halted here, caused to kneel there, questioned in a third place, and finally brought before the altar, and put in position to take his oath. Of course, a rude, uneducated rowdy may pass through this manipulation at the hands of a company of his kind, and retain his wits so as to comprehend, in part, the obligations he is assuming. It is entirely safe, however, to say that a self-respecting gentleman would be so full of shame, astonishment, indignation, and a desire to get away from such an experience, that he would almost certainly fail to understand or remember the oaths which are given him to repeat, sentence by sentence.

The candidate for membership in an Odd Fellows' lodge is not put through so degrading an experience; yet there seems to be the same desire to humiliate and confuse. He is blindfolded, given to understand that he is in danger of death, is twined with chains, and lectured by men in masks, until at last he is ready to be obligated; when his pledges are pieced out to him, and he, parrot-like, repeats them. How is a man under such circumstances to have any adequate idea of the promises he has made?

All this would be sufficiently foolish if it were understood, as in most cases where honorable men combine for mutual help, that, in case the member becomes satisfied that the organization is evil in character and tendency, he may freely withdraw and use all his natural rights in the way of criticism and condemnation. Members of political organizations and churches do this

without hesitation and are never considered dishonorable for so doing. These lodges, however, first refuse to allow persons proposing to unite to know what rites they must pass through or what obligations they are to assume. In the second place, they so arrange the induction of members as to confuse, humiliate, and astonish them; and then in the third place, insist that their obligations so taken are to be binding during life. No matter how sincerely the candidate may believe that the oaths he has taken are inconsistent with duties to home, church, or state, he must not utter his conviction to warn his fellows; or he will be considered, by lodge men, as worthy only of contempt.

A young man at Michigan University united with one of the secret societies for college boys. At the earnest request of his father he asked for dismissal. It was granted, but the members of that so-called "fraternity" sought, in every mean and secret way which Satanic ingenuity could suggest, to injure his reputation among his fellow-students and kept up that malignant and cowardly course of conduct for two years. At the end of that time the Independents were organized; since then the secret societies have been limited in their power to injure those who do not choose to unite with them; or who, having united, desire to withdraw.

If this be true among college boys, who are naturally generous and disposed to fair play, what is to be expected from lodges of older men, generally less cultivated, more narrow, and hence, more subject to bigotry, and abusive dispositions? Masonic writers tell us that "the covenant is irrevocable"; that, no matter if the Mason be suspended or expelled, still his oath holds him; that the only way to pass from the power of that lodge oath is to die. There is not an organization on earth, aside from secret societies, which makes such absurd claims; there are no men who submit to such regulations, except the members of these societies.

Passing the topic of the oath, there is another almost incredible provision which characterizes the orders under discussion. It is the boast of lodges that members thereof will find friends in all climes and among all classes of people.

Mackey's "Mystic Tie" contains, I believe, nine narratives each showing that pirates, gamblers, murderers, and savages are members of Masonic lodges; that they are prompt to recognize their lodge obligations; and that persons who are to travel and wish not to be harmed by these scoundrel Freemasons should join the order, in which case pirates, murderers, and thieves will be to them true and faithful friends. Most men prefer to choose their own intimate associates; and few honorable men, no *honorable* men, would choose as their companions and associates, such persons as Mr. Mackey describes. Fraternal relations should follow perceived similarity of character.

If it be not true that

"Devil with devil damned
Firm concord holds,"

it is certainly true that he would not be likely to hold firm concord with an angel of light. Yet lodges base fraternity on lodge membership instead of character. True and worthy brothers are those members whose dues are paid. Of course, the lodge theory cannot be perfectly carried out. The laws of God's universe are too strong for secret societies; and, in spite of all of their efforts, their members will act much as other men. The patriot Freemason will not be disposed to "brother" much with a red-handed rebel. The gentlemanly lodge member will not usually be intimate with the foul-mouthed blackguard who has chanced to find his way into the same order. The honest public official will not recognize his obligations to his "brother" criminal. But the lodge obligation binds these different classes of men together on the plane of absolute equality. It does not allow the patriot, the humanitarian, or the Christian to hesitate about recognizing the signs or tokens sent to them by rebels or savages. Why should pirate Masons befriend good Masons, if good Masons will not return the favor? The theory of the lodge is that fraternity depends, not at all on character, but altogether on lodge relation.

A lady once said to me that when her father was dying, the lodge of which he was a member sent men to watch with him, though the family desired no such assistance. "And,"

said she, "the persons who came and forced themselves into my father's bedroom were such men as, during his well days, he would not have wanted to sit down in the kitchen."

It will be at once apparent that the membership of the lodge with which the man unites tells him nothing at all as to the character of the order in general. For example, several years since there were in an Illinois city two lodges of Odd Fellows. One was composed of temperate men and the other, in large part, of hard drinkers and saloon keepers. The members of the first lodge were by the books brothers of those in the second. In fact, the better men in the first, despised those in the second. In the same insurance order you will find sober Christian men, and poor swearing drunkards who are going to hell as fast as bad habits can take them there. Is it not absurd to call an organization which thus unequally yokes believers and unbelievers "fraternal"? And is it not the height of folly for a worthy man to allow a lodge to select his intimate companions, when he knows that practically he will have for brethren all men who are able to pay the lodge dues and are willing to submit to its degrading ceremonies?

This is far from a complete list of the follies of lodgism. The initiations, if performed in the light of day, would awaken a universal shout of derision. The poor blind candidate on hands and knees traveling under the living arch in royal arch masonry,—crawling and scrambling along while merchants and mechanics, preachers and saloon keepers, knead him down to the floor; the Knights of Pythias trembling and fearing to jump upon the rubber spikes, while a company of young men, who have been scared the same way a little before, cry out: "He hesitates! He is afraid! Coward!" or the members of a Consistory standing around, singing "Mighty Lord and Heavenly King," to a wholesale liquor dealer; the aprons and collars and feathers and swords in which the orders strut about the streets; the scattering of corn, wine, and oil on a stone and pronouncing it well laid, when even the street gamins know that it is not laid at all,—all these and scores of other topics crowd upon us, but must not be amplified at this time.

The wasteful expenditure of money is another factor in the problem of secret societies. There are two theories respecting material possessions. One is that they belong to the persons into whose possession they have lawfully come and may be disposed of according to the pleasure of such persons. The other is that the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, and that men are trustees of the goods which they hold. The latter view holds that men are tenants at will in earthly estates; and that when God chooses, he dispossesses by death or failure of business judgment or the permitted acts of evil men or by providences such as flood, fire, or pestilence. Those who hold this latter view, of course, believe that property should be managed, not as men please, but as God directs; and that carelessness or disobedience will bring men into condemnation. Under divine law men's income is first divided into two parts, one tenth and nine tenths. The nine tenths are allotted to man, "the tithe is the Lord's." From the nine tenths men are to provide for their households, if they have them. He that provideth not for his own, especially them of his own house, hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel. After the tithe is paid and the home is provided, if there be remaining money, God will direct by His Spirit as to its uses, if men will ask.

In the case of the vast majority of lodge members, when the two items which have a first claim are met, there will be no remainder. The average income of a family in the United States is about five hundred dollars. The average lodge member is a young or middle-aged man and is not rich. It will accordingly be found that when he has done his duty by the cause of religion and his home, he will have no money left for secret societies. If it be replied that most members of such orders belong to no church except the lodge and hence can spend the Lord's tithe on their fraternity, we answer that unfortunately it is true; most members of secret associations do not belong to the church. It is true, probably, that they do not recognize God's claim on any portion of their income, but believe that they may do what they please with the property intrusted to them. None the less, God has a just claim on them

and theirs ; and, though He is patient, there comes a time when powers long slumbering are exercised, when claims long deferred are enforced. Even were this not the case, because one was indisposed to support Christianity would be scant justification for contributing to the support of paganism. But not only does God's tithe go to the orders. Over and over again the family's portion goes there as well.

I knew a mechanic living in a humble home to sell his cow in order to pay his initiation fee in an Odd Fellows' lodge. He had a wife and four children, and sold the cow when the little ones needed the milk. The pastor of a colored church in Jackson, Mississippi, told me that a black man once came to him seeking to borrow seventeen dollars. He asked him what he wished to do with the money. He replied that his secret society had elected him as its chief ; he had paid thirty-five dollars for a uniform, seven dollars for a chapeau, five dollars for gloves, and wished seventeen dollars to buy a sword. The pastor at that time was teaching that colored man's children without charge and furnishing them books besides. He said that all the furniture in the man's house would not sell for twenty-five dollars, yet he must get money for his lodge. The case of that poor, ignorant, degraded black man is partially paralleled in the cases of multitudes of poor, ignorant white men who also like to wear feathers, helmets, and swords.

The charges for initiation and dues are not usually large ; though in multitudes of cases they are more than those who pay them give to Christian causes ; and, in the aggregate, they amount to millions of dollars annually. Most lodges are indisposed to make a report of entire receipts and expenditures. The Odd Fellows are an honorable exception to this rule, and their reports show that in general it takes two dollars from their receipts to get one dollar paid out for sick or death benefits. A fact like this speaks volumes. When the lodge receives three millions of dollars it returns to the sick and the families of the dead one million ; the other two millions, drawn in large measure from the families of poor men, being expended in what would be called administrative expenses. How ought honorable

men, who love their wives and children, to look upon secret orders which thus swallow the wages of the poor, and rob women and babes under the pretense of charity?

But the initiations, dues, and uniform expenses are far from being the only items of secret society expense. It is well known that lodges in general have dances and banquets to which the members are expected to contribute by the purchase of tickets. I knew of one such ball, which, being arranged by city office holders and dry goods clerks, was intended to be quite exclusive. Tickets were sold at ten dollars. A Mason who was earning honest bread at a blacksmith's anvil said to his wife: "You have never attended such a ball, and you shall have a chance to go." He bought the tickets, and gave his wife a hundred dollars for her dress. He told her if that was insufficient to come for more. The man with a true husband's pride said to me: "If I do say it she was as handsome a woman as there was on that floor." But the ball had been arranged in such a way as to keep out just such persons, and the *élite* were indignant that a "blacksmith" should break into their aristocratic circle; and they took care to make both him and his wife understand that they were not wanted. He said: "I have never been in a lodge since and I shall never go again." This fact admirably illustrates the sham fraternity of lodgism, but it is mentioned for another purpose. All over the United States such dances are held, year after year, and, while the exact truth cannot be ascertained, it is evident that the expense must aggregate a vast sum.

Of course, the fact that a thing is costly does not at all prove that it is injudicious to invest in it. We buy food and clothing and fuel and houses. We buy books and papers, pictures and statuary. That which strengthens the body, enlightens the mind, purifies the heart, or in any way uplifts men, may, under proper circumstances, be wisely purchased. But for men to unite in lodges, from which their wives and children are excluded, and spend their time in such exercises as killing and raising Hiram Abiff or going about with masks on or trying to scare some poor foolish man by making him think that he is

to jump upon a bed of iron spikes, to keep up this mixture of sacrilege and buffoonery at an expense of millions of dollars which their families need, is little short of a crime.

Of course, it will be said that men have a right to spend their own money as they please, and that it is the business of no one else what they do with it. It is evident that this statement is untrue. No man has a right to take money which his family need and pay it for a lodge oyster supper. No man has a right to take money which his child should have for schooling and pay it out for a uniform in which he may play that he is a "Knight." No man has a right to take God's tithe and pay it out for a dance, where with godless men and women he may forget that he is a rational being on the way to judgment. Men are under obligation to use their property so as to do the greatest good, and they have no right to waste it in personal gratification without reference to those dependent upon them.

There are many persons who have not made a careful study of the secret society problem who assert that the subject is unworthy of serious thought. They consider lodge exhibitions simply the vanity and folly of weak-minded men who must do something, and who might as well be occupied in "working" degrees or marching about with gauntlet gloves, a cocked hat, a feather, and a sword as anything else. They say that the whole thing is a wasteful, needless expense, but it is no worse than eating tobacco, or indulging in many other expensive and injurious habits that men form. Persons holding these views generally insist that those who are hostile to secret organizations are needlessly alarmed; and that, like epidemic diseases among children, the lodge rash will pass over each generation of young men, leaving them none the worse for temporary outbreak of grandiloquent titles and regalia.

Unfortunately there are many facts which contradict this optimistic view of the present situation. If this were the case, why have such men as John Quincy Adams, William H. Seward, Charles Sumner, Charles G. Finney, Daniel Webster, William Wirt, Joseph Cook, D. L. Moody, Dr. Munhall, and others of like standing condemned them so decidedly? Are those men

above named who still live weak-minded and silly persons who are likely to be needlessly alarmed? Were those of them who are dead inferior in their time to the average of their fellows? These men have said, and thousands of others believe that secret societies are dangerous to the individuals composing them, to individuals outside of them, to society, to the church, and to the state. A well-settled belief like this is significant, and deserves the attention of all intelligent men whatever the truth may be found to be.

It is affirmed that members of secret orders are in danger of dissipation. Coming as they do from their lodge halls late at night or in the early hours of morning, when reputable places of resort are closed, the members are subjected to dangerous and oftentimes fatal temptations.

Evil men have great power over young and innocent comrades; and many a young man has become a physical, mental, spiritual, financial wreck because of association with some of these evil men in secret lodges. Only a few days ago a lady, now gaining a livelihood as a nurse, who had no knowledge at all of any movement against secret orders, chanced to pick up a copy of "*The Christian Cynosure*." Glancing at it a moment she said: "That paper condemns what destroyed my home. My husband was a merchant with a good business and he was a good man. He joined the Masons, took to drink, lost his property, and now is an outcast. I do not know where he is." This is only one case of many.

The secret societies in colleges are in certain cases little but centers of vicious indulgence. All will remember that the members of two of the Harvard fraternities were fined for maintaining a liquor nuisance last spring; and a student of that institution told me that the other fraternities hired wagons and rushed their stock of liquors over into Boston to remain until the vigilance of the police was relaxed. The obligation to aid, assist, and conceal the secrets of brethren tends to break down self-reliance; and to make men yield to temptation. It does not require argument to show that orders which lead their members into evil habits are dangerous to the state.

Aside from this tendency to injure individuals, secret societies are deadly enemies of the home. Speaking of the clubs in which men more and more spend evenings and holidays a lady recently said: "We women are being clubbed to death." By the law of nature man gives himself to the outer world, and woman to the home. He labors in the field; she in the house. The evening time is, for the vast majority of families, the only season when father, mother, and children may sit together in the blessed harmony of home. All who have thought at all on the subject know that saloons, clubs, and lodges in our day have largely destroyed this only meeting ground of the home circle. Women give themselves to home duties all day; husbands are away at business. Women care for the children at night; husbands are away at lodge or club, smoking, drinking, or associating with such companions as they may have selected. It is no wonder that divorces are steadily and rapidly increasing under such conditions. There must be homes that there may be families and there is no home when the husband comes to his family only to eat and sleep, seeking his pleasures away from wife and child, and denying them the companionship which, under the law of nature, is their right.

That Christian churches are robbed and disintegrated by lodges is also so plain as to require little more than a statement. The secret society of our day, political, religious, patriotic, industrial, or social, has an altar. It has a code of morals; and it promises in terms more or less obscure that persons who worship at its altar and conform to its code shall be saved from hell, that is, go to the Grand Lodge above. The code does not require men to confess or forsake sin, nor to believe in Jesus Christ. The code of morals insists that they pay their dues and do good to the members of the order. It is obvious that men who believe that they can attain heaven in the next world and live in sin in this; that they can satisfy law by giving to those who will give to them, by protecting those who will protect them; and that incidentally they can make money and secure office,—it is obvious, I say, that men who believe these things are not likely to repent of their sins, abandon them, and

find a home in the church. We should not expect them to do so, and, in fact, we find that they do not.

A successful evangelist recently said : "In a thousand converts I get not one Mason, and I have never known a Knight Templar to be converted." Here is a simple plain explanation of the fact that our churches are filled so largely with women and children ; and that of the male members so few are prayer meeting men. The proportion of men who spend Sabbath morning smoking, and reading the Sunday papers constantly increases. Such men do not labor and pray for the salvation of souls. When we see how completely lodges are separating the male population of the United States from the Christian churches, it is a wonder that the ministry do not as a matter of self-interest, aside from their duty to perishing souls, explain to their congregations the character of these societies, which propose to send men to heaven without either repentance, confession, or faith.

In addition to the ruin wrought in personal character and the crippling of the church, there is imminent danger of anarchy in civil affairs as a result of secret society influence. The *World Almanac* for '92 reports for the preceding year over five thousand murders in the United States. It reports about one hundred twenty-five legal executions and one hundred ninety-two lynchings ; the latter being largely in the South where negroes were the victims. It is well understood that if a criminal has means, it is difficult to convict ; and there are many who believe that Freemasonry and similar societies are continually causing miscarriages of justice. Members of these orders, however, deny that lodges corrupt courts ; and affirm that in cases where members of secret associations steal public moneys or commit other crimes and go unpunished, the lodge is not their protector. Under such circumstances it is needful to examine the obligations of the orders ; and the slightest inquiry shows at once that whether these orders do protect criminals or not, they are well adapted to do so. The oath to conceal a brother's secrets and to recognize his signal of distress are such obligations as a bad man would wish to use in case of legal difficulty.

Of course, it is not affirmed that all members of these orders will recognize and obey these oaths. Some will, some will not. But the lodge man who under such circumstances is true to his civil duty breaks his secret society oath. All history confirms this interpretation of the oath of the secret orders. In Italy, France, Great Britain, and the United States failures of law are proportioned to the power of the lodges. In the time of the French revolution, in the efforts to suppress brigandage, in the great American rebellion, in the endeavor to get back money stolen by a state treasurer, the same course of events may be traced. Some secret current interferes with navigation so that one who does not understand it can never calculate his course.

The only defense which the lodges make is a general denial, and a statement that everything is all right. When it is affirmed that secret societies are putting men in the way of temptation, are swearing husbands to conceal important transactions from their wives, are leading them to hope for salvation without forsaking sin, and are imperiling the administration of justice,—we are told that some lodge members are worthy men, a statement which no one denies. When it is affirmed that Freemasonry swears its initiates under penalty of having their throats cut, their tongues and their hearts torn out, or their heads cut off, we are told that Masonry is a good thing, though of course, there are some bad Masons. When it is affirmed that secret orders obligate men to a partial benevolence, a partial honesty, a partial chastity, and to recognize signs which may call for the protection of murderers; we are told that “there is nothing wrong in the order so far as I have gone.” Such answers are entirely inadequate and must be amended in most essential particulars or secret societies will remain under the adverse judgment of thoughtful Christians and patriots. Unless lodges are radically changed they will still be considered foolish, expensive, and dangerous to those within, to those without, and to all the interests of a high and advancing civilization.

C. A. BLANCHARD.

CONFEDERATION OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS ESSENTIAL TO LABOR'S PROSPERITY.

BY EUGENE V. DEBS, SECRETARY OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF
LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN.

THE century in which we live, qualify it by whatever adjective fancy or fact may suggest, is, confessedly, the most illustrious of the Christian era. The proposition is neither novel nor startling. It is so universally admitted as to sound like an ancient aphorism. But when the inquiry is made for the purpose of ascertaining upon what foundations the declaration rests, and what facts can be grouped and marshaled in its support, the field of investigation broadens indefinitely, and the task of those who would respond is onerous, not because facts are few and far between, but rather because of the necessity of selecting from the mass the more salient incidents, movements, discoveries, and achievements, which, when arranged in their order, constitute data which defy criticism.

The space is not at my command for extended illustration, nor am I inclined to enter upon such investigations as would require a volume to do the theme full justice—nevertheless, having accepted an invitation to contribute my views upon the subject of confederation, in its relation to the welfare of labor, certain sharply defined postulates should be stated, because they lead unerringly to conclusions relating to the status of labor.

It has been affirmed by high authority that the present generation knows more than any preceding generation; necessarily so, since the present generation knows all that former generations knew, and has added indefinitely and immensely to the world's store of knowledge, not only in carrying forward investi-

gations which the past suggested, but in matters and directions which the most advanced of former generations never so much as dreamed of.

It may be prudently affirmed, that the Dark Ages approached the present much nearer than historians suggest; so near, indeed, that no effort is required to point to the land where their dark shadows still linger, constituting a standing rebuke to those who are overboastful of "our Christian civilization"; indeed, it may be said, if ignorance, superstition, bigotry, and many other degenerate human qualities grew abundantly during that period of the world's history, enough remains to create no little humiliation in the ranks of thoughtful men who are now engaged in the work of emancipation. But with such facts in view it may be maintained that the work of evolution and revolution has so far progressed as to inspire the hope of some sort of a millennium in the not distant future.

Christ is credited with having said, "Ye have the poor always with you," and ringing down the centuries has been heard the same doleful and reverberating declaration, and the "poor" have always been found in the ranks of labor. From the day when Lazarus was perishing at the door of the rich man's palace, and the vagabond dogs "licked his sores," the badge of poverty has been worn by the world's toilers; and thousands of their oppressors have not yet "lifted up their eyes in hell," and it is to be hoped, will cease their oppressions before it is too late. Be this as it may, the "signs of the times" foreshadow new departures in national thought betokening a determination to change radically ancient methods of dealing with labor, every one of which, when subjected to the severest analysis, favors the conclusion that new mind forces are in operation, devoted to the solution of what is called the "labor problem."

It is in this regard, more than in any other phase of human affairs, that the century in which we live towers above all other centuries since history was redeemed from fable. Men in Congress are talking learnedly of the "evolution of money" from the time when the "standard" was a "skin," an "ox" or a "sheep," until the world reached the gold or the silver stand-

ard. Darwin and his disciples enter fearlessly the domain of the occult, those realms of the unknown, where the mysteries give full play to conjecture, and tell us that the ancestors of the prehistoric man were the prehistoric monkeys, and the world is all agog with the revelation, but with the nineteenth century dawns an era in which a purpose has been evolved to excavate not only buried Babylons and Troys, but buried truths and principles, which, through all the centuries, since the morning stars sang together, it has been the purpose of the ruling classes to keep entombed.

No one doubts the Herculean character of the task, no one underestimates the mountainous dimensions of the obstacles to be overcome—but there are multiplied thousands who underestimate the tremendous forces in operation to achieve for labor a victory which, when it comes, as come it will, is to baptize the world with an effulgence scarcely less dazzling than if another sun were to be flung into space.

It is not required that writers who discuss the possibilities of labor shall deal in hyperbole. We live in a daring period of the world's history. The impossibilities of yesterday become possibilities to-day, probabilities to-morrow, and accomplished facts the day following. To investigators, nature, however reluctantly, is forever yielding up her secrets. Is it to be presumed that this evolution is to be forever confined to electricity and steam and other forces of nature? Is it to be supposed that in the practical affairs of mankind, the mind is to be forever absorbed by the machine, and that man is to be neglected? Does the hallucination prevail that man, like the silkworm, is forever to "spin his task and die"?—or, like the coral insect, build continents upon which other insects are to bask in eternal sunshine while he is to remain content with the prospective possession of a tomb? Such has been the destiny of labor in the past and such it is now in many autocrat-cursed lands; but it is not true, except to a limited extent, in the United States of America, and that it should exist in any degree where our "star-spangled banner" is supposed to symbolize liberty, is well calculated to revive the exclamation, "Haul down the flaunting

lie," uttered before the slave-pen, block, and lash forever disappeared in the smoke and carnage of war.

Fortunately for the country, and as another evidence of the distinguishing glory of the century, labor is taking high rank in the list of subjects deemed worthy of consideration in arenas where statesmen sit in council. In state legislatures and in Congress it has secured an entrance and a position from which no opposing power can dislodge it. The labor question is in politics as certainly as the silver question or the tariff question, and rightfully so; for it is a question, of not one, but all industries; a question inseparable from farm and mine, forge and factory, the loom, the anvil, and the shuttle, as well as transportation, whether by rail or water craft. It is a building question, a tax and a revenue question, and it is a capital question which, in its sum total, staggers computation.

If the scope of this article permitted figures, they could be piled up upon solid foundations, well calculated to startle statisticians.

The men who create the wealth of the country—at least that portion of them known as "organized workingmen," are profoundly in earnest in discussing their welfare and prerogatives. They do not have to be told that labor has been robbed, degraded, and enslaved. The mouths of the coal mines of the country, even in the absence of tongues, are proclaiming the deep damnation of the organized methods by which the workers in Plutonian pits are robbed and degraded. Impoverished foreigners, by thousands, have been imported to take the places of American workingmen or to reduce them, by processes which bear the stamp of infernalism, to conditions that arouse those fierce premonitions of vengeance which create universal alarm, and against which, in the ranks of organized labor, protests are being made to which it were prudent to listen.

The century is one of vast inventive power, and the "labor-saving machine" multiplies in every branch of industry. Labor contemplates the marvelous expansion of machine-power with a composure born of fealty to citizenship, to law and order, demonstrating intelligence and a comprehension of all the forces

and factors of progress. They observe the two facts, the multiplication of the machine and the steady increase in the army of toilers, the two facts combined constituting a problem, the seriousness of which it would be difficult to overestimate. Practically, every "labor-saving machine" represents a certain number of workingmen added to the hosts of the unemployed. Emigration contributes annually its vast increase to the force, and added to these we have millions of toilers, who must be fed, clothed, and sheltered; who must live as becomes American citizens or sink to the level of the hordes of imported Chinese, Huns, and Poles, who accept degradation without protest, and between whom and the machine there is practically little difference.

Invidious comparisons are always objectionable, but I do not hesitate to say that organized labor in the United States and elsewhere represents in the highest degree the intelligence of labor. In this country it embodies the American idea of government to an extent, all things considered, that will be looked for in vain elsewhere, no matter by what high-sounding title the organization may be known. The declaration invites criticism and is worthy of investigation.

Labor organizations advocate the universal acceptance of eight hours as a legal day's work. The proposition, subjected to the severest tests, is both philanthropic and economic. It proposes employment for the idle and additional rest for mind and body of those who are employed. The proposition is not only philanthropic and economic, but is as eminently social and educational; and viewed from whatever point the investigator may select, forces the conclusion that it is essential to the welfare of labor.

The real question, or that which is the most vital to labor, relates to wages.

It is to be questioned whether, within the entire realm of problems relating to the perpetuity of our institutions, there is one which touches the welfare of the country at so many vital points as that of wages. I am not unmindful of the opinion often expressed that its triteness embarrasses those who would

discuss the labor problem ; but it will be noticed that those who discuss the investment of money evince no timidity in referring to interest, dividends, and rent ; and the fact that these terms have been employed for centuries to do duty for capitalists has won for them no furlough ; and they are still on guard, nor will they be dismissed until sublimating processes of which the world has now no intimation, are introduced to eliminate acquisitiveness, at once a virtue and a vice, from human nature.

I am not an advocate of such a vagary, but do not hesitate to believe that it is largely within the domain of political or governmental evolution, to find a basis for the distribution of the wealth which labor creates, proximately in consonance with justice. Here again the intelligence, the sense of fair dealing, science, and the statesmanship of the century stand pledged to solve the problem. And here the remark may be introduced as worthy of reflection, that the stupendous wrongs which have been inflicted upon labor during the century in the distribution of wealth in defiance of justice and which are still going forward, are operating, paradoxical as it may appear, as a mighty force in correcting the injustice of which labor complains.

The attention, not only of labor organizations, but of trained thinkers, men of vast erudition, political economists, statesmen, who grasp continental questions, is burdened with anxieties relating to labor. They see coming events casting their shadows before ; and they know that the time for dodging and trimming is nearing its end, and that there must be readjustments ; that the few, the exceedingly few, must cease their methods by which, within periods so brief as to bewilder the imagination, fortunes of colossal proportions are amassed, while labor, in ever increasing numbers, is wearing the rag-badge of destitution and squalor. The eulogies of material prosperity, which constitute much of the captivating literature of the period, are to be hushed to silence by the graphic recitals, truthful as they are vivid, of the increasing degradation of thousands because wages do not meet the requirements of the victims of conditions which cannot be contemplated without experiencing the awe produced by the premonitions of earthquakes.

The inability of labor in the past to correct the wrongs to which it has been subjected, need not be commented upon. The world knows the sad story by heart, nor is it required to be boastful, and to assert that even now it is able to overcome the forces in operation to beat it down and hold it in vassalage. This may be said, however, that there was never a time in the history of labor when it was so enlightened, so defiant, and so courageous as now, in these closing years of the century. It is organizing and every lodge is a school and an army post. These schools are educating and sending forth leaders and champions of labor. They are, with many sneers, denounced as agitators, and such they are. They are voices in the wilderness, and they are blazing a new pathway for the hosts of labor. These agitators do not underestimate the forces which oppose them, nor are they unmindful that in the ranks of labor are to be found degenerate creatures, who, while boasting of their independence, are willing to accept stripes and fetters, rather than make sacrifices for their own welfare and the advancement of their fellow-workers. In such things, there is nothing new; simply incidents that have marked all great undertakings—afflictions to be borne by those who carry forward great reforms. Labor, with stoical philosophy, bears its share of such burdens, and moves forward.

Organization is the first step in the emancipation of labor, and that is going forward satisfactorily. It is a prudent estimate to say that three millions of men and women are now marching under the banners of organized labor.

The confederation of these organizations is now, more than at any previous period, enlisting the attention of the individual organizations, and the outlook for such a consummation is cheering.

That confederation is essential to the protection of labor is one of those self-evident truths, which is weakened by introducing proof. The present demands it, but as yet the demonstrations of opposing forces have not been such as to convince all "leaders" of its supreme necessity. It was the "Sumpter gun" that aroused the North from its lethargy, and labor is destined to

listen to decrees which will sweep away objections as the wind scatters straws.

Labor is not unobservant of the fact that capitalists are constantly forming alliances to secure, as they assert, reasonable returns for their investments, and these alliances in numerous instances have been pronounced flagrantly at war with the public welfare; and laws have been enacted to put an end to some of these piratical combinations—notably, the Interstate Commerce law, and still later, the law against trusts.

Was it worth while to enact such legislation, and also to look into the character of the men against whose methods of enrichment the laws are intended to interpose barriers? Such inquiries have placed before the country hidden facts which have aroused universal alarm. It was proved that the purpose of those who controlled vast amounts of money, was to enrich themselves regardless of the rights and welfare of others; that capitalists who usually rank as the highest type of the American citizen, pillars of society and church, distinguished in finance and commerce, the aristocracy of character and those qualities of head and heart which writers and talkers delight to dignify as the hope of the country, organize alliances for the purpose of multiplying their millions by methods which the highest law-making power of the nation condemns by statutes with severe penalties attached. It is such things that have prompted labor to organize for its protection and to resist encroachments upon the dearest rights that ever aroused men to resistance.

Labor is conversant with all the facts relating to the character of the forces against which it is required to contend. It has seen press and pulpit enlisted in the ranks of its enemies. It has experienced in ten thousand ways the dominating power of wealth; and in its investigations for means of retrieval, has decided upon organization, a movement which means vastly more than the enrollment of men in the numerous orders now conspicuously before the country. It means education, study, intellectual equipment for impending struggles to maintain independence and the dignity of American citizenship.

The more advanced members of these labor organizations

believe that the *ultima thule* of organization is confederation. The power which confederation would confer is regarded as indispensable and, as discussion proceeds, obstacles will disappear. The difficulties in the way of confederation are entirely foreign to the question of the necessity of the compact, and relate chiefly to the adjustment of the laws and regulations under which the confederated body would act. In this, I refer more particularly to the organizations of railroad employees.

In taking a broader view of the labor field, it is equally evident that confederation is steadily gaining powerful advocates. I am not disposed to be fanciful; the subject does not invite impractical theories—organization is an admitted power, and confederation multiplies that power indefinitely. In organization the victories and defeats of labor, though by no means balanced, bring to the front the fact that with confederation, labor would be invincible. The dawning of the Christian era was ushered in by the shout, "Peace on earth." Peace has not come, nor can it come, while labor is robbed of its just dues. It is possible to have a peaceful revolution by the *fiat* of the ballot; it is possible to prevent war by being prepared for war; and it is possible to enthrone justice for labor by the confederation of labor organizations.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

IDEAL EDUCATION IN OUR CITIES.

BY THE REV. EDWIN O. BUXTON, PH.D.

TO the discussion of this subject I bring some years of observation as a teacher and as a pastor, and the added interest of solicitude of a father who has children committed to the care of the public schools. Beyond the circle of home are the thousands of dear children whose welfare lies near my heart and for whom I now speak.

I have no harsh words of criticism to offer concerning boards of education nor have I any charges of complaint against the able corps of teachers whose efficiency and fidelity merit the highest praise. I believe in the public school system. No better means have ever been devised for the general diffusion of intelligence. The humblest boy or girl, born in a hovel and cradled in poverty, has a fair opportunity for an education. The highest honors in the gift of a people are within reach of him who strives with honest endeavor and noble purpose. The common school levels class and social barriers, and fosters the true democratic spirit. But more, this is the forge which welds the diverse and conflicting elements of society into a homogeneous whole. We must become one organic people and not an aggregate of nations. All these separate rivulets of immigration flowing from every nation under the heavens lose their individual characteristics in the public schools by uniting in one common stream. The segregation of a race, sect, or class in the parochial and private schools prevents assimilation and destroys national unity. A still more cogent reason for the hearty support of our system of education is found in the fact that it is the only external bond which prevents the lowest stratum of society from

sinking to lower depths of iniquity and crime. The refining and elevating influence of the public school is good moral leaven which is carried into the very sinks of iniquity. Free schools are a necessity for the perpetuity of our republic.

But while endorsing the system I nevertheless advocate with persistence and emphasis a radical reform in education. New conditions of life demand readjustment of methods. Feeble efforts have been made along the lines which will be indicated here; yet for lack of public sympathy the results have been meager and discouraging. There should be at least four distinct departments of public school training. Our mode of living, the moral character of our population, and the intense struggle for existence at the present day, all unite in this demand. Educators, whatever their preconceived opinions may be, must give a respectful hearing to these demands. Sooner or later the force of circumstances will sweep away old methods of education, which are well adapted to the country, but entirely unsuited to city life. The four departments of education which should receive attention in city schools are: intellectual, physical, moral, and manual training. When the home through inability fails to supply the last three, the public schools must supplement the home work and make up the deficiency. The ideal education will present to the world a symmetrical young man or woman, with well-balanced powers of both body and mind, thoroughly equipped for the battles of life. We are not, as a rule, turning out of our public schools such young people. They are fearfully and often irremediably deformed. The reason is that one department of education has supplanted the other three and absorbed all the strength and time of the pupil. I wish briefly to discuss the merits of these branches, and show the necessity for a harmonious adjustment in school work.

I. INTELLECTUAL TRAINING.

This department certainly needs no argument to magnify its importance. It has preëmpted every hour in the schoolroom and is clamoring for the evening hours of the home. Nothing has been able thus far to satisfy its greed. Heroic treatment

must be applied to the public school curriculum ; the course of study is too heavy ; the hours of mental drill too long. The surgical operation which I recommend may cause distress to a certain class of educators, who have a high appreciation of intellectual giants and encyclopedic minds, but I am convinced that more solid intellectual attainments will be gained, and far more satisfactory results reached, with one half of the school life devoted to other legitimate departments of true education.

The child mind is not capable of intense mental application for more than a few minutes at a time. Change of study is relief but not rest. The twelve or more years of school life, of ten months each, with six hours a day of hard mental labor, give results somewhat disappointing. Health is often impaired, morals doubtful, and the hand unskilled for the work of life. More and more, thoughtful men are coming to the conclusion that a radical defect exists somewhere. We must confess that our children on graduation day are not fully equipped for the duties of life.

The leading men in all professions and business pursuits in our cities received only three months of intellectual training a year in a country district school. Yet who is there to question their ability or qualification for life's work? Carefully gathered statistics in one of our large cities give the following results: of twenty men in wholesale business, fourteen were reared in the country and eleven received all their education in the old-fashioned district school; of twenty members of the press, over half received their early education in the country; of twenty leading members of the bar, all but four were born in the country or country villages, and all but six received their early education in the common district school; of twenty leading physicians, more than half were raised on farms, and fifteen received their education in the country school. It is a well-known fact that nearly all the preachers were reared in the country. Now if three months' schooling, under grave disadvantages, turns out such men, would not the same amount of time, distributed throughout the school year, with better appliances, improved methods of study, and proficient teachers, be

all-sufficient for a successful life? If the country district school sends out such products, the city school can do better.

First, admit the study of no language save English below the high school grade, and devote the many thousands of dollars spent in the study of German to the equipment of neglected departments. Then simplify the course until daily instruction can be brought within three hours or less. We have a right to expect, in this day of general diffusion of intelligence, and of remarkable achievement in science, that the highest and noblest type of man will be given to the world. The finished product of the public schools should approach more and more the ideal standard. It is essential that ideas of education shall be so modified as to produce, so far as human appliances can, the ideal young man or woman. This ideal manhood includes a well-disciplined mind, thoroughly furnished for the work of life; a vigorous body in perfect health and strength; a high moral standard of human responsibility and destiny; a trained hand and practiced eye which would soon insure proficiency in any occupation. This is the ideal education. No longer can we afford to neglect any of these great departments of school work.

The public school must prepare the pupil to fill some worthy place in the community. If it fails in this it fails utterly. Unless steps are immediately taken along the lines indicated by this paper the patronage of considerate parents will be still farther withdrawn. Our children must have more than mere education of the head.

II. PHYSICAL CULTURE.

A radical change has taken place within the last few decades in our mode of life. The great majority of school children are now housed in cities. Vigorous exercise in the open air is almost unknown. What a contrast is the farmer's boy who rises at four o'clock in the morning and dispatches half a day's work before school hours begin! When he sits down to study, the red cheeks are tingling, the blood current flows strong, and the whole body is in perfect tone. In the evening there are at least three hours of vigorous exercise, cutting wood, feeding

stock, and "doing up the chores." After the long day of study and toil, how refreshing the sleep !

All this has changed. We see a procession of pale, slender, thin-blooded children, with little vital force, passing along the streets to the place of martyrdom. They often move listlessly and seem like old people who have lost all zest of life. With the country boy the school year lasted only three or four months ; all the rest of the time was spent in unremitting toil. His studies were few and easily mastered. Behold the fate of his city brother ! The school year has been extended to nine or ten months and the curriculum lengthened accordingly. The burden has been increased threefold and the tonic of fresh air and exercise has been taken away. Unhealthy, exciting pleasures, late and irregular hours of sleep, a diet of sweet-meats and pastries, instrumental music and other sedentary occupations at home, all are conspiring to destroy good health. The result is just what any intelligent person might predict. The pupil often leaves the public school a physical wreck. On graduation day the young lady may look the picture of health, but suddenly comes a collapse, with nervous prostration followed by years of invalidism.

The young man enters upon his chosen vocation but does not possess sufficient vital force to carry him on to success. Unable to bear the nervous strain he either breaks down or, growing discouraged, drops out of the race. The nerve centers have not been strengthened by the tonic of vigorous open-air exercise. Mental application has constantly drained the vital energy until the physical basis for a successful life is destroyed. Goaded on by the alternating incentives of hope of reward and fear of failure, the child may complete the prescribed course of study, but what is it worth for the life work which follows ? Nerve force, that indispensable prerequisite to success, is exhausted.

I have entered almost countless homes only to see pale, nervous sufferers, the victims of our irrational system of education, and I have silently prayed : "Give me a voice to utter a cry for the children."

The present treatment in home and school is a gigantic system

of murder. I do not stand alone in this declaration. Every physician whom I have consulted asserts that neurotic diseases are largely traceable to the mode of life our children are compelled to lead. The testimony is unanimous that nervous disorders are on the increase. This increase is truly alarming and it will never be checked by all the medical skill which this age can command, until we cease sinning against the physical laws of our being.

Intellectual attainment is not a paramount consideration. It seems that we must yet learn the lesson that excellence in all the higher realms of human activity is largely dependent upon the physical basis. A very broad field for investigation has recently been opened: viz., the relation of the physical nature to mental and moral attainments. We know that a strong, rich current of blood is closely related to vigorous thought, and that depletion of the former means poverty to the latter. A diseased body and moral deformity are often intimately associated. If insanity is caused by physical disturbance in the brain, why may not criminal tendencies be produced by maladjustment of the body?

Dr. John S. White, head master of the Berkeley school, has recently given wise suggestions concerning the need of physical culture. It means both better thought and better morals for the coming generation. The best accomplishment of mind and heart cannot be expected, if that most marvelous and intricate machine, the human body, is not kept in perfect order and at the highest point of efficiency.

The first requirement for a successful life is good health. If our modern civilization precludes the old-fashioned methods for developing the vital forces, artificial methods must be invented. Each school building should have a gymnasium with all the appliances for physical culture. A competent teacher must be appointed to this work who will keep a physical record of each pupil, noting carefully measurements, respiration, deficiency in development, etc. Attention should be given to carriage of head and shoulders, clothing, diet, and hours of sleep. I would have a quarterly record kept, and reports sent to parents

of progress in physical development and suggestions given for the care of those in delicate health. The object of this department of training is to bring each pupil, if possible, up to the standard of perfection in physical strength, grace of movement, and beauty of form. Let such a course of instruction be pursued throughout the school life of each child and those who come after us will be happier, stronger, and better. This may seem vulgar to those of esthetic taste but no good ever comes from neglecting or despising the body. If the physical basis of life is not guarded the very purpose of earthly existence is defeated.

III. MORAL CULTURE.

The average American home has perceptibly lowered its moral tone in the last quarter of a century. This is largely due to the influx of foreign immigration and the adoption of European ideas of morality. There is a moral obliquity seen in some children, truly alarming. Youthful criminals are on the increase. They are the offspring of generations of sinning parents. Thousands of homes are utterly incompetent to give correct ethical teaching to the children bred within their walls. These sin-cursed homes are fast multiplying. Where shall we look for the corrective? Drunken, lying, thieving parents are indifferent to the morals of their children, and they could not help them if they would. The Sunday school cannot do the work. Attendance is not compulsory : the more desperate cases are not reached. Then, one hour of sunshine and song is not sufficient to wash away a whole week of moral pollution. The state has deemed it sufficient in the past to remand moral instruction to the home and the church. We are beginning to see the mistake. The first duty of the state is self-preservation. Without morality a free republic cannot live. If the church is unable and the home unwilling to care for the morals of children, the state must perform that duty for the perpetuation of its own existence. It is folly to suppose that the state has nothing to do with morals except on infraction of law. If it has the right to punish the grown up boy or girl for crime, why has it not the more important duty of strengthening the moral

character in the more tender years against the committal of crime? It is the duty of the state to raise up safeguards to virtue, and to protect society against ravages of the evil disposed. The best way to guard the public peace and protect life and property is to watch with diligent care over the cradle and years of childhood. Prevention of crime is a far more laudable work than execution of the criminal. Restriction and cure of moral leprosy are certainly as grave responsibilities as burial of its victims.

I plead most earnestly for one hour of moral instruction in the public schools each day. It is objected that morals and religion are one and inseparable. Traced to its logical results, we do find the metaphysical basis of true morality and true religion to be one and the same. True morality is based upon three ideas: a personal God, immortality of the soul, and human responsibility to God. But practical morality can be, and is, taught every day without the slightest allusion to religion. The great fundamental principles can be developed independently of any dogmatic or theological speculation. There are moral intuitions common to all the race.

Ecclesiasticism and churchism should never be permitted to enter the schoolroom. I declare for complete separation of church and state. But there are ethical teachings to which neither Jew nor Gentile, Catholic nor Protestant can demur. Upon this common ground all can stand. None but enemies of law and order would object to the introduction of such moral training into the public schools. To the opinion of such the state can pay no respect.

In moral training the teacher is the ever present object lesson which is studied each hour. By the force of a living personality she writes on every heart the virtues of love, gentleness, patience, forbearance, and self-control. By text-book, illustration, and conversation, the children should be taught integrity of character, reverence for truth, loyalty to principle, and the spirit of self-sacrifice. The evils of profanity, intemperance, and impurity should be reiterated with forcible illustrations. Kindness to dumb animals, politeness to schoolmates, and obedi-

ence to parents should form prominent topics of conversation. As pupils become more mature the sacredness of life and property should be explained. Reasons should be given why the state punishes theft of property, and injury of the reputation or person of another. Understanding the moral reasons which lie at the foundation of all law, the pupil will have a growing reverence for law itself.

By such a course of instruction extending through all the years of school life, malign influences of the home may be counteracted, and a feeble moral nature built up into true manhood or womanhood. The child of an ill-starred destiny, thus coming in contact with a true, noble woman, who daily teaches by silent influence and word of mouth the ethical principles of right conduct, will have some chance to win in the battles of life. It may escape the prison and gibbet and bless society by a useful life, and not curse it with a mad career of crime.

The aim of true education is to develop conscience as well as intellect. The child which graduates from the public schools with a large intellect but no conscience is a monstrosity which will only curse society. The pupil should stand on graduation day thoroughly furnished with a correct moral code which is sufficient to meet every demand and trial of life.

IV. MANUAL TRAINING.

The old maxim which obtained in circles of culture was that utilitarian ideas should never enter into educational methods. We have often heard sneers about "bread and butter education." It is said that knowledge is for its own sake and must not serve the vulgar purpose of making money. All this has changed. We are demanding to-day that kind of education which will enable a child the better to get through the world. The emphasis is laid on the practical side. From present indications the struggle for existence is destined to become more intense. Riches are uncertain; fortune an accident; no station secure. Parents of wealth cannot have the assurance that their highly favored children will always live in affluence. It is wise, then, to prepare them fully for any exigency the future may

hold in store. It is a pitiable sight to see a helpless child, without native or acquired resources, thrown upon this cold, selfish world. Education should prepare a child to be a breadwinner.

The unskilled labor market is overcrowded. Tramps are men who are not able to do any one thing well. The average young man or woman graduating at eighteen is almost as ignorant as a child, of ways and means to earn an honest livelihood. The country or village boy of that age commands a man's wages because he has been practicing manual training for ten years.

There is an increasing disparity between the number of young men and young women in the high school. The reason is obvious. Young men are leaving school while in the grammar grade, because four years in school will put them at a disadvantage with the young men who have been four years at a trade. Master mechanics and prosperous business men have of late justly ridiculed that system of education which turns out young men fitted for no work whatever. Hand and eye, as well as brain and heart, must receive the proper schooling for the work of life.

The movement in favor of manual training in the public schools is not a passing sentiment. When it comes it will stay. The first manual training school was established in Boston in 1878 by Dr. John Runkel. A number of cities are now making small appropriations for this purpose. This branch of study is yet in its crude, tentative form. Nothing like a complete curriculum extending from the day of entrance to graduation has been attempted. An hour and a half each day spent in a workshop will give new zest to study and added vigor to the mind. The great lesson of the dignity of labor will there be learned. With a trained eye and a skilled hand the young graduate will soon acquire proficiency in his chosen vocation of life.

Let these several courses of study be pursued, and in the future we will point with increasing pride to the products of our school system. We shall see young men and young women not only strong in intellect, but strong in the power of physical endurance, strong in the ability to maintain the truth,

strong in the struggle for existence. On graduation day we shall discuss the rhetoric of the oration ; we shall also discuss the health, symmetry, and beauty of the body, the grace and ease of carriage ; but above all we shall admire the beauty of character, the virtues of nobility, which have unfolded with the unfolding mind, and which will shine forever and ever when the body has moldered back to dust.

EDWIN O. BUXTON.

DO REFORMATORY PRISONS INCREASE CRIME?*

BY ANDREW J. PALM.

THE well-written article of Wm. P. Andrews of Massachusetts in *The Forum* for October (91), entitled, "Increase of Crime by Reformatory Prisons," has been widely quoted, both with and without comment. Two able replies have been made to it in the same magazine in which Mr. Andrews chose to give his views to the public; but, nothing daunted, he returns to the attack in *The Forum* for April, and under the title, "Reformatory Prisons as Schools of Crime," still mourns because the good old days when blows and filth and starvation were the orthodox agencies to drive out the devils with which evil doers were supposed to be possessed have been supplanted to some extent by methods that look upon the criminal as a man gone astray, and not as a demon pursuing his natural course.

To summarize: he declares that our fathers' methods of dealing with criminals were simpler than ours and far more effectual; that a great and alarming increase of crime has set in since we forsook their wiser ways and followed after the strange gods of the philanthropist; that our prisoners voluntarily return a hundred times to enjoy the delights of our reformed methods; that furnishing lectures, concerts, books, and expensive food is going a long way from the crude methods of our fathers, who inflicted physical pain on the lawbreaker and exposed him to shame, and, hence, because they were right, we must be wrong. He objects strenuously to any system of dealing with fallen humanity that ignores "God's healing ministers of pain" in its efforts at refor-

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mation. He even begrudges the inmates of the Massachusetts state prison the little innocent pleasure they derived from a bouquet of flowers that the ladies of the Flower Mission are kind and thoughtful enough to furnish each of them on Memorial Day.

In short, if Mr. Andrews' theory be correct, the labors of Pope Clement XI., John Howard, Elizabeth Fry, Wilberforce, and others in behalf of unfortunate humanity were the work of misguided zealots; and, instead of having their names enrolled among the great and noble of earth, they should be regarded as mischievous innovators whose influence toward humanizing the treatment of convicts should be speedily counteracted in order to restore "God's healing ministers of pain" to the position they occupied during the Dark Ages.

Before reading the article under consideration, we were not aware that the demand for prison comforts has become so great in Massachusetts that it is necessary to lock the prison gates simply to keep outsiders from crowding in and not to prevent "insiders" from getting out. It might be inferred from the sentiments of the article that all the guards and turnkeys have been discharged; and that the sleek, well-fed, well-dressed convicts "voluntarily and delightedly" remain to enjoy roast turkey and cranberry sauce—their only dread the fear of being crowded out of their delightful abode by the host that is clamoring for their places. In fact, Massachusetts must have reached the ideal civilization of Socrates, when a man who does wrong runs to the judge to be punished as he does to the surgeon to be treated when wounded.

On the whole, such prisons must be desirable, for it is absolutely certain that those of our fathers did not make men better; and if our modern institutions fail to do so, as Mr. Andrews alleges, they have the advantage, at least according to his theory, of saving the labor, danger, and expense of capturing victims to fill them. Prisons are intended for those who cannot or will not live in society without violating the rights of others; and, if such will go and voluntarily surrender, it will result in an immense saving of court costs, detective fees, and even of life

itself; for with such a prison as Mr. Andrews would establish staring a man in the face, he would not hesitate to shoot on sight any one who would attempt to arrest him, in the hope that he might be hanged for murder rather than suffer a worse fate in one of the good old-fashioned prisons of our fathers, where "God's healing ministers of pain" held undisputed sway.

We find, however, that the conclusions that might be drawn from the article are not warranted by the facts. All the old-time precautions of our fathers are still taken to keep the evil doers of the Bay State within the magnificently furnished wall intended for their pleasure and safety. The last report of the Massachusetts state prison gives the names of forty-nine watchmen and four turnkeys, and if these were employed simply to keep people out, Mr. Andrews would not have forgotten to mention the fact. We must conclude that the average Massachusetts convict is not highly enough cultured to enjoy the continual feast of good things temptingly spread before him and foolishly yearns to get out and take the coarse food and limited advantages of the poor devils on the outside.

If, as Mr. Andrews declares, thousands of men in Massachusetts commit crime every year simply to get into prison, it is a sad commentary on the condition of Massachusetts society rather than any valid argument against humanely conducted prisons. Man, civilized or savage, ignorant or enlightened, noble or vicious, wants his freedom. He will fight for it, and even risk his life in the hope of gaining it when lost; and if a large percentage or even a small fraction of the criminal class have had their manhood so crushed out that they prefer the confinement of a prison to the freedom of society, it shows deeper wrongs on society's part than those of the petty offenders that fill her jails and workhouses.

Massachusetts criminals are represented as being, like Dives, clothed in fine linen and faring sumptuously every day. How well this tallies with the facts is best shown by presenting the facts. According to the last report of the commissioner of prisons, the average actual cost of food for each prisoner in the Charlestown prison for the past five years has been 12½ cents

a day, and the average cost of clothing \$14.22 a year. Among the rich and expensive food Mr. Andrews forgot to mention rye coffee. The warden in his last report says: "It has been suggested that we use pure coffee rather than the rye, as has been the custom many years," but he adds, "this would cost nearly two thousand dollars a year more than the rye."

This is less than some men have spent on a single wine supper, but to ask the great state of Massachusetts for this amount to add to the comfort of the criminals that have been the legitimate outgrowth of her social conditions would cause a howl of dissatisfaction on the part of those who are strangers to want and temptation, and who look upon the criminal as a self-created thing that ought straightway to go and annihilate itself. With stone cells eight feet long, less than five feet wide, and seven feet high, lighted by a grated door opening on a corridor; food that costs $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents a day and clothing \$14 a year,—Massachusetts society must be pretty bad, indeed, when men voluntarily leave it to seek the more delightful life of the state prison.

Mr. Andrews condemns what he is pleased to call "reformatory prisons" on the ground that they increase crime by treating the convict with more leniency than was customary in early days. Not a line can be found in either of his essays, on the philosophy of punishment or reformation. The arguments and opinions of the many honest, earnest, and able men who have spent their time in studying crime, its causes and remedies, are passed over with silent contempt and the philanthropist referred to with a sneer. He sees an effect and without investigation or reason at once fixes upon a cause. Criminals have multiplied within fifty years and, because our treatment of them is a little less barbarous than it was half a century ago, he jumps to the conclusion that one condition is the result of the other; and declares, in effect, that man's exercise of humanity over his wayward brother has been the means of increasing crime or, in other words, it spoils bad men to be treated as human beings.

The conclusions arrived at in this way are very unreliable. For example, the prisoners in Massachusetts between 1870 and 1880 increased 42 per cent; but the number of her insane in-

creased 93 per cent and the number of her idiotic 161 per cent. According to Mr. Andrews' logic the modern method of treating the insane as sick people and not as prisoners has caused an enormous increase in insanity; or, indeed, he might claim that the rapid increase of both idiocy and insanity is chargeable to reformatory prisons; for there is no doubt that the causes of crime, insanity, idiocy, and pauperism are closely allied.

The number of millionaires in the United States has increased several thousand per cent since the good old days when men and women were put to death for witchcraft, and yet, so far as I know, it has not occurred to any one to suggest that because criminals have increased and millionaires multiplied one has produced the other; and yet this would be more logical than trying to saddle the increase of crime upon reformatory prisons, for there is a well-known relationship between the mad race for wealth on the one hand and the enforced march to the almshouse and the prison on the other.

Let us grant for the present that our criminal class is increasing more rapidly than in times past. Can no reason be assigned except that men willfully and deliberately commit crime in order to enjoy the luxurious ease of a prison life? If no other cause can be discovered, then, illogical and false as this one is, it might be accepted on the ground that a very poor reason is better than no reason. If this, however, be the great crime cause, its remedy is comparatively easy and its discoverer is entitled to be held in grateful remembrance; for it has been pretty generally thought by those who have studied the subject long, carefully, and intelligently that the causes of crime are extremely difficult to remove.

Within the time mentioned by Mr. Andrews as witnessing the great increase in crime, our country has been passing through the demoralizing influence of a civil war—a school of crime that turns out its graduates with unfailing certainty. It has been observed over and over again in reports of prison inspectors, charity organizations, and prison reform associations that crime, especially in the higher grades, increased rapidly after the close of the war.

The inspectors of the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania in their report for 1885-86 say: "After the close of the late Civil War the number of prisoners increased so rapidly as practically to annul the methods of labor," and the report of the same prison authorities for 1879 shows that out of 312 convicts received during the year, 265, or 85 per cent, had served in the army or navy.

F. B. Sanborn, chairman of the State Boards of Charities, said in the report made at Omaha in 1887: "Although several of the State Boards have been expressly denied the general inspection of prisons, yet the connection of these Boards with the reform school and other establishments for the prevention of juvenile crime, and the intimate relation between crime and pauperism have led every Board to take notice more or less constantly of the startling increase of crime since the Civil War."

The Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania in the report for 1886 has the following: "During the last three months of the year the influx of prisoners was unusually large. Nine tenths of them had been more or less incapacitated and demoralized by an apprenticeship to the trade of war."

The report made by the officials of the New York City prison on Blackwell's Island, in 1866 says: "The number of prisoners has increased since the termination of the war. The aggregate number confined in 1864 was 921; in 1865, 1,670. It is believed that there will be a larger increase this year."

The commissioners of the state prison in Massachusetts in giving a history of the growth of the prison say: "The commitments increased so rapidly after the close of the war that it became necessary in 1867 to provide additional room." The eleventh report of the State Board of Charities of the same state says in speaking of the Charlestown prison: "At present it contains nearly 700 convicts, or almost twice as many as at the close of the war ten years ago, and more than twice as many as the average number for the first sixty years of the prison."

If crime has increased so frightfully in Massachusetts, it must be since the war; for in the report of the secretary of the State Board of Charities for 1865, we find the following: "The

statistics show that crime in Massachusetts is on the decline. In 1855 there were 17,457 commitments to the county prisons, and in 1864 less than 10,000. In 1858 the average number in these prisons was 1,957 and in the state prison, 459; while this year there are only 1,138 in the former and 377 in the latter."

In the light of this testimony, together with what every intelligent man knows of the character and influence of war, are we not warranted in the conclusion that the Civil War added largely to our prison population? The demoralization of a bloody war and the long train of evils that follow in its wake outlive those that actively participated in it.

The great trinity of crime causes, as shown by carefully collected statistics on both sides of the Atlantic, is idleness, intemperance, and ignorance. All investigation on the part of those whose ability to judge and facility for observation entitle their opinions to respect practically agree that these are the leading causes of crime. They may be subdivided until the number is made to reach twenty or more, as is done in the statistical tables of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, but such causes as poverty, gambling, bad associations, etc., are largely the effects of the causes named. Of course, idleness, intemperance, and ignorance are but the results of still more remote causes, but, unless reformatory prisons are responsible for some link in the chain, those who find their way to prison cells cannot charge their misfortune to the credit or discredit of these institutions.

Have these causes grown less powerful since the days of our fathers, or are they but gaining strength with age? More intoxicating liquor is sold and drunk to-day than ever before. In the city of Philadelphia there were 6,000 more arrests by the police last year than the year preceding. Superintendent of Police Lamon in his annual report says: "The increase is wholly accounted for by the arrests for intoxication and crimes directly attributed thereto. A great deal of this increase has been incurred through the licensing of a large number of wholesale liquor dealers who are in fact, retail dealers." It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Lamon that reformatory prisons and the

lack of "God's healing ministers of pain" are responsible for the increase of crime in Philadelphia.

Might it not be better for able and well-meaning men to turn their invective and influence against the curse of strong drink that leads thousands of men to prison gates, rather than against reformatory prisons—the highest monuments ever erected to man's nobler impulses and to the principles taught by the lowly Nazarene?

One kind of ignorance is decreasing and the world was never so intelligent in some respects as it is to-day. Illiterates, in the ordinary sense, are constantly decreasing in ratio to our population, but there is a kind of ignorance that is increasing year by year, I refer to the lack of mechanical, trade, or professional knowledge necessary to earn a livelihood—a knowledge which has unfortunately been almost entirely overlooked in our system of public education and the importance of which has but recently been forced upon public attention. Very few of those who find their way to prison have ever thoroughly learned any trade or business. The state prison at Philadelphia carefully collects statistics in reference to this, and the reports show that a very small number of its inmates have had any regular employment. Hon. Richard Vaux, who has served over fifty years as one of the inspectors of this prison, states the case in a few words in the last report. He says: "Of the 1,055 inmates in the penitentiary, there are not over three who know a trade," and he adds: "I believe the possession of a trade is one of the greatest preventives of crime."

It is a common saying that people are leaving the trades, but it comes nearer the truth to say that trades are leaving the people. What encouragement is offered a boy to-day to learn shoe-making, coopering, carriage-making, cabinet-making, harness-making, tanning, or any of many other trades that in our fathers' days afforded abundant means of support? The most that one could hope to do now in many pursuits that were once reliable vocations would be to earn a precarious existence as a tinker or cobbler. The sweeping changes in the industrial world have not only made a large number of trades undesirable

for apprentices, but have destroyed them for those who had mastered them, expecting to earn a livelihood in their pursuit. "Necessity knows no law" and she is constantly crowding increasing thousands closer and closer to that limit where respect for law and fear of punishment are overcome by want, suffering, and despair.

Judge Belford of Denver says: "In my experience as a lawyer I have found that 90 per cent of petty crime is the result of necessity." Chief Justice Chase once said: "The most wicked men are not in the penitentiary. Criminals are not wicked so much as weak—weak in character and intellect. The men from whom society suffers most are the cold, selfish, calculating creatures who not only keep clear of the courts, but seek the churches and deceive others as they deceive themselves and expect to deceive the Almighty."

Idleness, voluntary or enforced, in society or in prison, is a frightful source of demoralization. Busy, industrious people, as a rule, have neither time nor inclination to concoct crime or plot mischief. It is the idlers that are likely to fall into the evils of drunkenness, gambling, and other vicious practices that constantly recruit the criminal ranks.

When Frederick of Prussia was beleaguered by hostile forces he began to study the causes that placed his nation at the mercy of others. As a result he decided that work and education were what his people needed and he declared: "Every man in my kingdom shall work and every child go to school." He routed the loafers, set them at work draining the bogs and fens about Potsdam, and made a compulsory law that placed every child in school. He struck the keynote of Germany's progress.

When we consider the large number of idlers we have, and the causes that promote idleness, we do not wonder that crime increases but that it does not increase even faster. We have it on the authority of Carroll D. Wright, United States commissioner of labor, that there were in this country at the beginning of last year 500,000 young men and women ready to enter the industrial world to earn their bread, and that fully 3,000,000 still considered the problem of their future occupation

unsettled. If his statement is true, and no doubt it is a very conservative estimate, need we be surprised if every year finds a larger number forced out of the world of labor and compelled to choose between the almshouse and the prison?

It is said that at no time in the history of New York City have there been so many persons out of employment as the past year. Nearly one ninth of the whole population has been without steady work of any kind and without means to go where chances might be more favorable. Over 100,000 mechanics and 50,000 laborers have been idle not from choice, but from necessity. The officers of the Labor Union recently reported that 5,000 persons were vainly seeking work in the clothing industry alone. It is said of the longshoremen that there are fifty idle men ready to take the place of one who might be disabled by disease or accident. With this condition of things staring us in the face, is it fair, necessary, or reasonable to assume that reformatory prisons are increasing crime?

It may seem paradoxical to say that intelligence itself may become a cause of wrongdoing. An intelligent man has wants and desires to which the ignorant are strangers. He has a craving for that which is necessary to satisfy the higher wants of his intelligence; and if his means to gratify these wants have not been able to keep pace with his desire for them, he will grow dissatisfied and discouraged, and be tempted to resort to dishonest or doubtful measures to secure that which he finds it impossible to obtain by honest methods.

Whether a high intelligence is an unmixed blessing to the individual and an advantage to society depends somewhat, at least, on how far the reasonable demands of that intelligence can be gratified. The senseless clod would better forever remain a clod than be endowed with intelligence, if every desire is to be refused and every hope born only to perish in despair. The ignorant man who is satisfied with his condition is to be envied rather than the intelligent one whose life is embittered by failure to secure that which is demanded by his intelligence, and which he sees others less appreciative and less worthy enjoying.

What pleasure can it give a man to be able to read, if he never be permitted to see a printed page; and would not a cultivated taste for music and painting and a love for those fine arts prove a curse to him whose ear might never hear the one nor whose eye see the other? Society should see to it that in its efforts to increase the general intelligence it makes it possible for its members to satisfy the higher wants created by that intelligence.

Another source of our criminal population may be found in the large number of foreigners that land upon our shores. Not that the foreigner, as such, is any worse than if native born, but he is more sorely tempted. Naturally most of those who leave the land of their birth hoping to better their condition in a foreign country are poor. Thousands land at Castle Garden with barely enough money to pay for taking them out of the limits of the great city. They are strangers to our language, our customs, and our laws. Worse than all this, they soon find that there are already more of their kind here than can find profitable employment, and it is not surprising that many of them find their way to the almshouse and the prison. It is asserted, too, that criminals and the criminally inclined are often sent to us as a convenient way of escaping the responsibility for their care. This may help to account for the large number of our criminals classed as "foreign born."

Again, a part of the increase in crime as shown by the figures used for the purpose is more seeming than real and is due to a closer supervision over violators of the public peace. As towns and cities increase in size the police force is made stronger and a greater number of arrests will follow in ratio to offenses committed than before. For example, in the village a man may get drunk and be disorderly and no attention be paid to it in a legal way, while the same offense in the city with a policeman on every corner would be sure to end in arrest, with a fine or imprisonment, or both. It is a well-known fact, too, that crime increases with density of population.

In 1800 there were only six cities in the United States with a population of over 8,000 each. In 1880 there were 286 and in

1890, 446. There is also a continual increase in the gain of the city population over that of the country and villages.' In 1800 but one twenty-fifth of the population lived in cities of 8,000 or over. In 1820 one twentieth of the total population lived in such cities; in 1840, one twelfth; in 1850, one eighth; in 1860, one sixth; in 1870, one fifth; in 1880, one fifth; and in 1890, considerably over one fourth of our total had found the way into these cities.

Thousands are every year arrested in our cities and made to swell the list of our criminal statistics, who would not have been considered as committing any offense worthy of arrest in the country or village. Officers vested with authority to make arrests are inclined to be free in the exercise of it. They are anxious to make it appear that they are efficient and in their zeal sometimes do more harm than good. Many a criminal might trace his downfall to the ill-advised act of an officer. To be arrested on suspicion, forced into a cell to remain over night and then dragged before a magistrate among criminals only to be discharged for want of evidence of wrongdoing does not have a tendency to strengthen a man's self-respect or increase his admiration for the law and officers under which the outrage is committed. Some cities pay fees for arrests—a practice as vicious as that of convicting prisoners on the testimony of paid detectives whose pay depends upon whether they can swear their victims guilty.

Two men and a woman were recently arrested in Pittsburg for violating one of the old blue laws of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, regarding the observance of Sunday. One of the men had sold a piece of bacon, the other had been playing a musical instrument, and the poor woman had sold a newspaper.

Several Russian Hebrew boys were arrested on a recent Sunday in Central Park, this city, for selling lozenges. They spent the night in prison cells and were arraigned in a police court next day to answer to the serious charge that had been preferred against them. Louis Savatchman, thirteen years of age, acted as spokesman for the crowd. He said he was the oldest of seven children and because he wanted to go to school through the

week was trying to sell a few lozenges on Sunday to help keep the family. The magistrate discharged the children with a warning not to offend again the majestic law of this land of liberty and the sacredness of Sunday.

A few weeks ago a man was arrested, carried fourteen miles over the hills in a buggy, and lodged in the Mercer, Pa., jail to satisfy a fine of sixty-eight cents which had been imposed for profane swearing and which he refused to pay.

Not long since, Charlie Aman, a boy nine years of age, was arrested in Philadelphia and kept in prison from eight o'clock in the morning until nine at night with nothing to eat, because forsooth! he had been detected in the heinous offense of offering to sell a box of matches in the City of Brotherly Love, without a license. The policeman who made the arrest was severely criticised by the newspapers, and yet he was but doing his sworn duty under a foolish, mischievous law, and little Charlie's case will be footed up in the grand total and help to prove that "reformatory prisons" increase crime.

On the 28th of January last, six men were arrested and imprisoned in this city for the alleged crime of asking people to give them something. It is a common boast that poverty is not a crime, but under our laws it comes distressingly near it. Because these men were poor, they begged, and a beggar in most of our cities is a criminal.

Society has no employment to offer her unfortunate thousands by which they may earn bread honestly and creditably, but imprisons them if they beg for it; and strange to say we have men, both ignorant and intelligent, but all good, of course, because they invariably quote Scripture to clinch their argument, who think that furnishing such unfortunates stone cells with grated doors, food at 12½ cents a day, and striped clothing at \$14 a year, with no extra charge for shaving their heads, in exchange for their labor and liberty is treating them too kindly—that there is danger of making them worse by heaping such luxuries upon them.

If crime is increasing there are abundant causes to account for it without charging it to reformatory prisons. I shall now

undertake to show, however, that it is not increasing, but on the contrary is steadily on the decline. I am aware that this is new doctrine, and I hesitate to declare it; though I have figures, which, it is said, do not lie, to establish the truth of my assertion. In spite of the baleful influences of civil war; in the face of the industrial changes that are driving men from one field of labor to another; yes, even against the demoralizing influence of reformatory prisons; if we may believe the census reports, crime has been steadily decreasing since 1850—the census of that year being the first when statistics were taken of our criminal and pauper population. While it is true that the census of 1860 and every succeeding one show that our prison population has increased faster than our total population, that does not prove that the prison population has not been decreasing as compared with itself.

From 1850 to 1860 the increase of population was 36 per cent, and the increase of prisoners 183 per cent, or the percentage of increase in prison population was more than five times the percentage of gain in general population. From 1860 to 1870 the general increase was 23 per cent, and the prison gain 73 per cent—the prison gain per cent being 3 1-5 times the general gain per cent. From 1870 to 1880 the respective percentages of gains were 30 and 78—the prison gain per cent being 2 3-5 times the total increase. From 1880 to 1890, the gain in general population was 25 per cent, and the increase in number of prisoners 40 per cent; or the percentage of gain in prison population was but 1 3-5 times the percentage of gain of total population. This shows a constant decrease of gain in prison population; and the same ratio of decrease for another decade will be fatal to the assertions of those who believe that “kindness kills”; for we shall then have the first census report showing that our good people have increased in a greater ratio than our lawbreakers.

Mr. Andrews from beginning to ending ridicules and condemns modern methods of dealing with criminals, and it must be admitted that they afford a good field for both ridicule and criticism. His condemnation, however, is peculiar and mischievous for the reason that he picks out the very best features

for his assault. There is not a prison in this country or any other, nor has there ever been one that could be justly condemned because of caring too kindly for its inmates. Prison food, prison clothing, and prison care have never in a single instance been good enough to harden, degrade, and demoralize those compelled to accept them; nor can it be shown that the criminal population of any country was ever increased by wisely and humanely conducted prisons. It is true that prisons where good food, good clothing, and good care are furnished may be demoralizing; but it is not the good things that demoralize, for bad ones would be still worse; but it is the lack of proper educational influences and proper incentives to effort and right action that must be used with any kind of food and care if success is to be hoped for.

The most mischievous and misleading feature of Mr. Andrews' article is the idea conveyed that the prisons of Massachusetts are conducted in accordance with the plans laid down by prison reformers; and that the distinguishing characteristic of such institutions is permitting prisoners to have an easy, indolent life with no effort, mental or physical. Nothing is further from the truth. All philanthropists who are engaged in the work of prison reform recognize the truth and act upon it, when they are permitted to do so, that reformation can be wrought only by hard, persistent, well-directed effort on the part of him whose ideas of life need changing; and instead of writing of the jails of Massachusetts, or in fact of those of any other state, under the name of reformatory prisons, it would be coming much nearer the prison reformer's idea of the case to call them schools of vice.

The Rev. Fred H. Wines, a prison reformer and the special agent of the tenth census on the subject of prisons, says: "The unanimous opinion of experts in penology condemns the American jail system as costly, inefficient, and very corrupting in its influence. It is a wonder that they do not breed and graduate more hardened criminals than they do."

The standing committee on crimes and penalties at the Conference of Charities in 1883, said: "It is believed that every abuse named by the philanthropic Howard as found in jails one

hundred years ago may be found to exist to-day in some jails of every state in the Union.

There are fewer than a half dozen prisons in the United States that are conducted, even presumably, on the lines laid down by prison reformers; and the results of these, though hampered and hedged as they have been by parsimony, prejudice, and partisan politics, so far justify the theory on which they are supposed to be conducted, that it is not only unwise and unfair to class ordinary jails under the head of reformatory prisons, but it is a libel on the few true reformatory institutions that good men have labored long and hard to establish, and an insult to those who founded them.

It is no disparagement to other well-conducted reformatories to say that the one at Elmira, N. Y., comes nearer the reformer's idea of the prison, both theoretically and practically, than any other in the United States. Even Mr. Andrews "damns it with faint praise." It was hoped that the one recently established at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, might be conducted in accordance with the world's better thought on the subject of penology, but recent confessions on the part of the management dispel any such illusion. The authorities at Huntingdon still act on the barbarian idea that blows, and possibly curses, are a moral tonic; and they are still trying to pound better feelings and impulses into those who are intrusted to them for reformation.

The inmates at Elmira have as "good a time," perhaps, as it is possible for men to have in our present reformatory institutions, yet there has never been any of the Massachusetts difficulty of keeping men from rushing in to enjoy its comforts. Though what manhood the convict may have left is not still further crushed out by shaving his head and dressing him in the garb of a harlequin when he enters this prison, yet it is well known that hardened criminals dread Elmira, and frequently endeavor when convicted to be sent to Sing-Sing or Auburn, where they are not obliged to study and recite or to use their mental or moral faculties; but where they know they must be released when their time has expired, whether any effort has been made in way of improvement or not.

Some of the reforms advocated by those who have interested themselves in the subject are laid down by Mr. Z. R. Brockway, manager of the Elmira Reformatory :

1. Separate confinement in jail of all prisoners confined therein ; the creation of a better public sense of the true purpose of imprisonment, and the removal of prisons from all political interference.

2. The classification of all prisoners ; their education while in prison, and their complete rehabilitation when released.

3. The industrial and remedial treatment with thorough preparatory industrial and moral training.

He well says : "It is high time the farce were ended of placing criminals in durance to be worked simply for the profits of their labor, preached to, and soon released, unchanged, upon the community. There is no protection without reformation and there is no reformation without education."

Of 3,074 convicts discharged from the Elmira Reformatory within thirteen years of its existence, 130 were returned under arrest, and but 12 returned voluntarily. Hence the reformatory prisons that, as Mr. Andrews says, are "an asylum eagerly sought by thousands every year" must be of a different kind from that at Elmira, and neither it nor the great cause it represents should be made to suffer for their shortcomings.

If there is any fact clearly demonstrated by the history of the world's dealing with crime, it is that the disposition toward evil can neither be whipped, starved, nor shamed out of a bad man ; though it may be driven into a good one by abuse. Another fact that has been demonstrated over and over again is that man is not a physical coward to be frightened into good behavior by the threat of punishment ; neither is he a spaniel to lick the hand that smites him either with or without the sanction of the law. Human nature is pretty much the same at all times and in all places ; and the same methods that will strengthen a man's moral nature and build up his self-respect in a state of freedom are the identical means that must be used in the prison, if success is to be expected.

A Spanish writer says : "In the person who steals there are

two things to be observed—the thief and the man. The thief constitutes the diseased part, the man the sound part.” Our fathers in their good old way paid no attention to the man, but punished the thief until the manhood was destroyed—the thief all the time growing stronger as the manly qualities became weaker. The reasonable plan is to pay but little attention to the thief, but do all possible to strengthen the man; and when he has reached a healthful condition of body and mind, he will see to it that the thief is not permitted to trouble society.

If the fear of punishment would restrain men from evil ways, then, perhaps, we should return to the greater wisdom of our fathers, light again the flames of Smithfield, and adorn our highways with the heads of malefactors; but both reason and experience declare that crime cannot be repressed by means that imitate it and partake of its own nature.

It was predicted by the old school of penologists that abolishing the death penalty in England and Wales for housebreaking, burglary, cattle, horse, and sheep stealing would result in a large increase in these crimes, yet it was followed by an average diminution of 26 per cent between 1855 and 1879.

A committee of the ablest experts in criminology in the United States in a report made in 1883, sums up the experience of the world on the subject: “The inefficiency of criminal punishments to repress crime at present and throughout the ages is believed to be due largely to the spirit of retaliation that pervades them; at least it may be safely said that the deterrent principle, if not an entire failure, has not yet found its true place in public punishment for crime. The sanguinary penalties of all history are accompanied with numerous crimes, while offenses have diminished as penalties have softened. Neither amphitheater, stake, nor cross, nor being sewn alive with serpents in the sack and cast into the sea; indeed nothing of penalty that human ingenuity could devise has prevented crime to any appreciable extent.”

If the punitive theory advocated by Mr. Andrews be correct, crime should be rare in the Southern States where prisons are still conducted on the lines laid down by our fathers. In speak-

ing of the prisons of the South the special agent of the tenth census says: "Their condition for the most part is deplorable in the extreme." Geo. W. Cable in 1884 characterized southern prisons in the following language: "Here may be seen a group of penal institutions the worst in the country by every evidence of their own setting forth; cruel, brutalizing, deadly; chaining, flogging, shooting, drowning, killing by exhaustion and exposure; holding the criminal out to public gaze; publishing his name and describing him when he enters; repeating it every alternate year while he stays in, and again when he goes out."

Surely no fault can be found with southern prisons by those who believe in pain, fear, and retaliation as necessary elements in an institution for reforming evil doers; and, according to their theory, we might expect to find crime rare in the Southern States, but on the contrary it flourishes there as well as in Massachusetts, where convicts are cared for so tenderly as to excite the envy of outsiders. In Mississippi, where the average sentence to the penitentiary last year was $12\frac{1}{2}$ years, crime was more rampant than in Rhode Island where the term averaged less than three years and where capital punishment was abolished in 1852.

England has made great progress toward humanizing the treatment of her unfortunate classes within a few years, and the result speaks for itself. In 1869 the daily average of prisoners in England was 19,318; in 1879, 16,388, and in 1889, 12,099. In 1840 there were committed for trial in the united kingdom, 54,892, of whom 12,296 were convicted. In 1889 there were committed for trial, 16,514, of whom 12,099 were convicted. Even Massachusetts might be worse off than she is. According to the census reports, she had 2,176 prisoners to a million in 1860, and but 2,005 in 1880. I have not had an opportunity to examine the statistics for 1890.

Society is largely responsible for her prison population, and instead of cursing and abusing her evil-minded children whose training she assumes, she should treat her offspring kindly and reasonably and endeavor to stop the creative processes that develop them if she is not willing to care for them. Dr. Henry Mauds-

ley, very high authority on abnormal conditions of mind, says :
"It is certain that lunatics and criminals are as much manufactured articles as the steam engine and calico printing machines, only the processes of the organic manufactory are so complex that we are unable to follow them."

Our laws for the cure or treatment of crime are made usually by those who care but little about the subject and who know still less. Many of our prisons are managed by men who know as little of the proper methods of treating a morally diseased mind as a blind hog does of chromatics. We are making progress, however, in spite of all obstacles, and prison reformers are sure sooner or later to win the righteous battle in which they have engaged heart and soul. The time will come when every punitive institution in the civilized world, will be destroyed, and all places for the treatment of crime be hospitals, schools, workshops, and reformatories.

ANDREW J. PALM.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

Wheelbarrow. By Gen. M. M. Trumbull. 12mo. 303 pp. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co.

The author of this admirable book calls it "Wheelbarrow," because that, he says, was the implement of his handicraft when he was a strong man. He lays claim to the honor of once having been a "railroad man" by profession, holding the responsible position of helping to make the road bed with pick and shovel and wheelbarrow. But few men have had the varied experience of General Trumbull and fewer still have the ability to express themselves in so vigorous and happy a style. In addition to the good hard sense to be found in every chapter of this book, there is more genuine wit and humor in it than can be found in almost any book labeled "humorous."

The brief biography with which it opens describes in a very interesting manner the author's early experience in his English home, his first distinct recollection being that of seeing his father hurried off to Marshalsea prison for debt—the historic prison made famous as well as infamous by Charles Dickens in "Little Dorrit." He describes in vivid language his voyage across the Atlantic in the English emigrant ship *Julius Cæsar*, which carried four hundred men, women, and children, mostly Irish peasants fleeing from the famine that was then ravaging Ireland.

He declares that the loss of life from fever and famine in that ship was greater in proportion to the number present than the loss at Waterloo, Gravelotte, or the battles around Atlanta. Sixty-two died and were buried in the sea and it was estimated that a still greater number died after reaching port. He worked a few days as roustabout, after landing, and considered it a great

improvement to get a situation on a Canadian railroad as engineer of a wheelbarrow. He next tried farming long enough to be convinced that farm labor is skilled labor and gave it up on the advice of his employer, to take a country school. From the schoolroom he went back to railroading, expecting to spend his vacation running the wheelbarrow ; but teaching had made him somewhat fastidious, and he could no longer enjoy the manners and conversation of those at the shanty where he lived. He soon packed up and started for Boston on foot, where he found a position handling barrels in a pork warehouse. The next situation in which he found himself was serving as an American soldier in Mexico.

After his discharge from the army he engaged in various occupations, among them hod carrying and teaching, until he was able to pass an examination for admission to the bar, as a result of having improved his spare time in studying law. He was elected as a Republican member of the Illinois legislature in 1857 and spent his time between the law and the legislature until the breaking out of the Civil War, when he enlisted, going out as captain and coming back at the close of the war as brigadier general. He was made collector of internal revenue and served during the whole of Grant's administration. His life affords a good illustration of the power of pluck and ability to surmount obstacles that seem to block the way to success.

The book contains about fifty essays on subjects of social and political interest. Among them are : The Laokoön of Labor, Competition in Trades, Convict Labor, Honest and Dishonest Wages, Monetary Problems, The Poets of Liberty and Labor, Henry George and Land Taxation, Economic Conferences, Making Bread Dear, Making Bread Cheap, and The Single Tax Question.

They are all admirably written and are well worthy a careful reading by all who are interested in these important topics. Here is a specimen of his "chunks of sense" :

"I desire to see the monetary policy of the country on a solid and scientific foundation. To me it is not a question of party expediency : it is a question of bread. I don't know how to build a house, but I can

tell a good job of work when I see it. If I see a crack in the wall, I suspect a bad foundation, and I know that a botch has had something to do with it. When I find the secretary of the treasury paying off the 3 per cent bonds, and further discover that the United States of America has bound itself by a solemn treaty with the United States of Wall Street not to pay its 4 per cents until the year 1907, I know that the job was a botch, and that the Congress that did the work was a lot of 'plugs' or they were knaves making bad laws for their own profit."

Most of his positions are so well taken, so ably argued and aptly illustrated that the reader will be ready to accept them without question. His views on the money question are not in accord either with the newer school of political economists with whom Ingalls agrees when he says, "Money is a creature of law," nor with the old school that believes either in the single gold standard or a restricted coinage of silver.

A pleasant feature of the book is the broad spirit of humanity that pervades every chapter and shows its author to be a liberal-minded, large-hearted man, who loves his fellow-creatures.

Nurses and Nursing. By Lisbeth D. Price. 12mo. 321 pages. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent.

The physician and the professional nurse form a sort of limited partnership so far as their duties are concerned, the physician usually getting the lion's share of the pay, while to the nurse usually falls the burden of labor, and oftentimes the greater credit for success in dealing with physical afflictions; Miss Price, however, does not intimate anything of this kind in her book. On the contrary, if fault may be found with her on this point it is that she makes the nurse too much of a mere machine to carry out the orders of the physician, who is always presumed to know what is best to be done. She places loyalty to the physician as the highest virtue on the part of the nurse. This is, no doubt, a very essential qualification, and yet it occurs to us that Miss Price follows the rule too servilely.

Physicians sometimes seem to have a higher consideration for what they are pleased to call professional ethics than they have for the safety and comfort of suffering humanity. The author of this book has perhaps imbibed some of this professional courtesy for she declares that under no conceivable circumstances should

the nurse give her patients internal treatment. She says: "A drop of oil of cloves put into an aching tooth or a drachm of peppermint water for indigestion or anything however harmless in itself, if given unordered by the doctor, is disloyalty to him and a criminal offense against the nurse's profession."

We can conceive of cases in which the blind observance of this rule would stultify the nurse, provoke the sensible physician, and be malpractice toward the patient. If the doctor should leave, forgetting to say that the patient might have a drink of pure water when thirsty, this extreme loyalty would insist on allowing the parched lips to await the coming of the doctor for authority to give this internal treatment. Sensible courtesy and sensible loyalty are all right, but there is a kind that approaches in sublime foolishness that of the dude who stood on the bank of the river strenuously refusing to help a lady who had fallen into the water, on the ground that he had never been introduced to her.

The book opens with a brief introduction by E. E. Montgomery, late professor of obstetrics in the Medico-Chirurgical College of Philadelphia, who says that the duty of nursing is no longer left to the ignorant and those incapable of doing anything else, but those who now follow it as a vocation come from the best ranks of the community. To their credit he says: "In the department of surgery, and particularly that of peritoneal surgery the operator prefers to leave the after treatment of his cases in the hands of a nurse thoroughly educated in his methods of practice, than to place the patient in the hands of the family physician."

The purpose of the author seems to have been to write a book which her own experience as head nurse indicated would be welcomed by professional nurses, and at the same time not be beyond the comprehension of the thousands of intelligent mothers, sisters, and daughters who are obliged to do duty as nurses in the home circle. Instructions are given to cover every phase of the nurse's experience from cleaning the finger nails of a patient to nursing diphtheria or caring for the newborn baby.

The chapter on Food for Invalids and Children contains a

great deal of useful information even for those who may never be called upon to act in the capacity of nurse. The book as a whole is well written and finely printed and owing to the importance of the subjects it so ably discusses it should have a wide circulation.

The Prison Question. By Charles H. Reeve. 8vo. 194 pages. Published by the author, Plymouth, Ind.

Mr. Reeve is a clear thinker and a sound reasoner and is well known as an able writer on prison reform and kindred subjects, having taken part in several meetings of the National Prison Congress. He is not a sentimentalist, influenced by any false sympathy for the wrongdoer, but looks at the subject he is considering in a sensible, businesslike way; and while he makes all due allowance for the weakness and wickedness of the criminal and other defective classes, he never forgets that protection to society is the paramount question to be solved.

He does not share in the opinion held by many penologists, that a large portion of our prison population is susceptible to a genuine reform even under the most favorable conditions that we have been able as yet to obtain. He says that some can be reformed, many partially reformed, and perhaps a majority materially benefited. Like temporary relief from pain by use of an opiate, even the worst may be so improved as to give a temporary lull to the evil impulses inherent in them, or until stimulated into action by the social forces that must environ them.

He, in common with all whose opinions on the subject are worthy of consideration, holds that the convict should be regarded as a patient with a constitutional disease, and the first efforts toward reform must be to enlarge his understanding and give him right views of society and its relations to government. He has no faith in the fear of punishment as a menace to evil doers, and argues very conclusively that instead of having any tendency toward reforming, punishment closes the door against reformation. He well says: "The subject of prisons in the thought of the legislative mind has been on the same plane with the idea of punishment by the state by means of

fixed penalties: confined at hard labor for the period of — years; there to have the head shaved, a zebra suit of coarse clothes, a narrow cell with hard bed, silence, and mere animal existence with hard labor.”

One of the serious hindrances to reformation, as seen by Mr. Reeve, is the unfavorable environment in which most convicts are likely to find themselves when released from the prison. He says:

“Can you find an industrial keyboard with fixed tones, and a metronome to beat time, and written notes that will respond to human effort, and bring forth food and raiment? Yet, without this there is no practical and permanent reform. Reform does not consist simply in persuading a convict to be moral, but in showing him how to be also practical. A moral man must live. Want, starvation, the sense of an unequal struggle among his fellows with a sense of injustice, would soon bring demoralization, and he would cease to be a moral man.”

He condemns as false economy and false philanthropy the legislation that appropriates twelve hundred dollars and in some cases as high as four thousand dollars a room to build a hospital for a thousand insane people, and furnishes money without limit to care for the patients when no systematic labor can be done by the inmates, and pinches down to the lowest cent in providing for a thousand convicts, who are all to labor and be treated for insanity more dangerous and needing greater care and skill. He maintains that a moral obliquity exists in one case as well as in the other, and that the crime class occupies a relation far more important to the state than do the insane.

The book contends that reformers have been dealing too much with results and too little with causes and the author is particularly forcible and eloquent in describing the sources that supply the larger part of our criminal, insane, and otherwise defective population and the proper methods of dealing with them. In his own language:

“It is absurd to tax people to build and maintain prisons and reformatories, and then enact laws that permit of the certain procreation of more people that will keep them full. Yet that is exactly what the legislation now in force accomplishes. In the first place, no restraint or limitations are provided in relation to marriage among those who are totally unfit for that relation. Both church and state take part in uniting people in marriage without inquiry, and the officials in both know that the issue in many cases must be of a vicious character,

either pauper or criminal or incurably diseased. The results are a constant procession of criminals and sinners starting at the cradles and moving into the public institutions, leaving more or less evil influence along the way. The resources of the state are heavily taxed to support, and in fruitless efforts to reform, what it has aided to deform, and the church is calling for aid on all hands to support it while it seeks to make Christians out of those it has aided in making sinners."

This book is interesting and profitable reading and we heartily commend it especially to ministers, lawyers, legislators, physicians, and those interested in prison and charity work.

All He Knew. By John Habberton. 12mo. 197 pp. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent.

This is a story—a mixture of about equal parts of love, depravity, and religion. It opens by describing a convict who had served his time and was on his way back to his depraved wife and children. While in the penitentiary he was rather miraculously converted and, after his return, he persisted in living an honest life. Though ignorant, and weak-minded besides, he wielded so great an influence by refusing to follow his former profession of stealing that nearly the whole village was converted, including some that had been converted before.

There are many good things in the book illustrating the different ideas of religious duty, but there is some doubt as to whether its effect on the whole will help the cause it assumes to aid. It may perhaps be well enough in dealing with the ignorant and depraved to use their style of speech, but, unfortunately, it is not the ignorant who are likely to read this book, and the effect of some of the expressions will shock rather than elevate the religious mind. It is said to be but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous and the author in many places, it seems to us, has taken this step and made a bad combination.

The story well illustrates the difficulties that surround the man who attempts to live an honest life when surrounded by ignorant and vicious relatives and companions.

Economic and Industrial Delusions. By Arthur B. Farquhar. 8vo. 424 pages. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The writer of this book presents the anomaly of a manufac-

turer—the largest perhaps in the United States, of agricultural implements—arguing against a protective tariff. He was led in the opposite direction for the greater part of his life and never cast a vote for a Democratic presidential candidate until 1888. He accounts for his change of base by quoting the words of Gladstone when accused of changing front on the Irish question: "I am older and wiser."

He objects to having Protection called the American system of Protection, for he says it is but an imitation of that which Spain has long been practicing—the natural resource of half-civilized countries—and the same system followed by Great Britain until she learned better. He has come to the conclusion after reading the *New York Tribune* a lifetime, and having sandwiched it with Carey, Greeley, Thompson, and Denslow that the Protectionists' side of the case is made up of five parts, as follows: "Conclusions insufficiently supported—and overthrown by sufficient data, empty pretenses often degenerating into plain lying, quibbles and juggles, appeals to shortsightedness, appeals to blind sentiment."

He thinks the frenzy of Protectionists against England should be mitigated by the remembrance that they owe to her the Protective system—called the American system to flatter simpletons—that while they refuse to wear England's new uniform they delight in strutting around in her cast-off rags.

War and the war spirit are condemned in vigorous terms, and Mr. Farquhar declares that Protectionism is as closely identified with the war spirit as Christianity is with the spirit of peace and good will.

The question as to whether the nation should increase the profits of special industries by taxation does not depend for its answer, in Mr. Farquhar's opinion, upon anything that statistical tables can show. One answer means paternalism, prescription—the other liberty. He says:

"Even if my researches had brought out only those apparent proofs of greater material prosperity under Protection, my decision would still be unshaken: for along with the sleek pelt and air of good feeding, I should have discovered, like the fabled wolf, the mark of a master's collar, and hence should have voted those blessings too dearly bought.

I am happy to be able to show, however, that the alternative is of no such character—that a thorough study of the figures and facts clearly proves the right policy to be the best even for our material well-being. Liberty deserves some sacrifice to obtain it and all the better if we can attain it without sacrifice."

It has often been charged and almost as frequently denied that American manufacturers send goods to other countries and sell them cheaper than they do in the home market. Mr. Farquhar settles this question, so far as he is individually concerned, by frankly admitting that he sells about half of his machinery in Mexico, South America, and Africa, and from five to ten per cent lower than in the United States. He says that he cannot get as good prices abroad as at home for the reason that he is there obliged to compete with other countries that have all the advantages of free raw material in manufacturing and better shipping facilities. He declares that any manufacturer who is able to export goods can have no use for Protection except to enable him to extort more money from home purchasers than he is able to get from those abroad.

Among the claims of the Protectionist, which Mr. Farquhar attacks both front and rear, are that a high tariff causes high wages; that the duty is paid by the foreigner; that Free Trade would injure us with cheap goods; that Protection gives employment to labor; that Free Trade would cause an unfavorable balance of trade; that the tariff causes a necessary diversity of industries; that it is the source of our industrial progress; that Free Trade would equalize wages in different countries. His discussion of these topics is ingenious and able, and to those inclined to tariff reform would be convincing. He is of the opinion that a direct tax for the expenses of the government would be the fairest and least expensive way of raising the revenues for governmental expenses, but owing to constitutional difficulties which would have to be removed in order to adopt this plan, he concludes that for years to come revenues must be raised by a tariff. He declares a protective tariff, however, as entirely unsuited to this purpose, since perfect Protection would keep out all goods and hence bring no revenue.

He declares in favor of the single gold standard, believing that

complete bimetallism is as inaccessible as one of the monsters of mythology. He thinks if the government can coin eighty cents' worth of silver and call it a dollar the stamp must be worth twenty cents, and if worth twenty cents it might be made worth ninety-nine cents and, therefore, it is of no use to take an expensive metal with which to create a little wealth when by using paper five times as much might be created in the same operation. Hence he approves free coinage of silver.

In this argument he seems to convey the idea that money in itself is wealth—a position that he himself disproves in a former chapter when he says :

"In the good old days, some centuries past, when it was thought that gold was wealth and wealth was gold, and when the nations used to puzzle their brains over ways and means of getting and keeping the precious metals within their territory, Spain prohibited its exportation by severe penalties, and this substituting the measure of wealth for wealth itself—the shadow for the substance is undoubtedly one of the reasons why that country, mistress of half the world in the sixteenth century, with command of all the richest mines, steadily fell off until she ranked among the poorest nations of Europe."

He argues that gold is never to be had when inferior money will go just as far whether the substitute be dubious paper or overvalued metal. This may suggest the query in some minds: Why should a man break his neck to get gold when something easier procured will go just as far?

The book is well written and touches upon nearly every phase of the tariff question. The prominence of the author in the manufacturing world will lend additional interest to his views and his book will be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject of tariff reform.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

AUGUST, 1892.

THE GRANGE IN POLITICS.

BY HON. MORTIMER WHITEHEAD.

THIS year, 1892, the Grange celebrates its twenty-sixth birthday. After an existence of more than a quarter of a century ; with its achievements in the interests of agriculture known of all men ; with its members governors of states, in Congress, in Legislature, filling high positions of trust all up and down the land ; with its more than twenty-seven thousand charters issued to organizations formed in every state and territory, and its great membership of the very best farmers, their wives and children, holding hundreds of thousands of meetings every year ; with every plank in its platform thoroughly tried and proven,—it can no longer be said that it is an experiment, or an untried theory. It has been weighed in the balance and never yet found wanting when its principles have been properly applied. It is a bright and living fact, one of the permanent institutions of our country, as permanent as are our churches or our schools.

That the Grange is now a fixed fact and that it is exerting a great influence on many lines of our national life is now quite generally admitted. That it is making itself felt in politics, in parties, and in legislation, must also be granted by all fair-minded persons.

How far it goes in politics ; how it affects individuals, and through them its bearing upon parties ; and some of its practical results in these matters will be briefly considered.

Political parties have their "platforms," churches have their "creeds," our forefathers had their "Declaration of Independence"; so the farmers have their Grange platform, their creed, their "Declaration of Purposes." It is the foundation, the starting point of this organization. It contains not the words of an individual alone, but it is the official language of the Order itself. Adopted in 1873, it has ever been the chart by which the oftentimes stormy career of the Grange has been guided. It has its political planks, and when sometimes years ago, the good ship seemed about to be wrecked upon the rocks of partisan politics, or lost amid the shoals and quicksands of personal political ambition, firm hands at the helm guided where the needle pointed, and all was well. I would commend the Grange platform, its "Declaration of Purposes," to all careful readers and thinkers, and would ask them, are not its contents words of truth and soberness? If these principles are put into practice, will any injury result to individuals or to our country? But rather will they not advance the welfare of the family, the neighborhood, the state, and the nation? But at this time we are to deal only with the political purposes of the Grange. And here they are:

"We emphatically and sincerely assert the oft-repeated truth taught in our organic law, that the Grange—national, state, or subordinate—is not a political or party organization. No Grange, if true to its obligations, can discuss partisan or sectarian questions, nor call political conventions, nor nominate candidates, nor even discuss their merits in its meetings.

"Yet the principles we teach underlie all true politics, all true statesmanship, and, if properly carried out, will tend to purify the whole political atmosphere of our country,—for we seek the greatest good to the greatest number.

"We must always bear in mind that no one, by becoming a Patron of Husbandry, gives up that inalienable right and duty which belongs to every American citizen, to take a proper interest in the politics of his country.

"On the contrary, it is right for every member to do all in his power legitimately to influence for good the action of any political party to which he belongs. It is his duty to do all he can to put down bribery, corruption, and trickery; to see that none but competent, faithful, and honest men, who will unflinchingly stand by our interests, are nominated for all positions of trust; and to have carried out the princi-

ple which should always characterize every Patron, that the office should seek the man and not the man the office.

"We acknowledge the broad principle that difference of opinion is no crime, and hold that 'progress toward truth is made by differences of opinion,' while 'the fault lies in the bitterness of controversy.'

"We desire proper equality, equity, and fairness; protection for the weak; restraint upon the strong; in short, justly distributed burdens and justly distributed power. These are American ideas, the very essence of American independence, and to advocate the contrary is unworthy of the sons and daughters of an American republic.

"We cherish the belief that sectionalism is, and of right should be, dead and buried with the past. Our work is for the present and the future. In an agricultural brotherhood and its purposes we shall recognize no North, no South, no East, no West.

"It is reserved by every Patron, as the right of a freeman, to affiliate with any party that will best carry out his principles.

"Imploring the continued assistance of our Divine Master to guide us in our work, we pledge ourselves to faithful and harmonious labor for all future time, to return by our united efforts to the wisdom, justice, fraternity, and political purity of our forefathers."

It will thus be seen that the Grange is outspoken as to its position in politics. It does not claim to do one thing and then go about doing another. Its teachings are full of pure politics, but it is *partisan* NEVER. It cannot be used as a cat's paw to draw political chestnuts out of the fire either for parties or for individuals. Good men in all parties have nothing to fear from Grange politics; bad men in all parties dread it as does the criminal who "feels the halter draw." The Grange is not a good place for one who loves his party more than his country; or for one who makes the organization or his party secondary to his own personal ambition. It cannot be used by such as a stepping-stone to political preferment.

In politics, in all its lines of work, *education* is the chief corner stone of Grange progress. "Knowledge is power," and "Education sets free." A knowledge of politics gives the citizen power "to influence for good the action of any political party to which he may belong"; while education sets him free from his political guardians, from the "machine," and from the party lash that has too long rounded up the farmers and, "like dumb driven cattle," brought them to the polls to be "voted."

Webster says, "Politics is the science of government." What kind of a government have we? A republic. What is a republic? Every schoolboy knows that a republic is a government where the people govern themselves—"of the people, for the people, by the people."

How can a people govern themselves if they know but little of politics—the science of government? They cannot do it, and hence they are misled, misguided, misgoverned, by a lot of tricky, trade politicians, in *all* parties. Our forefathers very wisely established the free school at the same time that they established the free ballot. A ballot in the hands of an uneducated voter is as dangerous as a gun in the hands of a child that does not know how to use it—likely to do himself and others personal injury. The Grange supplements the public school and teaches true politics, the science of government; educates the farmer as a citizen.

Political economy is taught, and political economy embraces every subject which has a tendency to promote the wealth and happiness of a nation. The following are the instructions given the Lecturer of the National Grange in the preparation of official circulars, leaflets, and tracts for distribution to the Grange and agricultural papers, and for discussion at Grange meetings.

"*Resolved*, That the worthy Lecturer of the National Grange be instructed to continue the distribution of subjects for discussion to subordinate Granges, and that questions of political economy be given prominence, such as gold, silver, greenbacks, national banks, corporations, interstate and transcontinental transportation, and the tariff as it relates to agriculture."

These questions have been and are being discussed, and an intelligent public opinion has been and is being created on all these and other important issues. Grange agitation, more than all other causes combined, secured the passage of the interstate commerce law, the Hatch experimental station law, the bill creating the department of agriculture, with its head a member of the president's cabinet. It advocates pure food, the Australian ballot law, a graduated income tax, election of United States senators by direct vote of the people, anti-trust and anti-option

laws, free delivery of rural mails, and all laws which will protect our people "in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

As other features of political economy the Grange is educating the farmer about taxes—equal and unequal, direct and indirect; about finance, scarce money and dear money, or plenty of money and cheap money; about the money furnished one class of citizens by the government for one per cent, and for which the people must pay six, eight, or ten per cent; about the demonetization of silver for the few, and the free coinage of silver for the many; about tariffs for manufacturers, and free raw materials also for manufacturers,—and farmers left out on both counts; about rates of interest for money, higher than the average earnings of capital invested in productive industries, which give capital an unfair advantage over labor; that English two per cent capital coming over here is absorbing millions of acres of our land under foreclosure because of our high rate of interest; this same cheap foreign capital buying up and running our railroads, our mines, and our factories: the *profits* all going across the Atlantic.

Having learned these lessons in the Grange, the farmer as a citizen, knowing his rights, and knowing dares maintain, "affiliates with any party that will best carry out his principles," and thus "influences for good the action of any political party to which he belongs."

The Grange educates the farmer as a *citizen* but never as a *partisan*. It is not striving to make any member a Republican, any more than to make any one a Democrat or a member of any other party. But it does make better Republicans, better Democrats, and better members of *all* parties. It is like the evangelists or the "salvation army," who preach Christ to the lowly, leaving their converts free to become members of such sectarian church as they please.

The discussions of the Grange have a tendency to bring farmers as citizens *together*. It teaches that "difference of opinion is no crime," and it is by differences of opinion that we arrive at the truth, while the fault lies in the "bitterness of

controversy." Partisan politics divide the people, and create and perpetuate strife by "bitterness of controversy."

The members of the Grange have been learning that wheat, corn, pork, beef, tobacco, rice, or cotton raised on a Democratic farm are controlled by the same laws as are products of a Republican farm; that what will injure one farmer will injure another; that the benefit of one is the benefit of his neighbor; that politicians have divided the farmers' birthright of strength by "pairing" them off one against the other in different political parties, so that their votes don't count except for the benefit of others; that parties are all right in their places, but that the people should run the parties and not the parties the people; "machine" rule is being broken and "bosses" are being taught that the creature must be subject to the creator, that the stream cannot rise higher than its source.

It naturally follows then that the American farmer is learning "to take a proper interest in the politics of his country"; that his country is what he helps to make it; that most of the evils of unequal laws, unjust taxation, and the burdens of trusts and monopolies have come through *legislation*, and that it is only by *legislation* that relief can come. He is doing "all in his power legitimately to influence for good the action of the political party to which he belongs," doing "all he can to put down bribery, corruption, and trickery"; seeing to it "that none but competent, faithful, and honest men, who will unflinchingly stand by our interests, are nominated for all positions of trust."

And more, he is leaving *independent political* action as a last resort; to carry out these reforms *inside* his party if he can, *outside* if he *must*. And it is by this *independent* thought and action, that politicians and parties are being taught many lessons for good in these days. Let no one political party vaunt itself that it now has control of the farmers of this country. The term "independent farmer" means more now than it ever did when spoken by those who would flatter him first and use him afterwards. The voters are greater than any political party. So long as men serve their party in preference to their own sense of right and justice, so long must we suffer from unjust legislation.

A few years ago the writer attended the regular three days' annual summer outing of the members of the Grange of Delaware at the seashore. Among those who spoke to the assembled farmers was their venerable and honored Chief Justice Comegys, and his careful, earnest words will long be remembered. He said that as a citizen of Delaware, years ago he had seen and felt the need of some sort of an organization, outside of partisan lines, where the people of the state could come together and talk on the many interests that as citizens they had in common, and upon which partisans had kept them apart. "So firmly was I impressed with the necessity of some such organization that I put pen to paper, and drew up a form of simple rules to govern an organization which I called citizens' clubs. When I had gotten along about that far, I heard of the organization of farmers' Granges in the state, and I thought they might fill the place of my clubs. I watched their growth; I have helped you to organize, I have noted your united efforts outside of partisan politics in trying to secure the repeal of bad laws and the passage of good laws in the interests of agriculture, and I have helped you in getting some of this legislation. I have found the Grange to far exceed my hopes and expectations in this direction. Fail not to cherish it, keep it on its present safe lines; realize its value to yourselves and all our citizens. There are great questions yet to be met and settled in our country, and as they are met and settled by the farmers, so will they be settled for the good of the country. You have a duty here; fail not in its performance."

Innumerable instances could be given to prove the practical application of Grange politics for the best interests of all the people. A few must suffice at this time.

Example No. 1:—In its study and discussion of the tariff question it found that while the Constitution of the United States declares that all citizens should be "equal before the law," that in finance laws, tax laws, and tariff laws, farmers were very unequal before the law; that under the tariff of 1883, which was in effect until 1890, while the average duty of all interests combined was about 47 per cent, the manufactur-

ing interests alone were protected to the amount of 55 per cent, leaving the average on agricultural products at only 20 per cent. The famous "Mills bill" made it still worse and commenced by placing 33 articles grown upon American farms on the "free list." So the Grange opposed the inequality, and is doing the same to-day with the "free wool" bill. "Tariff for all or tariff for none." If free wool, *then* free cloth. This is a plain proposition, and on it the Grange secured for farmers in the McKinley bill a larger measure of "protection" than they ever had before, and in the event of another party coming into power, they will see to it that the "reform" does not all come off of the products of agriculture.

Example No. 2:—There are two congressional districts in Pennsylvania, each composed of three counties, each well supplied with Granges that had been meeting for years. One district had a normal Democratic majority of about 4,500; the other a Republican majority of about 2,700. At the regular convention for nominating a candidate for Congress in the first district they could not agree upon a candidate. It was left to the "conferees." They selected a millionaire candidate from the city with no other qualification to represent that agricultural district than his money. In the second district, exactly the same thing happened, money was the "influence" that secured the nomination, and under the old dispensation the farmer voters of both districts would have walked up to the polls and deposited their ballots like wooden men, and the regular candidate would have gone to Congress. But the Grange school of politics had been in session for years, the leaven was at work. The minority party in both districts had put up better *representative* men, and when the ballots were counted it was found that the Democratic district had elected the Republican candidate, and that the Republican district had elected the Democratic candidate. The vote on *party* questions was not changed in Congress. A *good* Democrat and a *good* Republican were elected instead of a *bad* Democrat and a *bad* Republican. Both parties will be more careful as to whom they put up next time, and so both parties were made better.

Example No. 3:—A county in West Virginia, always strongly Democratic, and where “a nomination equal to an election” had so long been the rule, that the “machine” put up for county offices just whom they pleased and then the people went through the motion of voting. The Grange came and education was doing its good work. One year the “machine” put up, as my informant said, “a rough lot, most of them regular whisky bloats. We had a strong temperance sentiment among us but these men were nominated in spite of our protests. We went to our Republican friends and told them if they would put up men at all acceptable to us that we would support them. They took the hint and the ‘machine’ was smashed.” Better men will be put up by the dominant party in *that* county hereafter.

Example No. 4:—Farmers in the Grange and out of it in Pennsylvania had for a number of years been exercising their rights as citizens in trying through both parties to get more equal tax laws. At last a Legislature, House and Senate, was elected pledged to give them what was so justly their due. The law failed because of the vote of one senator. The very next year, that senator was nominated, in spite of the efforts of Republican farmers, by the Republican state convention for governor. He had upwards of 60,000 normal Republican majority on his side to start with, but he lost all this and 16,000 votes on top of it and Democratic Governor Pattison presides as the Executive of the Commonwealth. The next year, the Democratic party, in spite of the protests in the Democratic state convention by Democratic farmers, nominated for the highest place on the state ticket that year, Mr. Wright, who as the attorney of corporations had worked in that same legislature as did that senator to defeat that equitable tax bill. *He* was defeated by over 45,000 majority. *That is a practical illustration of the Grange in politics*, and who can doubt *that both parties are now the better for their lesson.* The people *must* and *will* rule in a republic.

Multiply the above illustrations by the thousand and we can realize to some extent the power for good of the Grange in politics. It will be noticed more and more as the years go by in local, county, state, and national elections, and it will be for

the greatest good of the greatest number, even for the healing of the nation.

Partisan speakers, partisan papers, partisan "ways that are dark and tricks that are vain" do not control the average farmer as they once did. He is now an intelligent, thinking, active citizen, better men are being nominated, and better men are being elected in *all* parties, and *all* parties and the country are the better for it. The Good Book says, "When the righteous rule the nation rejoices," and it also says, "When the wicked govern the people mourn."

The Grange in politics is being felt for good because of another reason. It admits to full membership and privileges the women of the farm, the wife, mother, daughter, and sister. It has broadened the field of usefulness of woman, and has prepared her for her place in the true republic, the full equal of man as a citizen. As are the mothers so will the sons be also, and the end is not yet. Let one of these matrons of the Grange speak on this point :

"By and by, when our politicians are at their wits' end to harmonize the interests of capital and labor; when our social science reformers, our philosophers and philanthropists, who look with dismay upon the increased defiance of law, uncertain where to look for remedy; when our prisons and reform schools are uncomfortably filled, when the leaven of the Grange will permeate the loaf of society, and the uncrowned queens of home, our matrons, who are faithful to their trust will reap the reward of their labors,—brothers and sisters will alike rejoice that the permanency of our institutions is assured, and a grateful people will reverently exclaim: 'Behold what the Grange hath done!' What has now been accomplished compared with its grand possibilities, is as the first flush of midnight to the sun's meridian glory. The fulfillment of this promise rests with the sisters not less than with the brothers of the Grange."

Holding the position that it now does after twenty-six years of existence, composed of a people always loyal, law-abiding, church-going, temperate,—has the good citizen of any other class anything to fear from Grange politics? Rather should he not join with others who have learned to do so, in upholding this great organization in its efforts to advance the best interests of the republic, uniting with us in the ends before quoted in

“Imploring the continued assistance of our Divine Master to guide us in our work, we pledge ourselves to faithful and harmonious labor for all future time to return by our united efforts to the wisdom, justice, fraternity, and political purity of our forefathers” †

MORTIMER WHITEHEAD.

WOMAN'S PART IN THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

BY MRS. POTTER PALMER, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF LADY
MANAGERS OF THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

BY concurrent action of Congress and the World's Columbian Commission, the Board of Lady Managers was created and authorized to assume entire control of woman's interests at the World's Fair in 1893. This Board was not created on account of a feeling that the Commission would be unable to perform the duties assigned to the Lady Managers. The idea of its necessity, no doubt, originated from a knowledge of the universally helpless condition of women in the industrial world ; and a feeling that they and their work might not receive just and proper consideration in the preparations for this great enterprise, without a Board specially interested in woman's welfare to look after her interests.

Legislation and capital are almost exclusively in the hands of men ; and they too have the business sagacity that comes only from training and experience ; hence it seems eminently fitting that women should have some special friends of their own sex, empowered to represent and protect their interests at a time when the whole world is to come into industrial competition.

Until recently it has been universally held to be unwomanly for one of our sex to engage in any work outside of the domain of the home ; and for this reason woman was not a competitor with man in many departments of work for which she has recently proved herself better adapted than her brother ; though the unjust idea still prevails that a woman is not entitled to a man's wages for doing a man's work.

The great change wrought in public sentiment during the past generation has opened the doors of a few training schools, and even some universities to women ; and some of the students

of these institutions have forced their way to the front ranks in business and professional life, their masculine neighbors giving way unwillingly to unwelcome competitors.

Though an enlightened public sentiment has opened many new lines of work to women, yet prejudice, political influence, and many other factors still so discriminate in man's favor that this fact seems to have awakened a sentiment of justice in the minds of Congressmen; and inspired them to authorize the formation of the Board of Lady Managers, in order to give a voice to those who would otherwise be officially and, perhaps, practically unrepresented. This act, which deserves the heartfelt commendation of all women, resulted in the organization of the first body of women legally appointed by any government to act in a national capacity.

The authority given the Board by Congress to appoint jurors to pass upon the work of women is evidence that women, though not given political privileges, shall not suffer unjust discrimination; but be assured fair and impartial treatment at the Columbian Exposition.

The first work of the Board after its organization, November, 1890, was to provide for the appointment of women on the various state Boards; and to get a share in the appropriations made by the respective states and territories for the Exposition. Without the assistance of both these aids, the work of the Board would have been vastly more difficult and far less efficient.

An amended petition was sent out asking the legislatures of the different states to give women a representation on their respective Boards, and also to allow them a share of the appropriation to carry on their work. Through persistent effort on the part of the Board of Lady Managers, this petition has been pretty generally granted. In several states the members of the legislatures had their attention first called to the subject of the World's Fair and the necessity for an appropriation, by the members of our Board.

Having had the necessary power conferred by the proper authorities, the Board decided to celebrate woman's first important participation in a national enterprise, by collecting

a display of women's work, sufficient to make an effective object lesson, showing the progress made by them in every country of the world, during the time since educational and other privileges have been granted them. It will demonstrate also the increased usefulness that has resulted from widening the field of woman's work. The Board of Lady Managers has therefore invited the governments of each country, through the Department of State, to appoint a commission of women to assist in collecting this display. It was thought desirable to make the request direct of the rulers of their respective countries; as the women appointed to assist in the work, especially among the nations of Europe, where the power is more centralized than in the United States, would regard their commissions almost as a title of nobility. In countries where woman's work heretofore has not been considered worthy of recognition in a national exposition, such an appointment cannot fail to call attention to the importance of woman's work, and place it on a higher plane.

England has already responded to the call, and a commission of women has been appointed under the immediate direction of Princess Christiana. Holland also has appointed a commission; and information from France justifies the assertion that, ere this, a commission would have been appointed from that country, but for the recent change in the cabinet, and for the delays, necessary and unnecessary, attendant upon establishing a new order of things.

The Board has decided not to separate women's work from that of men, in the general Exposition buildings containing the competitive exhibits. As women work side by side with men in factories all over the world, it would be impossible, as a rule, to divide the finished product of their labor; nor would women be satisfied with prizes unless they were awarded without any distinction as to the sex of the contestants, and as the result of fair competition with all the work shown. They are aiming at excellence, and ask recognition only where it is deserved on merit. In order, however, that the enormous amount of labor being done by women may be more fairly and fully set forth, a tabulated statement will be shown with every exhibit, stating

the proportion of woman's work that has entered into its production.

In addition to the extensive exhibit just mentioned, women will have an opportunity of displaying work of superior excellence in the Woman's Building, which will be entirely under control of the Lady Managers. It is intended to group in its central gallery the most brilliant achievements of the women of every country and in every line of work. Exhibits in this department will be admitted only by invitation, which will be considered the equivalent of a prize. No sentimental sympathy for women will permit the admission of second-rate articles, for the highest standard is to be strictly maintained. The auxiliary commissions of women of foreign countries will be asked to recommend articles of special merit, made by women, and those who produced them will be asked to place specimens in the Woman's Building.

For the purpose of correcting the prevalent, but erroneous opinion that women are not possessed of creative minds, it is desired to illustrate the fact generally conceded by archaeologists, that woman was the inventor of the industrial arts among all primitive peoples; and that it was not until these arts became lucrative that they were appropriated by man and improved upon. While man, the protector, was engaged in the fight and the chase, woman constructed the semblance of a home. She cooked the food, first in its natural state, and, later, ground the grain between stones and prepared it for bread. She cured the skins of animals and, with awkward fingers, fashioned them into clumsy garments. Impelled by necessity, she made the needle and twisted the fiber of plants into thread. To her inventive genius the world is indebted for the arts of basket-making, weaving, and knitting; and she also discovered the use of vegetable dyes. She was the first potter and molded the coarse clay into jars and other articles for domestic purposes, drying them in the sun. Following her natural instinct for adornment, she learned gradually to ornament these articles of primitive construction.

In consideration of these facts, a display will be made in the

Woman's Building which will supplement the wider race exhibits, shown by the Department of Ethnology in the general buildings. This showing in the Woman's Building will illustrate the history of woman from the time of the cliff dwellers, through the Middle Ages, when, though her mind was not developed, her delicacy of touch was made useful in copying the elaborate manuscripts of that time and in making the rich illustrations that accompanied them, to the present day when her active and cultivated brain is able to cope with the scientific problems of the age, and her trained hand can fashion the delicate machinery of a watch.

An exhibit such as this has never been made; but so quick are the French to grasp an idea that since the announcement of this plan by the Board of Lady Managers last year in Paris, an exhibit, illustrating the history of woman's progress, has already been planned for next year in the Palais de l'Industrie at Paris; so that while our Board can justly claim the honor of originating the idea, it will not be the first to put it into effect.

Interesting as the display in the Woman's Building may be, it is not designed simply to illustrate woman's history. The Board desires that such a collection of statistics in reference to woman's work, and such specimens of the work itself may be procured from every country as to give a clear idea of the extent to which woman's work enters into the arts, sciences, and industries of the world to-day. Several competitions in the lines of architecture, sculpture, and designing have been opened since the Board was formed, in which women carried off the prizes. The Woman's Building itself, with all its decorations both interior and exterior, will serve to exemplify woman's progress during the past few years in these, to her, new and heretofore untried pursuits.

Woman has not only become an essential, though generally unrecognized factor in the industrial world, but hers being essentially the arts of peace and progress, her best work is shown in the numberless charitable, reformatory, educational, and other beneficent institutions which she has had the courage and ideality to establish for the alleviation of suffering, for the

correction of many forms of social injustice and neglect, and for the reformation of long-continued wrongs. These institutions exert a strong and steady influence for good—an influence that tends to decrease vice; to make useful citizens of the useless and depraved; to elevate the standard of human happiness; thus supplementing the best efforts and furthering the highest aims of good government.

Every organization of women must be impressed with the necessity of making an effective showing of the noble work which each is carrying on. The Board of Lady Managers especially desires to have represented in the rooms reserved for that purpose, the educational work originated or carried on by women, from the kindergarten organizations up to the highest branches of education, including all schools of applied science and art, such as training schools for nurses, manual training, industrial, art, and cooking schools, domestic economy, sanitation, etc. When not practically exhibited, the work of such organizations should be shown by maps, charts, photographs, relief models, etc.

It is desired to show to the breadwinners who are fighting unaided the battle of life, the new avenues of employment that are constantly being opened to women; and in which of these their work will be of the most distinct value by reason of their natural ability; what work will best suit their sensitive and artistic temperaments and individual tastes; what receives the best pay for the time and labor expended; and what education would best enable them to enjoy wider opportunities and make the work of the greatest worth not only to themselves but to the world.

The Board of Lady Managers therefore invites the women of all countries to participate in this great work of women to the end that it may be made not only national but universal, and that all may profit by a free comparison of methods, agencies, and results.

MRS. POTTER PALMER.

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

BY HON. SIDNEY DEAN, EX-MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

THERE is something pitiful in China's appeal to the United States to keep its treaty stipulations as China has kept hers with us, and something shocking to one's sense of justice in refusing an official reply to her appeal, and supplementing that refusal by the passage of an act which not only increases the depth of the wrong against the Chinese, but which practically destroys the treaty itself. This act is unworthy of a great, powerful, enlightened country, in that it provides for holding the Chinese government to all its treaty stipulations, while it forcibly abolishes our own.

The writer is not a partisan politician ; he has no party sentiment to cherish or inculcate, but he trusts that he is a loyal American citizen who believes in justice and right in all relationships of men or nations, and irrespective of the actors in this drama of wrong and injustice he wishes to voice his opposition to it in unmistakable terms. This unjust, discriminating legislation against a nation and its people, with whom we have been on treaty terms for many years, is felt to be a disgrace by the majority of our thinking people. No particular party is responsible for it, for both parties, through their representatives in Congress, have bowed the knee to the demands for Chinese exclusion from our territory, made by the politicians of the Pacific Slope.

Our glory as a republic, up to the time when we took the first false step backward, was that we were a republic of freedom, and an asylum for the poor and oppressed of all lands who desired a home and a citizenship for themselves and their descendants. If that general policy was to be changed, then strict justice and equity required that our prohibitory laws

should be general, and that a refusal of citizenship among us should be put upon broad grounds, and should be applied alike to all nations whose people were seeking a home among us. It should follow the personality and not the nationality.

There are in this late act the seeds of a future war, more nearly imminent than these legislators suppose. The appeal of China, addressed to this government, asking what we mean by our refusal to answer her diplomatic correspondence, and what is to be the policy of our government concerning our treaty relations with her, and especially in view of the more stringent and vexing exclusion act, indicates that the patient government of that people is losing its serenity.

The Chinese government has kept treaty faith. It did not want our missionaries or our religion, but it has tolerated and protected both, even against the anger and violence of its own citizens. It did not want our colonies established for commercial purposes, but it has protected them. In doing so China has felt the injustice of the requital we have made in forbidding her people to land upon our soil, or before our restrictive laws were passed, the treatment of Chinese by some of our citizens without rebuke, or even an examination by the officials of our government. If the Chinese government should follow our example; repudiate treaty stipulations; exile all American missionaries and commercial colonies, and by law forbid the landing of an American upon her shores, what will be the result? The moral sense of the country would pronounce this action just and in accordance with China's rights as a nation.

Why should China stand alone in this exclusion? Why not include her sister nation, Japan, and Turkey, Egyptian States, Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and all the States of Eastern Europe, and even Central and Western Europe? Suppose China should retaliate with exclusion of all Americans, would not the missionaries be the first to clamor at the doors of our government for protection and for compensation? These missionary boards do not want the Chinese to come to this country for Christianization; they prefer to send missionaries to them, against the protests of government and people; and hence

no church or missionary organization has, to our knowledge, entered a single protest against our laws of exclusion. But suppose some missionary in China is blessed with converts to Christianity; they are no longer disciples of Confucius, but Christians. They are talented, educated, and with the fresh, vigorous life of this age desire to make a home and a future with us. We then have this anomaly presented: a Christian conversion and a Christian civilization is no passport to a Christian, free republic, which admits all other nations and all other religions, save this Christian brother from China; and all the missionary boards in America respond amen, or by their silence acquiesce. Thus the lion of politics and the lamb of Christianity "lie down together," but no Chinese Christian child shall be permitted to lead them.

In the Chamber of Deputies of United Italy, the premier, in answer to certain demands touching the administration of foreign affairs, said: "A ministry that violates international agreements is unworthy of the country and would be placed under the ban of civilized governments." Did the Italian premier have in view the action of our government in its practical abrogation of treaty stipulations with China against China's wishes and consent? We note that all the European governments are placing plums in China's basket, not so much as a matter of justice, but as a matter of policy and trade. The American republic is old enough and sufficiently strong to treat all nations with equal fairness and justice, neither fearing the strong nor tyrannizing over the weak.

The early statement of a Christian orator, found recorded in a book which all Christians reverence as divine and authoritative, that God has made of one blood every nation of men to dwell upon all the face of the earth, found modern repetition and practical acknowledgment in our own Declaration of Independence, which declares that "all men are created free and equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

The condition of peoples and races is largely the one of education or ignorance. There are structural peculiarities, idiosyn-

crasies, traits transmitted by heredity and retained by personal environment, it is true, but a thoroughly educated Japanese, Chinese, or African in applying even the principles of modern government, and conducting diplomatic correspondence with more civilized and more highly developed nations ranks as the equal of the highest in his conceptions of the true, the right, and the just in all international comity, as the records of our State Department will show. If these races as a whole are our inferiors in educational culture they certainly appeal to our honor and manhood, if not to our moral sense of fairness and true equality. The heart of the American people beats rhythmically to justice and right, though the head is often confused and wrongly directed upon questions of polity, through the machinations of politicians of all grades and parties. It is humiliating to receive, even indirectly, the rebuke which the Italian premier administered, though it was just and deserved.

We should take a wider and more comprehensive view of race and national diversities. The brotherhood of man is the teaching of science, of all religions which deserve to bear the name of religion and of all republican forms of government in which the rights of the individual are acknowledged and conserved. Let us look at all human beings as units in the family of the great mysterious spirit Fatherhood. The more favored the more generous; the higher educated the more just; the better endowed in all things, physical, mental, and moral, the greater the desire, the more fixed the purpose, and the grander the life effort to benefit, raise, and bless others lower in the human scale. A single drop of justice is better than an ocean of polity; a single word of sympathy better than a library of learned disquisitions upon the *meum* and *tuum* of precedents established, just as a fixed course of equal universal comity and justice to all nations and peoples alike, is more forcible than an army like that of Xerxes, and a navy as invincible as that of the celebrated Armada.

SIDNEY DEAN.

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL COUNCIL.

BY FRANCES E. WILLARD.

“**W**OULD that Blücher or night were come,” said Wellington at Waterloo, and surely night without a morning would have come ere this in the great final battle for the overthrow of that proud, usurping Napoleon, better known as Brute Force, had not the two divisions of the conquering army of womanhood effected a junction in the last decades of this Old World century.

In saying this let me distinctly disavow any banding together of women as malcontents or hostiles toward the correlated other half of the human race. Brute force, to my mind, means custom as opposed to reason, prejudice as the antagonist of fair play, and precedent as the foe of common sense. This classification blots out the sex line altogether ; for it arrays a horde of well-meaning women against the ideas for which the council stands, and sets in array an army of great hearts among men as our valiant allies in the thick of the fight.

It was a beautiful saying of the earlier Methodists, when they avowed a holy life : “I feel nothing contrary to love.” The widening march of Christianity has given a practical sense to such words, and we actually mean to-day that whatever in custom or law is contrary to that love of one’s neighbor which would give to him or her all the rights and privileges that one’s self enjoys is but a relic of brute force, and is to be cast out as evil.

Because woman in some of our American commonwealths is still so related to the law that the father can will away an unborn child, and that a girl of seven or ten years old is held to be the equal partner in a crime where another is the principal ; because she is in so many ways hampered and harmed by laws and

customs pertaining to the past, we reach out hands of help that she may overtake the swift-marching procession of progress. We thus represent the human rather than the woman question, and our voices unite to do that which the president of our New York Sorosis so beautifully once said in a letter to the Sorosis of Bombay: "Tell them the world was made for woman too."

Every atom says to every other one, "combine," and in so doing they change chaos into order. When every woman shall say to every other, "combine," the war dragon shall be slain, the poverty-viper shall be exterminated, the gold-bug transfixed by a silver pin, the saloon drowned out, and the last white slave liberated, from the woods of Wisconsin and the bagnios of Chicago and Washington. Combination is "a game two can play at"; the millionaires have taught us how, and the labor tortoise is fast overtaking the capitalistic hare.

Could anything be broader than the basis laid for this great organization? Its preamble declares:

"We, the women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our greater unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the state, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the Golden Rule to society custom and law."

I believe we should organize a miniature council in every town and city, confederating these in every state, and instructing the State Council to send delegates to the National Council. The plan would be to let these delegates form a lower and the heads of the National societies an upper house, whose concurrent vote should be essential to the enunciation of any principle or the adoption of any plan. We should thus have within the national government, as carried on by men, a republic of women duly organized and officered, not in any wise antagonistic to men, but conducted in their interest as much as in our own, and tending toward such mutual fellowship among women, such a breadth of knowledge and sympathy as should establish a unity of purpose throughout the nation of women-workers, put a

premium upon organized as against isolated efforts for human betterment, minify the sense of selfhood and magnify that of otherhood, training and tutoring women for the next great step in the evolution of humanity, when men and women shall sit side by side in government and the nations shall learn war no more.

Were there such a council of women in the town and city, state and nation, we should have our representatives constantly at the state and national capitals, and should ask unitedly for advantages that have heretofore been asked for only by separate societies. Laws for the better protection of women, married and single; laws protecting the property rights of married women and giving them equal power with their husbands over their children; laws making the kindergarten a part of our public school system; requiring lessons in all grades of public schools with special reference to health and purity of personal habitudes; national and state appropriations for institutions helpful to women,—surely we might together strive for all of these.

I am confident that the development of this movement will impart to women such a sense of strength and courage, and their corporate self-respect will so increase, that such theatrical bills as we now see displayed will not be permitted for an hour without our potent protest; and the exhibitions of women's forms and faces in the saloons and cigar stores, where women's self-respect will never let them enter, and the disgraceful literature now for sale on so many public news-stands will not be tolerated by the womanhood of any town or city. An "anatomical museum" that I often pass on a Chicago street bears the words: "Gentlemen only admitted." Why do women passively accept these flaunting assumptions that men are expected to derive pleasure from objects that they would not for a moment permit their wives to see? Some day women will not accept them passively, and then these base exhibitions will cease, for women will purify every place they enter and they will enter every place. Catholic and Protestant women would come to a better understanding of each other through working

thus for mutual interests; Jew and Gentile would rejoice in the manifold aims of a practical Christianity; women who work because they must; women, true-souled enough to work because they ought, or, best of all, great-souled enough to work because they love humanity, will all meet on one broad platform, large enough and strong enough to furnish standing room for all. Later on, who knows but by means of this Council we women might free ourselves from that stupendous bondage which is the basis of all others—the unhealthfulness of fashionable dress. “Courage is as contagious as cowardice,” and the courage of a council of women may yet lead us into the liberty of a costume tasteful as it is reasonable, and healthful as it is chaste.

A pan of milk sours in a thunderstorm, and must stand still ere cream will come. So with our minds. Their sober second thought is best attained in solitude. We have long met to read essays, make speeches, and prepare petitions; let us hereafter meet to *legislate* for womanhood, for childhood, and the home. Men have told us solemnly, have told us often, and in good faith, no doubt, that they would grant whatever the women of the nation asked. Our time to ask unitedly has waited long, but it is here at last. Goethe has said: “Talent is nurtured best in solitude, but character on life’s tempestuous sea,” and to make the world wider for women and happier for humanity the wonder-working powers of organization are essential, the chaos of individuality giving place to the cosmos of aggregated influence and power.

Consider the fact that more than eighty-two per cent of all our public school teachers are women; that over two hundred colleges now have over four thousand woman students; that industrial schools for girls are being founded in almost every state; that hardly a score of colleges in all the nation still exclude us and that these begin to look sheepish and speak in tones apologetic, while the University of Pennsylvania was lately opened. Barnard College in New York is the annex to magnificent Columbia, and the Methodist University of Washington, D. C., the Leland Stanford and Chicago Universities with countless millions back of them are, in all of their de-

partments, including divinity, to be open to women. We are admitted to the theological seminaries of the Methodist, Congregational, and Universalist churches, to say nothing of half a dozen smaller ecclesiastical communions. The Free Baptist and several other churches now welcome women delegates to their highest councils while we vote in the local assembly of almost every church in Christendom except the Catholic.

Every woman who vacates a place in the teachers' ranks and enters an unusual line of work, does two excellent things: she makes room for some one waiting for a place and helps to open a new vocation for herself and other women. In view of this, consider what it means to all of us, that women have now taken their places successfully in almost every rank from author and artist, lecturer and journalist, to dentist and barber, farmer and ranchman, stock-broker and steamboat captain. Statistics give 5,500,000 women as the number who earn their own living by industrial pursuits in Germany, 4,000,000 in England, 3,750,000 in France, about the same number in Austro-Hungary, and over 2,700,000 in America.

For the first time in history, the World's Fair has a separate commission of women provided and provided for by the United States government. The air of these last days is electric with delightful tidings. Let us widen the outlook to its utmost and see what forty years have wrought along the picket line of our advance—actual participation in the government. Nineteen thousand women voted in Boston alone on a decisive school question in 1888, and in a driving snowstorm. Women now have the ballot on school questions in twenty-two states, have municipal and school suffrage in Kansas and Oklahoma; while by constitutional enactment, ratified by a vote of eight to one among the people, they are fully disenthralled in the free mountain state of Wyoming.

John Bright said that agitation "is but the marshaling of a nation's conscience to right its laws," and in this large view every patriotic woman must perceive her duty to be made willing to vote if she is not so already. The new United States

senator from Kansas put the point pithily when he said: "At the dawn of the twentieth century, the United States will be governed by the people that live in them; when that good time comes, women will vote and men quit drinking."

The first ballots ever cast by women for the election of a national ruler will be next November. A happy man indeed ought that next President to be should the candidate for which a majority of enfranchised women vote come to the throne of power, and from his administration would women have much to hope—at least in post office promotions. Our expectation of justice is not in the lily-handed men of college, court, and cloister, but in the farmers, whose "higher education" has been the Grange, and in the mechanics trained by trades-unions and the Knights of Labor. These are the men who have been known to go on a strike because sewing women toiled at starving rates; who stand stoutly by their motto, "Equal pay for equal work"; who declare in their platforms that we shall have the ballot, and who are the force that shall yet bring about an evenness between the eight hours of the husband and the sixteen hours of the wife.

In the epoch we have entered labor will doubtless come to be the only potentate, and "for value received" will have the skilled toil of the human species as its sole basis of any "specie payment"; "a note of hand" having no effect save the human hand at work. For man added to nature is all the capital there is on earth; and "the best that any mortal hath is that which every mortal shares." But nature belongs equally to all men; hence the only genuine capital and changeless medium of exchange always up to par value is labor itself, and there will eventually be no more antagonism between capital and labor than between the right hand and the left. Labor is the intelligent and beneficent reaction of man upon nature. This reaction sets force enough in motion to float him in all waters, and carry him across all continents. His daily labor then is the equivalent he furnishes for food and clothing, fuel and shelter, and it is the supreme interest of the state to prepare the individual in head, hand, and heart to put forth his highest power. Carried to its

legitimate conclusion, this is the socialism of Christ ; the Golden Rule in action ; the basis of that golden age which shall succeed this age of gold. There is no devil's delusion so complete as that "blue blood" is best. That it is really the thinnest and cheapest blood of all is proved by the fact that the blue veins, from which we get the phrase, are but the symptoms of poor health, and he who has poor health is poor indeed.

Women are beginning to study the labor question, that whale to which politicians are now throwing tubs, and which spouts so foamily in the deep sea of living issues. Women, as a class, have been the world's chief toilers ; it is a world-old proverb that "their work is never done." But the value put upon that work is pointedly illustrated in the reply recently given by an ancient Seminole to one of our White Ribboners who visited the reservation of that tribe in Florida, where she saw oxen grazing and a horse roaming the pasture while two women were grinding at the mill, pushing its wheels laboriously by hand. Turning to the old Indian chief who sat by, the temperance woman said with pent-up indignation, "Why don't you yoke the oxen or harness the horse and let them turn the mill?" The "calm view" set forth in the answer contains a whole body of evidence touching the woman question. Hear him : "Horse cost money ; ox cost money ; *squaw cost nothing.*"

After all there were tons of philosophy in the phrase ; for, by the laws of mind, each person in a community is estimated according to his relation to the chief popular standard of value. To-day, in this commercial civilization of ours, money is that standard. Hence the emancipation of woman must come, first of all, along industrial lines. She must in her skilled head and hands represent financial values. To-day the standard is gold ; to-morrow it will be gifts ; next day, character. But in the slow systematic process of evolution it is only through financial freedom that she will rise to that truer freedom which is the measure of all her faculties in trained, harmonious, and helpful exercise.

Thirty years ago, General Spinner, of grateful memory, proposed the admission of women to employment in the United

States Treasury. As Salmon P. Chase was secretary of that department, his permission was sought and freely obtained, but so much difficulty was made by men who wanted that work, that Attorney-General Edward Bates had to render an opinion favorable to the women, and we may well believe that Abraham Lincoln, always our friend, was in sympathy with the movement. Not a little annoyance was endured by the three officers who took up the women's cause. A variegated and complete assortment of nightcaps, labeled with the word "Grandmother," and other epithets intended to be equally opprobrious, was sent them through the post office, also letters that contained vituperative threats that failed of their intention.

It is not too much to claim that a new era dawned for woman, industrially and officially, when the imperial people's government thus for the first time recognized her right to a share in the good things it has to give.

For my part I would have woman everywhere treated as an individual and not as belonging to a tribe. I would have her portion under the sun assigned to her in severalty, and would teach her as rapidly as possible to become a citizen of the world on equal terms with every other citizen, and, as a worker in the difficult reform which has social virtue as its outcome, I have been driven to believe that the core of Edward Bellamy's plan, which is the industrial disenthralment of women, is the way out of the wilderness for woman and through her for mankind. With the weapons of toil in her firm, kind, and skillful hand, she can dub her brother man "a knight of the new chivalry," and otherwise she cannot.

General Booth in "Darkest England," declares that London has over thirty thousand absolutely homeless poor, who sleep out of doors the year round and whose only difference of grade is that some have a newspaper between them and the damp paving-stones, while most have not. There are in Great Britain, he says, a hundred thousand prostitutes and half a million drunkards, while one person in every five in London dies in the workhouse, the hospital, or the lunatic asylum.

Jacob Riis in his book entitled "How the Other Half Lives,"

portrays the lives of the submerged tenth in New York City after a fashion that makes us wonder whether our Siberian exile petitions ought not to be duplicated to the governor of the proud Empire State of our own land. Now, in the face of all this abomination of desolation, I believe that when, for every child born into the world, the problems of food and clothing, fuel and shelter, are already and forevermore settled questions—the great, kind, foresighted human family as a corporate firm of We, Us & Company, having arranged all that as an offset to the labor of that child when old enough to work—then will have come the very first fair chance ever yet given for the survival of the fittest in true character and highest conquest.

Almost every one has inspiration and purpose, but the difference in the light shed from these two flames brought down from heaven is in different persons like that between a firefly and a star. One sparkles for a moment in the darkness, but guides nowhere, because its chief characteristic is its intermittence; the other lends the illumination of its mild, unchanging light to every eye that is lifted to behold it. So will it be in the age of brotherhood that shall kill out this age of gold; unhampered by the everlasting grind of necessity that we have in common with the brute creation, the steady shining star of a purpose great as the soul and sacred as immortality shall light up every life of man.

In his book entitled "*Society as I Have Found It*," Ward McAllister, that astounding product of democratic institutions, describes a banquet at which seventy-two of the famous Four Hundred sat down, and which cost \$10,000. A recent promenade concert by the junior class of Yale College is estimated by good judges to have cost, including costumes specially prepared for it, at least thirty thousand dollars. Not a few of these students paid from eight hundred to one thousand dollars as the share for the evening, and yet Yale is a Christian college, not given up to pomps and vanities like poor McAllister and his set—ere long to be upset, thank heaven, and made to feel the contempt of all true patriots and devotees of Christianity in action.

But be it remembered that until woman comes to her kingdom physically she will never really come at all. Created to be well and strong and beautiful, she long ago sacrificed her constitution and has ever since been living on her by-laws. She has made of herself an hourglass, whose sands of life pass quickly by. She has walked when she should have run, sat when she should have walked, reclined when she should have sat. She has allowed herself to become a mere lay figure upon which any hump or hoop or farthingale could be fastened that fashion-mongers chose; and oftentimes her head is a mere rotary ball upon which milliners may let perch whatever they please—be it bird of paradise or beast or creeping thing. She has bedraggled her senseless long skirts in whatever combination of filth the street presented, submitting to a motion the most awkward and degrading known to the entire animal kingdom, for nature has endowed all others that carry trains and trails with the power of lifting them without turning in their tracks, but a fashionable woman pays lowliest obeisance to what follows in her own wake; and, as she does so, cuts the most grotesque figure outside a jumping jack. She is a creature born to the beauty and freedom of Diana, but she is swathed by her skirts, splintered by her stays, bandaged by her tight waist and pinioned by her sleeves until—alas, that I should live to say it!—a trussed turkey or a spitted goose is her most appropriate emblem.

A lady reporter tells us that she had the curiosity to ask the weight of a bead-trimmed suit and found it greater than the maximum weight carried by soldiers in our late war, including accouterments, ammunition, and all. The catalogue of our crimes as the dry goods class is, however, less tragically true to-day than it was yesterday.

A spasm of sense has embellished the features of the average fashion plate; Dr. Jaeger's flannels have helped to equalize the circulation; Mrs. Bates of Boston, and other good women have introduced reform in underwear; Dr. Stockham has written "Tokology"; Mrs. Annie Jenness Miller has united the esthetics to the ethics of costuming, and it has actually become fashion-

able to use dumb-bells and take fencing lessons. More than this the limp, the shuffle, the slide, and the hop are passing out and women are positively learning to walk as a fashionable accomplishment. Most gracious of all, the Princess of Wales some months ago, sent word to the clothes deformaters of the human form and bedeckers of the human cranium, that no dress or bonnet trimmed with the desiccated remains of birds would hereafter be accepted either by herself or her daughters.

It has been wisely remarked by one of our college-bred women that in no particular has the average woman failed more signally than in keeping her own little ones alive. Four hundred thousand babies annually breathe their first and last in the United States—being either so poorly endowed with vital powers or so inadequately nourished and cared for that they cannot longer survive. One third of all the children born depart this life before they reach five years of age. In Oriental countries they swarm thick as flies, and the existence of woman—a being so impure that her husband begs pardon for referring to his wife at all—is tolerated only because she is a necessary prerequisite to the transformation of a man into the father of sons. It thus appears that exclusive devotion to maternity has not resulted in the best good of woman or the highest development of humanity. In those same Oriental countries the Anglo-Saxon race has conquered the native and holds it in subjection, though outnumbered at the rate of twenty-five hundred to one. Possibly if fewer children were born and of a better quality, it might be a blessing to all concerned. The fabled lioness which, on being twitted of her small family, replied proudly, eying her beautiful whelp: “True I have only one but that one will grow to be a lion,” may, for aught we know, prefigure the woman of the future. It seems to be a law of nature that quantity decreases as quality improves. But, be this as it may, we are going to have, ere long, a scientific motherhood. Children will be born of set purpose, and will cut their teeth according to a plan. The empirical maxims and old wives’ fables of the nursery will give way to the hard-earned results of scientific investigation. The best work of the mother will be intelligently

done, on the bases of heredity, prenatal influence, and devout obedience to the laws of health. Doctors, diet and dress, ventilation, sleep, and exercise will constitute her "council of physicians." Says Mrs. Frances Fisher Wood, a Vassar graduate and a successful mother :

"Old-fashioned New England mothers are often extolled as an ideal type of motherhood, while college-bred women are the staple of popular newspaper jokes in their alleged futile attempts to care for their offspring. Yet statistics show that the mortality among native New England stock exceeds that of any other part of the United States, and the proportion of deaths to births is constantly increasing; while among the ridiculed college women nine tenths of their children survive infancy, a record which I believe has never been equaled in any country or age since statistics furnished the data for such deductions.

"I claim that a woman scientifically educated can in three hours be taught more about the care of infants than another, intellectually untrained, can learn from personal experience in a lifetime. In other occupations less exacting than a mother's we allow experience alone to count for little."

This college-bred mother supports her theory by offering for inspection "a healthy, happy specimen of scientific babyhood," who rapturously greets this happy woman as ma-ma. Happy child of a happy mother ! In his twenty-two months of babyhood he has never known the torture of colic, goes to sleep at night and never awakens until morning, cuts his teeth with as little ceremony and suffering as a kitten, contracts no infantile diseases, succumbs to no infantile disorders, and does not periodically upset the equilibrium of the entire family at intervals of two or three days by being mysteriously "cross" after the manner of unscientific baby tyrants. The diet of this enviable baby consists now of water that has been boiled, milk that has been sterilized, oatmeal, baked apples, and stock soup.

The aforementioned college-bred woman is a trustee of Barnard, a contributor to the press, a public speaker on various educational and scientific subjects, a woman of place in society, and, as has already been declared, is a model home-maker. What would you more ? The woman question has no higher outcome ; and once again is wisdom "justified of her children."

Every home should be a school of statesmanship. No home is orderly and harmonious that is not controlled by statesmen. It

has been truly said that the real difference between great men and little men is that the little man sees littleness and the great man sees greatness in everything. And it is supremely true of the true mother that the ineffable greatness of her character and calling lends a dignity to the smallest of her deeds and so magnifies the sacredness of home and country in the children's eyes, that they cannot fail to be supremely loyal to God and home and native land.

Women are patriots; they are born so. When the *Youth's Companion* offered a prize for the best essay on the patriotic influence of the American flag when raised over public schools, girls won the prize in thirty states and territories, while boys won in eighteen. The mother of the future who better knows what the state is and helps to make its laws will impart to her children a devotion to their country, stronger even than that which now binds them to their own homes. Some women have a genius for motherhood, and history points them out by their results. One of these was Mary, the mother of Washington, to whose sacred memory a long-neglected monument is being raised near Frederick, Va.

Doubtless the Columbian Exposition will illustrate the motherly work of women for humanity by means of day nurseries and kindergartens where the little ones can be left while their natural protectors visit the great show; emergency hospitals, with women physicians and nurses in attendance; homes for the friendless and the stranger; resting places for the aged and the weak; temperance cafés, coffeehouses, and reading rooms; exhibits of hygienic food and drink; halls where physical culture is taught and illustrated; hygienic garments and dress reform patterns given away as a missionary measure to the benighted wasp-waistlings of the throng. We shall have halls, I hope, in which mothers' meetings can be held, and conferences upon every subject whereby the health, happiness, and holiness of the home people can be increased by putting the expert knowledge of the few at the service of many.

The world seems to me like one great heart, the warmth of whose growing love and the rhythm of whose steady pulse is

a dynamic power through which God works to make all things new and pure and brotherly. The cuttlefish darkens all the water about it, and then, for aught we know, complains that it cannot see. So is a darkened soul in the midst of a Christian community or family. It does not seem to realize that what it complains of is but the reflex of its own code and the outcome of its own conduct. Such a spirit is like a convex or concave mirror, distorting every face and form it reflects. Its words are evermore like the old Scotch crone who said: "Of guid people I ken but twa, me and Sandy, and I'm nae so sure aboot Sandy."

Some people take their religion on the square and some on the bias. It is largely a question of nature and environment. For those who do not like the square the bias is perhaps good. It has taken all the ages of light, of evolution, of nature, and of the great human heart itself to build the nest called Christianity in which so many souls have found a home. And is it finished? Not by any means. There shall come other builders, and in other swift-revolving ages man shall still be the student of God and humanity. In other worlds up toward which we gaze as they gleam, the building will go on. The white sunlight of God's truth falls through the stained glass window of the human brain and takes the color of our individuality.

One of the crucial tests of our religion is: What does the "hired girl" think about our kind of religion? Never was a nobler tribute paid to character than when the body servant of Alexander H. Stephens said of him as he wept beside the statesman's bier, "Mas'r Alick was kinder to dogs than most folks is to men." Dress parade is one thing, everyday doing is quite another, and the verdict of the most dependent in our circle is the final verdict as to whether we are magnificent or mean.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

NATIONALISM AS AN ECONOMIC FACTOR.*

BY NED ARDEN FLOOD.

ECONOMICS for the people has long since passed out of the realm of the theorist. When a new economic idea is reached its presentation is as much a matter of concern as the idea itself. The Frenchman who recently defined Socialism as being "the search on behalf of the human race for the key of Paradise Lost," understood his business sufficiently well to make himself understood in language which, if not purely scientific, had the power of attraction and caused men to think. When Mr. Henry George wrote "Progress and Poverty" he made a contribution to economic literature which marked an important period in the development of political economy as a science. However his logic may be considered, the fact remains that he gave to the most uninviting matter a new and attractive setting. Mr. Edward Bellamy did more than this, for, in the literary production of his industrial scheme, he had the advantage of a subject of more general and popular interest, to which he gave a treatment sufficiently unique to attract and hold the attention of the average reader, who but for the touch given an old theory might have passed the volume by.

Prior to the publication of "Looking Backward" there existed in this country no organized body advocating the reforms which Mr. Bellamy advocated in his book. Political economists and social reformers generally had up to that time discussed the control of certain branches of business by the municipalities and by the national government, but there was no class of men nor any society having a platform of principles corresponding to the present Nationalist party. A large part of Mr. Bellamy's theo-

*A part of this paper appeared in *The Chautauquan* for January, 1892, under the title, "Some Propositions of Nationalism."

ries were not only old but they were tested and applied long before he thought of writing the book. The municipal ownership of water works had been a common thing in the United States for twenty-five years and the national as well as municipal control of certain businesses in Europe, such as the railroads, telegraphs, gas and water works, had been in vogue a longer period. Mr. Bellamy took these ideas of European origin and with many additions of his own constructed a scheme for the revision of the industrial system, the application of which, in the United States, is sought by the Nationalist party.

Mr. Bellamy's idea in writing "Looking Backward" was merely the production of a literary fairy tale picturing society in an ideal state. In spinning out the tale he stumbled upon what he has called the "destined corner stone of the new social order," and departing from the original intention the book was published with the author's hope that it might influence our social and industrial systems. The result which the book has brought about is in the main a more general interest in social conditions.

Real Nationalism and its propositions are more generally misunderstood than anything else. An English man of business once remarked, "Where combination is possible, competition is impossible," and it is in line with this assertion that the Nationalists have constructed a code of theories for industrial and social reform. Nationalism is the result of social evolution. It is a movement in which political, economical, and ethical influences are to work in harmony with each other. The principle of competition and the law of the survival of the fittest are held to be identical. It is one perfect public organization for the administration of government and industry, wherein the individual is a mere nothing except as he may form a part of the whole, and to whose interests will accrue the benefit of concentrated action, the result being that whatever contributes to the general good is also of benefit to the individual. The interests of individuals will be fostered and promoted in the same degree that the interests of all are fostered and promoted.

Nationalism aims, therefore, to benefit the individual by the

direct performance of those services which under present conditions would, theoretically at least, mean the control and operation of all industrial business by means of united public action.

It would seem at first glance that Nationalism is but another form of Socialism. This is however not the case. Whatever differences there may exist in the definition and plan of Socialism, be it German, English, French, or indeed American, there is one achievement, one end, which all Socialists are striving to bring about, namely: the absolute reconstruction of society. Any reform calculated in any way to delay this period of social transformation is opposed by the Socialist. The difference therefore between Nationalism and Socialism is that Socialism is sought by the universal upheaval of existing conditions; Nationalism is sought by means which are entirely rational and peaceful. It is believed that once the reform is begun, the assumption of industries by the state will gradually ensue until the combined industries of the nation will be under the control of national authority.

The existing difference between Nationalism and Socialism itself is better understood by a careful examination of its propositions. These industrial changes for which the country appears to be quite ready, Mr. Bellamy indicates as follows:

First. The nationalization of the railroads, whether by constituting the United States perpetual receiver of all lines, to manage the same for the public interest, paying over to the present security holders, pending the complete establishment of Nationalism, such reasonable dividends on a just valuation of the property as may be earned, or by some other practicable method not involving hardship to individuals.

Second. The nationalization of the telegraph and telephone services, and their addition to the post office.

Third. The assumption of the express business of the country by the post-office department.

Fourth. The nationalization of the coal-mining business of the country to the end that the mines may be continually worked, coal furnished the consumers at cost, and the miners

humanely dealt with. It is suggested that all mines hereafter discovered or opened shall be regarded as public property, subject to just compensation for land.

Fifth. The municipal undertaking of lighting, heating, running of street cars, and such other municipal services as are now discharged by corporations. "It is," says Mr. Bellamy, "an essential feature of the method of Nationalism that as fast as industries are nationalized or municipalized, the condition of the workers in them shall be placed upon a wholly humane basis. The hours of labor will be made reasonable, the compensation adequate, the conditions safe and healthful, and support in sickness, with pensions for disabled and superannuated workers, will be guaranteed."

It will be seen that the foregoing propositions are of two kinds, national and municipal, the ultimate end in each case being the extension of public functions in such a degree that the industries of the country shall be controlled and operated by the nation itself. Without referring directly to the scheme called Nationalism let us see to what extent the state has been active in industrial affairs. For the early assumption of industrial functions by the state we must look to European nations. In the fourth century Rome was in control of her combined industries. So radical and absolute was the system that with the rise of the state and the utter subjection of the individual, the industrial process weakened, resulting in a final collapse of the entire industrial system.

Until 1870 the success of state or national monopolies was almost entirely confined to forestry. By conquest, annexation, or other means large landed estates were made over to the nation and held for the purpose of increasing the public revenues. The plan has been such that many European nations are receiving great revenues from the public estates, either by means of direct cultivation or other use or rental for private or individual purposes.

France, in 1811, assumed control of the tobacco business and has since operated it with considerable profit. The match business, a small proportion of the railroads of the country, and

the manufacture of tapestry and porcelain are under state management. The telephone service passed into government hands in the autumn of 1889. The price paid for the business as represented in the working capital was 8,000,000 francs. From all of her monopolies France receives a net revenue of \$80,000,000 per year. The Russian government has an immense monopoly in the manufacture of sheet iron, the revenues from which defray a large part of the government expenses. In Great Britain the management of the state extends to the postal service, express business, and telegraphs. The English post office does all the express business of Great Britain, carries the parcels at an average of eleven cents each, and makes an average annual profit of \$2,000,000 in doing it.

The manufacture of Dresden china is a state monopoly in Saxony, from which there is a yearly income of \$80,000,000. The tobacco business is a state monopoly in Italy, Spain, and Austria, and the salt business in Prussia, Italy, and Austria. In Germany the postal and express business, telegraphs, schools, about fifty per cent of the railroads, and nearly all the factories supplying the army are under state control. The German soldier's clothes, arms, helmets, and even his bread are manufactured by the state. Prussia, from all her state monopolies, including her mineral resources, receives an annual income of \$24,000,000.

The railroads of Europe since 1870 have been fast passing into the hands of the government. Belgium owns about three fourths of her total mileage and in Prussia, out of a total of 15,000 miles, only a very small percentage remains in private hands.

In the United States only the post office and public schools have thus far been given over to the hands of the national government. In the municipal control of certain monopolies, particularly gas and electric lighting, the United States is wonderfully behind European countries and Germany in particular, where nearly three fourths of the gas plants are owned by the municipalities. It is as common for a European city to own its gas works as it is for an American municipality to control its water works. The Census Bureau bulletin on the

social statistics of American cities says that out of fifty American cities considered, thirty-five own water works; one, Washington, D. C., is owned by the federal government and in the remaining fourteen the plants are owned and operated by private individuals or corporations. The average annual charge for water for dwellings in the cities where municipal ownership is in vogue is \$11.53. In cities where private capital directs the water supply the average annual fee for dwellings is \$17.70. In this case there would seem to be a saving of about \$6 to each dwelling house by reason of the extension of municipal functions.

Only nine cities in the United States own the machinery and manufacture their own gas; they are Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Wheeling, Richmond, Danville, Charlottesville, and Alexandria in Virginia; Bellefontaine and Hamilton, Ohio; and Danville, Kentucky. Each city named gets its gas cheaper and furnishes it to the individual consumer at a lower rate than private companies ever furnished it, besides in some instances becoming a source of revenue to the city. Over sixty cities own their electric light plants, and more than half the cities in the country own their water works.

These examples of national and municipal control of industrial affairs both in Europe and the United States, the major portions of which have been eminently successful, were not in any way the result of Nationalism so-called. They were the result in reality of economic evolution and advancement, in both of which the state is an essential element. They were inaugurated and indeed became settled economic forces long before the birth of Nationalism, but in the subsequent development of industrial affairs they were seized upon and really became the basic arguments in support of public control, advocated by Nationalists. Since the establishment of Nationalism as a separate and distinct movement for reform there has been a renewed interest manifested in the business qualifications of both National and Municipal Governments, and much of the advance made within a few years is unquestionably due to the Nationalist agitation. Mr. Bellamy shows himself not to be well

posted when he says in the *North American Review* that "Up to the passage of the municipal lighting bill in 1891 by the Massachusetts Legislature, less than a dozen American towns had tried public lighting, and few people had even heard of their experiment." The fact is that more than fifty American towns had tried public lighting prior to 1891, the adoption of the plans having been brought about by local contingencies, in which dissatisfaction with old methods was an operating force. By comparing the rates charged by municipalities and private companies for gas and electric lighting, it is found that under public management the cost to the consumer is from 20 to 60 per cent lower than for the same service under private management.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the management of some industries by the state is entirely beneficial to the individual. The railroads, telegraphs, express business, and post office are created by the necessities of the people. They are to the nation what the gas and water works are to the municipality. They are inherently monopolistic and, in the hands of private individuals or corporations, are believed to be detrimental to the individual and public good. Between these corporations competition is an unknown factor. Their rates are determined with but little regard for the public. Theoretically they are regulated to give a fair return on the capital invested; in reality they are made as high as the public will bear without protest, and with but little regard to the capital invested except as it may be to increase the dividends on stock which is usually inflated.

The letter of Postmaster-General Wanamaker to the chairman of the House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads in defense of his scheme for a postal telegraph, has a bearing on this point:

"In 1858 the capital stock of the Western Union Company was \$358,000. . . . Its present capital is \$86,000,000. Its plant, exclusive of its contracts with railroads, could be duplicated for \$35,000,000."

It would seem in this case that there is \$51,000,000 of capital stock which is not represented in the working capital of the company.

The telegraph is more than forty years old as a separate and distinct business but there is yet to be a case where there has been any real permanent competition between any rival or competing companies. This applies with equal emphasis to the railroads and express business. It was only a few years ago that the Baltimore and Ohio Telegraph, after a sham attempt at competition, was acquired by the Western Union Company and in the same year, 1888, the uncertain competition between the gas interests in the city of Baltimore was brought to a close by the consolidation of the three companies. The same is true of Meadville, Pennsylvania, where in 1887 the two natural gas companies combined. Prior to the consolidation the rates were extravagantly low but in less than one year after the mains of the second company had been laid all competition ceased, a combination followed, and rates became as high in the extreme as they had been low.

The acquisition by the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad of the Lehigh Valley and New Jersey Central roads was one of the amazing financial operations of the times. The combination of interests of like character and proportion has never been witnessed in the United States or perhaps in Europe. For many years there had been competition between rival roads penetrating the anthracite coal regions, which finally developed the opportunity for a combination and the culmination was reached in the consummation of the Reading "deal." Being the most powerful corporation in the United States and employing more labor than any one concern in the country, or it may be in the world, the Reading Railroad now controls more than seventy-five per cent of the anthracite coal trade and all the industries which are dependent upon it. As a result of the concentration of capital and working force it is expected that the aggregate net profits will be increased \$6,000,000. Since the deal was effected nearly six months ago the output at the mines has been reduced and the price of coal increased. In one week prices advanced fifty cents per ton, amounting in all to an increase of \$20,000,000 per year to the corporate members of the "deal." The *New York World* is authority for the

statement that the advance made in the price of coal by the new concern will amount to a tax on Americans of \$750,000 per month or \$9,000,000 per year. Thus far the corporate powers composing the combination have been successful in resisting the interference of the state and it is probable that there will be no effective restrictions placed upon the conduct of the enterprise by the courts.

Along with the very general discussion of placing the entire railway business of the country in the hands of the government, comes the proposition of certain railroad managers to combine the trunk lines of railway and operate the many divided systems under the management of one great corporation. Should any such remote contingency be among the possibilities of the future the company directing the enterprise would have an income several times that of the government and constantly growing, and an employed force greater in number than the largest standing army in Europe. The influence which such an organization, operated for private gain, would have upon the political and social life of the country, would be incalculable.

Between these private corporations competition cannot be honest or long continued. Rival companies may compete with each other and for a time rates will tend to a minimum, but the final result is much the same as in the average railroad war, the strength of the greater predominates or, both companies being equal, a combination is effected and the rates rise to their original standard, if not above, and all competition is at an end.

By the extension of the national functions to these industries all profits would accrue to the public, it being supposed that the sole object of private enterprise is gain, while with the state the aim is simply to pay expenses. There would be no waste comparatively, such as that involved in the building of parallel lines of railway between two points where only one could do business profitably, having a fair tariff of rates. A better service and a greater concentration of capital and effort would be the result, by which the individual would be directly benefited.

It is urged that government control in industrial affairs would lead to political corruption and create patronage for the spoils

politician. The spoils politician is strangely averse to any such growth of public management. He is satisfied with the present system. To him a telegraph frank, railway pass, and express frank are valuable considerations and the interests of the people are too often lost in the face of these and less polite forms of monopolistic argument. There has been a vast deal of corruption and bribery in legislation pertaining to the regulation of these monopolies and our postal and other laws bear evidences of the susceptibility of the spoils politician to disregard public interests and vote in accordance with the unwritten law of the corporations. Because the civil service has yet to be administered with a considerable degree of real efficiency by any political party, it is further maintained that an extension of public management would lead only to an increase of political evils. The truth is it would have a tendency to political purity. Proportionate with the increase in government functions, the state becomes more important to the industrial world and for this reason civil service appointments would of necessity be made with greater consideration for fitness.

The spread of Nationalism has been gradual. Unlike many reforms it was not seized upon and pushed forward by thousands of those persons whose business it is to lie in wait for a new fad bearing upon the inauguration of the new social order. As I have before stated, the way was well prepared for the reception of Mr. Bellamy's scheme. Students of economics were stanch in their advocacy of many of the principles which are fundamental with Nationalism and the public ownership and control of many natural monopolies had long since passed the experimental stage. Many Nationalist clubs have been established throughout the country and, without the assistance of any propaganda movement, excepting perhaps the weekly paper called *The New Nation*, in the editorial direction of which Mr. Bellamy is personally interested, it may be said that the number of those who subscribe to the Nationalist platform is rapidly increasing.

As a political as well as economic factor, Nationalism in combination with the Farmers' Alliance and labor organizations will exert a telling influence. There were more than twenty separate

organizations enrolled in the convention of the Peoples' party which met at Omaha in July, the Farmers' Alliance, Knights of Labor, and the Nationalists being chiefly represented. The platform adopted contains a Nationalist plank favoring the government ownership and operation of the railroads, telegraphs, and telephones. Nationalism thus allied will not command the votes of the conservative men who look with favor upon many of its propositions and who will question the company which it keeps in the political field.

In the discussion of industrial reform methods the extension of *municipal* functions is too often overshadowed by the plan for *national* control of industry. The extension of government in the United States during the last forty years has been chiefly local and if Nationalism in its entirety is to be realized it seems probable that it will be first in the cities, with a gradual development toward the enlargement of the national functions. There are very many men who look with favor upon the government control of natural monopolies but whose business instincts and experience make them secure in the belief that municipalization rather than nationalization should prevail before any wholesale extension of public functions is made. They are far-sighted enough to see the benefits to be derived from the nationalization of monopolies like the railroads and telegraph but they prefer, and justly so, that there should be municipal control of light and heat and other monopolistic enterprises with a gradual increase in the responsibilities of the federal government leading finally to the logical assumption and control of those businesses which are interstate and national with the monopolistic accompaniment. With the increase in the number of municipalities owning and operating their own water works, gas and electric lighting plants, and street railways, and the success which would result, the step from municipalization to nationalization of monopolies of the natural sort will be lessened very materially.

The terms by which these monopolies should be transferred to the public are important. The state should pay for the actual capital invested, as represented in the working property and

improvements, according to a fair valuation as they exist. For this franchise there should be no compensation unless it originally cost something and then only the price of its purchase in the first place should be paid. The existing contracts for transportation could either be assumed by the state or their disposal be regulated by mutual agreement. Whatever method might be employed in the transfer from private to public management, it would of necessity, if it conformed to Nationalism, be fair and just to all.

NED ARDEN FLOOD.

PROTECTION,—A HELP TO FEW, A HINDRANCE TO MANY.

BY HON. CHARLES F. CRISP, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THERE is no question in which the people are more deeply concerned than in the question of taxation. Every citizen feels, or ought to feel, that it is his duty to contribute so much of his substance to the support of the government as is essential for its economical and honest administration. He feels also, or ought to feel, that any claim that he should contribute more than this is unjust, and that any law compelling him to do so is oppressive. The power to take from the citizen any part of that which is his own, without pecuniary compensation and without his consent, is accorded only to the state; and where civilization and enlightened liberty exist the state itself is permitted to take only so much as is necessary to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and welfare of the country.

The people of the United States view with some alarm and much discontent the financial situation in which they find themselves: great wealth in the possession of a small class; laborers in manufacturing establishments restless and dissatisfied with their earnings; agriculture, foremost in magnitude and importance in our country, languishing, and millions of men without steady employment. This condition has been brought about largely if not wholly by the unequal and unjust tariff laws imposed upon the people of the United States by class legislation. Every dollar of the millions which flow annually into the Treasury of the United States is taken out of the pockets of the people of the United States. Our friends, the Protectionists, talk about taxing foreigners for the privilege of selling in our markets in a way that indicates that they believe, or are trying

to make somebody else believe, that it is possible to obtain money for the support of our government by collecting it from the people of foreign countries. That proposition is too absurd to deserve serious mention. No man of ordinary intelligence will question for a moment the fact that the people of the United States themselves contribute every dollar that goes into the Treasury of the United States.

This being the case, it is quite apparent that the people are vitally concerned in knowing why it is and in understanding how it is that so large an amount of that which represents to each of them labor and toil should be taken from them, even if there be no use for it except to pile it up in the vaults of the Treasury. I believe our friends pretty generally concede at last that the tariff is a tax. I know that a few distinguished gentlemen have denied the proposition, but the intelligent people of this country, not to be deceived longer by the sophistries of those directly and pecuniarily interested in blinding them to the truth, will recognize and realize that any law which imposes a duty upon articles imported into this country for consumption, imposes a tax which goes into the Treasury of the United States, and which is ultimately paid by those persons in the United States who consume the articles so imported.

From foreign countries there came to the United States during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1891, manufactured cotton goods valued at \$29,712,624. Before these goods could be entered and put upon the market here our tariff laws required the payment of duties to the amount of \$11,885,050. This sum was paid into the Treasury of the United States and added to the original cost of the goods, making their value to the persons who brought them here \$41,597,674. The goods were sold to and consumed by the people of the United States. Was not this duty a tax, and did not the people in the United States who consumed the manufactured cotton goods pay it?

During the same year there came into the United States from foreign countries more than \$8,000,000 worth of earthenware and crockery, which paid duties amounting to more than \$4,500,000, and which was sold to and consumed by our people. We

imported nearly \$60,000,000 of wool and clothing on which we paid nearly \$45,000,000 in duties. The total value abroad of all dutiable articles brought to the United States that year was about \$550,000,000; the duties paid on them amounted to about \$300,000,000, so that these goods really cost our people about \$850,000,000.

Does anybody believe that the importer of an article, which he afterwards sells for consumption, does not add the amount of the duty or tax he pays to the government to the original cost in fixing the price at which he can afford to sell the article to the consumer? Does anybody believe the foreign manufacturer pays to the United States \$300,000,000 for the privilege of getting into our market, and then does not sell his goods at such a price as to reimburse himself for the amount thus paid? We might as well tell the people that they do not pay the freight upon any article which they buy; that they do not pay for the labor that enters into it, or that they do not pay for the raw material of which it is composed. Every article that comes here for sale is charged with every item of expense which it incurs up to the time of delivery to the consumer, and either the consumer pays it or the seller pursues a losing trade. It must be conceded that a tariff upon any article which is brought to this country from a foreign port is a tax upon that article; that the tax is paid primarily by the importer, and that it is recollected by him from each individual to whom he sells a yard of cotton cloth or a suit of clothes, or to whom he sells the iron that he uses or any other imported article embraced within the tariff schedules.

It is claimed that protective-tariff laws are advantageous to the people of this country in this, that they hold the American market for the American producer or manufacturer, and that whilst the imposition of the duty may temporarily make the protected article higher, the encouragement to the manufacturer by driving out European competition so stimulates production in this country that the increased production and the competition in the home market bring down the price of the article to the consumer lower than it was before the tariff was laid. I

think I have fairly stated the claim made by Protectionists in this respect.

I am one of those who believe that in determining a policy which is to affect every individual in the United States, rich or poor, high or low, we should as far as possible be guided by our own experience rather than by theory, no matter how distinguished the theorist may be. Now, what is the condition of the American market? Ninety per cent, perhaps—I do not undertake to be precisely accurate as to the amount—but ninety per cent, perhaps, of the manufactured articles used in this country are now produced by the domestic manufacturers. The existing law has given them a market, practically without foreign competition in very many manufactured articles, and the result is, speaking generally, that our people pay a higher price for such articles in the American market than is paid for corresponding articles in other countries where the tariff is much lower or where there is no tariff at all.

If the theory of the Protectionist be true, there ought to be now, after twenty-five years of protective, and in many cases, prohibitory, tariff laws, such a general reduction in the cost of articles manufactured in this country as to demonstrate the truth of the claim that Protection reduces instead of increases the cost of the article protected. If experience has demonstrated the truth of the theory that a high protective tariff reduces the price of the articles so protected, is it not extraordinary that we find our manufacturers so constantly and so clamorously demanding more Protection? Is it reasonable to suppose that the passage of a law which will diminish the price of what men have to sell is so desirable to them that they will travel hundreds of miles and haunt the corridors of the Capitol to obtain the passage of such a law? Why is it that the protected industries of this country demand the continuance of a system, the effect of which they themselves say has been to reduce the price of what they have to sell? If Protection is not intended to enable the producer of the protected article to realize a higher price for that which he produces than he would otherwise obtain, how does Protection protect? From whom

does it protect and for what purpose does it protect?

In truth, as the cost of the foreign commodity is increased to the consumer by the amount of the duty, which goes into the Treasury of the United States, so the price of the domestic article is increased to the consumer very nearly, if not quite, to the amount of the duty, which goes into the pocket of the protected manufacturer. His protection consists in putting a burden upon the goods of his competitor which forces him to add the burden to the price, and thereby enables the American manufacturer to sell his goods at about the same price as the foreign article; thus the burden, which in both cases the consumers pay, is a tax as to foreign goods and a "protection" as to home manufactures.

As to laborers in manufacturing establishments, and as to the farmers of the country, I am sure the protective tariff has been injurious. We find from experience that the imposition of a high duty upon the foreign article enables the domestic manufacturer at once to sell his product at an increased price, and when we think we have about reached that state of domestic competition which our Protection friends claim will result in lower prices to the consumer than he had before the imposition of the duty on foreign articles, behold these same manufacturers enter into an agreement or combination, sometimes called a trust, the purpose and object of which is to keep up and maintain prices, so that the consumers do not, in fact, get the cheap goods which we were told domestic competition would give them.

Our tariff laws destroy or prevent foreign competition. They thus reduce the number of those who supply our market with such products; and, as they diminish the number of those competing for the market, they also make it more easy for that number to combine with each other for the purpose of increasing the price of what they have to sell. Laws which reduce the number of those who may sell in a given market are in furtherance of combinations and trusts. The greater the number of those who compete for a given market the more difficult it is for them to combine to increase prices. There may be a combi-

nation where there is no restriction, but this general rule cannot be denied, that it is much more difficult to form combinations and trusts to increase the price of an article, where there is a large and unlimited number of its producers, than it is where the number who produce it is small and restricted.

The laborers in our manufacturing establishments want reasonable wages and steady employment. They and their families must live from their daily or weekly wages. What is the situation of this class in this country? What effect has the present law had upon their employment and condition? Grant that they receive reasonable wages for the time they are employed, still their condition is not satisfactory, because their employment is not steady.

Our manufacturers must pay a duty on the raw material they use. When they do this they cannot sell their goods in foreign countries in competition with those foreign manufacturers who get free raw material. The foreign market, therefore, is denied. They must rely upon the home market. When this is supplied, and as to some articles we make more than we consume, the mill stops or runs on half time, and the workmen get only half wages or none at all. Most of our manufacturers seem not to want a foreign market for their goods; "the American market for Americans" is their cry.

To constitute a market there must be buyers and sellers. The buyers of manufactured articles in this country are numbered by millions, the sellers by thousands. The millions who buy want cheap goods, the thousands who sell want high prices. Left alone the law of supply and demand would satisfactorily regulate prices in this market, but the thousands who sell do not want to be let alone; they want a law which drives out many who want to become sellers, thus restricting the number of those who sell, and enabling them to get higher prices for their goods from the millions who buy. Naturally the millions who buy are Americans; they must be. The thousands who sell may or may not be. The cry of "the American market for Americans" means, therefore, that none but Americans shall have the privilege of selling in the American market. Why should this

be demanded if it did not enable the seller to get a higher price for his goods? And why should this privilege be granted when its only effect is to impose an additional and unnecessary burden upon millions of our people in order that some thousands may "reap where they have not sown"?

Let us look at the condition of the farmer to-day in this country after twenty-five years of protective-tariff laws, which take from the farmers money that belongs to them and transfer it to others having no right thereto. The farmer of this country under the present law is taxed upon almost every article he buys. I have the honor to represent an agricultural district whose chief product is cotton. The principal marketable crop of the Southern States is cotton. In many of the Western States the principal crop is wheat, and in others corn; for this class of farmers I now speak. The present tariff law imposes a heavy burden upon every manufactured article they buy; but has any Protectionist ever explained to the Kansas corn raiser what advantage the tariff is to the producer of corn? It is very easy to show the burden it puts upon him. It is very easy to demonstrate that he is, by reason of that law, forced to pay more for the clothing he wears, that he is forced to pay more to dress his children, that he is forced to pay more for his crockeryware, that he is forced to pay more for the plow that turns up the earth than he ought to pay; that the prices of all these articles are increased by what our friends call a protective and what we call an oppressive system. Can any benefit be suggested that he derives from it? The old argument was that in return for these burdens he was furnished a home market for his produce. Where is his home market? Where is the market of the Kansas corn-grower? He has burned corn that cost him months of privation and toil because he could not find this home market. Is it possible by putting a tariff on butter and eggs to furnish a home market for farmers who produce such articles, and that therefore he who does not produce them must bear his burdens and be satisfied? Where is the home market for the Minnesota farmer who raises wheat, when we produce many millions more bushels than the people of this

country can consume? Where is the home market for the cotton raiser of the South when but one third of the crop is needed to supply the home demand?

The tariff law after twenty-five years of effort has not created a home market for the millions of farmers engaged in raising corn, and wheat, and cotton. Two thirds of the raw cotton raised in this country finds its market in Liverpool. There it comes in competition with cotton made by the cheapest labor in the world, the cooly labor of India. The Liverpool market regulates not only the price of cotton there, but the price of cotton at home. The same is true of our surplus wheat and of our surplus corn, when we can export it all. The tariff furnishes to these no home market, and it affords to those engaged in their production no protection against the competition of the pauper labor of Europe or of India. Who, then, reaps advantage and wealth from our present enormously high protective-tariff laws?

The only truthful answer that can be made is that a few manufacturers who may be aptly termed a privileged class are the only ones who profit by a protective tariff. Our present merciless tariff system does not create wealth, it simply prevents its natural distribution; it takes from the many to enrich the few; it makes exactions, small in amount from each, from millions of our people, which go into the pockets of the few. Never until recent years have there been built up in this country such immense fortunes as exist here now. Gentlemen on the other side point to our national wealth as an evidence of the general prosperity of the people. The wealth of this country has increased marvelously in the last twenty-five years, but unfortunately it is not distributed among the people; the masses grow poor, the privileged classes grow rich.

In picturing the blessings that the present has brought us, they call attention to the fact that last year our exports amounted to the magnificent sum of over \$800,000,000. But they forget to state that of this enormous sum over \$600,000,000 was derived from the sale of agricultural products, the production of which the tariff in no wise assisted. That \$128,000,000 of

it was breadstuffs; that \$104,000,000 was provisions; that \$237,000,000 was raw cotton; that \$18,000,000 was manufactured tobacco, and that \$18,000,000 was from the sale of live animals. Three fourths of this great mass of exports which our friends claim to be the result of Protection were produced by those people in this country who derive no benefit from Protection, but, on the contrary, suffer positive and distinct injury from it.

Our Protectionist friends point to the fact that in the past twenty-five years there has been a great reduction in the price of manufactures, and claim all this as due to the present Protective system. They forget that something is due to science, art, and invention. Twenty-five years ago one man was engaged a whole day in making a pair of shoes; the pay that he received for that pair of shoes had to include a sufficient sum for labor to support him, and therefore, necessarily, the price of the shoes was considerable. Now we have machines which with the aid of three or four men will make 100 pairs or perhaps 200 pairs of shoes in a day. Under such circumstances ought not the price of shoes to be reduced, tariff or no tariff?

So persistent and enthusiastic are our friends in making claims for the beneficial effects of a protective tariff that they profess to believe that even our inventions are due to the Protective system. No one has any shadow of right to assume that had there been no protective tariff in this country, there would have been no inventions; that without it there would have been no effort on the part of the inventive genius in America to do all it could to facilitate production and cheapen prices. No legislation that may pass or fail to pass can prevent American ingenuity from doing all that man can do to diminish the cost of producing the necessities of life.

The protection given the inventor is of an entirely different character from that afforded manufacturers under a protective tariff. The purpose of the patent laws is to stimulate inventive genius; and in order to do this it says to every man: "If you discover anything that is useful to mankind, that tends to diminish the cost of living or to promote the ease and comfort

of the people, the government will agree to give you the monopoly of the manufacture and sale for a limited period—seventeen years.”

The difference between the patent and the tariff systems is this: under the latter they say to the raiser of cotton, for example: “We cannot in this country compete with the labor of Europe in the manufacture of tin plate; therefore you must take a part of your earnings and give to the producer of tin plate in this country so as to enable him to have a paying business.” The patent system simply secures to an individual for a limited period that which is his by reason of his discovery, but the Protective system takes from one individual by force that which is his and gives it to another.

Our friends who advocate the high-tariff system tell us that all the vast railway systems that traverse this country owe their existence to their system of taxation. There seems to be nothing on earth or under the earth that they do not claim for it except the distressed and impoverished condition of our farmers, which it has really caused. That, they magnanimously concede to something else.

That there is great distress and discontent among the farmers of this country is admitted on all hands. The following extract from the majority report of the Ways and Means Committee of the last Congress shows what the members of that committee thought of the condition of the agricultural class, and also indicates the remedy proposed:

“The committee have given months of investigation to the existing conditions of agriculture and matters connected therewith. This great industry is foremost in magnitude and importance in our country. Its prosperity and success are vital to the nation. No prosperity is possible to other industries if agriculture languish. In so far as the fostering care of the government can be helpful, it must be faithfully and forcefully exerted to build up and strengthen agriculture.

“That there is wide-spread depression in this industry cannot be doubted. Every remedy within the practical scope of legislation known to your committee has been recommended in the proposed measure to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The enemies of the Protective system have no word of criticism for the real causes of agricultural depression, no suggestion of relief from the real burdens which are weighting it down to-day; but, seizing the present as a favorable

time, they solemnly charge that the decline in our market is solely due to the tariff. They are pleased to ignore the fact that one of the purposes of a protective tariff is to hinder a still larger importation of foreign produce, and thus save the market from still greater depression. But your committee, sensible to the importance of the industry, prompted by the single motive to lift it to the highest level of profitable employment, believe that they offer in the bill presented all the relief which tariff legislation can give it."

It never occurred to these gentlemen who spent sleepless nights for months considering the depressed condition of agriculture to bring in a remedy, as they say, for these evils, to call in intelligent farmers for advice and counsel. Not a single raiser of cotton, I venture to say, was heard. I dare say that no suggestions were made in favor of a high protective tariff by the corn and wheat raiser, but we saw in the morning paper for months that somebody from the steel association in Pittsburg or a representative of some protected industry in New York or Rhode Island had appeared before the committee and demanded that such and such things be done. They were always on hand, and whenever it was given out that the Committee on Ways and Means had agreed on a rate these men—these vultures we might call them, who have been fattening on the people for a quarter of a century—came around to see that there was a fair divide and their privileges were not disturbed.

That relief which it is the exhaustive power of tariff legislation to give the farmer increased the duty on corn from 10 cents to 15 cents a bushel, when only 3,200 bushels had been imported the year before to compete for our market, and we sent more than 60,000,000 bushels into the foreign market. It gave the wheat grower 25 cents a bushel instead of 20 cents when we sent abroad the year before nearly 50,000,000 bushels and imported less than 2,000 bushels. No tariff bill has ever even pretended to benefit the cotton producer. Our friends seem to think that if the McKinley tariff affords to the farmer all the protection which it is possible for the tariff system to give him, he should be satisfied whether that be little or nothing.

The school to which I belong believe that the essence of justice and fairness in the collection of taxes from the people

is equality. If a system could be devised which would help everybody in the country, then it might be called just. If the system we have is so inherently weak or so peculiar in its character that the millions of producers of cotton, the millions of producers of wheat and corn can have no benefit, but only injury from it, in the name of justice, let us modify that system and adopt one under which they can have some sort of chance in the race of life. They offer a sop to the farmer by putting a duty on his products, when the truth is, and they know it, that no duty can do the raiser of corn and of cotton and of wheat any good whatever.

Any party that is in earnest in reference to helping the farmer or any other class of laboring men will reduce the tariff; permit some reasonable competition in the market; destroy trusts; accord equal privileges to all and special privileges to none. Give the farmer free salt; give him free bagging, in which the farmer of the West sacks his corn, and with which the farmer in the South wraps his cotton. Give him free iron ties, with which in the South he binds his cotton, and with which in the West he bales his hay. Give him some reduction on his woolen clothes, and on his cotton goods. We cannot increase the price of their product by protective-tariff duties, but we can decrease to them the cost of production and the cost of living by reducing the tariff on those articles used to make their crops and on those articles of necessity which all families must use.

I trust that this discussion will go on, and, if it does, the time will come and come soon when the laborers, and the farmers of the West, and the farmers of the South, will understand exactly the real situation. No amount of juggling, no amount of sophistry, no amount of theory will prevent them from understanding really what this Protective system is; that its effect is to take from one class to give to another, to take from the mass to give to a class; and when they do understand it they will speedily repudiate its authors.

C. F. CRISP.

OUR TARIFF POLICY.

BY HON. JOHN DALZELL, M. C.

THE country is just entering upon a national political contest in which the two great contending parties for the presidency find their most material issue to involve the question of tariff policy. The ordinary expenses of maintaining the government require the collection in some form or other of a large amount of money either by direct or by indirect taxation. From the foundation of the government until the present time, it has been universally agreed that the least burdensome system of raising national revenue is through the medium of import duties. To this proposition both the Republican and Democratic parties still adhere.

As to the character of the import duties to be levied, however, they radically differ: the Republican party demanding that duties shall be protective, and the Democratic party demanding that they shall be for revenue only.

The Republican creed on this subject is tersely and emphatically expressed in the language of its platform, adopted at Minneapolis:

"We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor, there should be duties levied equal to the difference between wages at home and abroad."

The Democratic creed will be significantly plain to the meanest understanding, if the plank inserted in its platform, adopted at Chicago, be read in connection with a proposed plank which was in terms repudiated. What the party said and what it refused to say close the door upon doubt as to the attitude that it assumes toward American labor and American capital.

The language at first proposed as a statement of Democratic party doctrines on the subject of tariff was as follows: "that when custom house taxation is levied upon articles of any kind produced in this country, the difference between the cost of labor here and labor abroad, when such a difference exists, fully measures any possible benefits to labor, etc., etc., and we demand such a revision of the tariff as will remove their iniquitous inequalities, etc., etc. But in making a reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for a successful continuance so that any change of the law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved, and the process of reform must be subject in execution to this plain dictate of justice."

It will be observed that the adoption of this plank would have committed the party to tariff revision only upon such terms as should protect American labor, maintain American wages, and protect established American industries. But the party refused to be so committed. It repudiated any care for labor or for industries. It declared war upon Protection in every shape and form and to any—even the least appreciable—extent. Having voted down the proposed plank, it enunciated as Democratic doctrine the following:

"We denounce the Republican Protection as a fraud upon the labor of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the federal government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue only."

The Democratic doctrine, to sustain which the party appeals for votes in November next, then, involves these propositions, viz:

First. A protective tariff is unconstitutional.

Second. It is furthermore a fraud upon the labor of a great majority of the American people.

Third. Our tariff must be a tariff for revenue only.

If the declarations of a Democratic platform were expected to express convictions, one would be disposed to doubt the soberness, the intelligence, or the sanity of the men who framed its tariff plank. In the light of American history it is grotesquely silly. The proposition that a protective tariff is unconstitutional, was never suggested till the Constitution had been in operation more than a third of a century; when suggested it lived only a short time and died long ago of utter inanition. For more than two generations no respectable statesman has been willing to jeopardize his fame by making mention of it. There was so little of it in its brief and sickly lifetime that it has not even left a corpse capable of being galvanized into the semblance of life.

There is no paragraph, line, or letter of the Constitution that in terms inhibits a tariff for the protection of our industries and of the labor necessary to their successful establishment and maintenance. Neither is there any paragraph, line, or letter that by implication inhibits such tariff.

On the other hand the purpose for which the Constitution was framed, to wit, the industrial, as well as the political independence of the people of the United States, contemplated protection through the medium of import duties.

Prior to the adoption of the Constitution, each state had the power to restrict and even to prohibit by legislation the products of foreign labor. Pennsylvania, as early as 1785, enacted a protective-tariff law, putting it upon the ground that "good policy and a regard for the well-being of diverse useful and industrious citizens, who are employed in the making of like" (to the foreign) "goods in this state," demanded it, and this "although the fabrics and manufactures of Europe and other foreign parts, imported into this country in times of peace may be offered at cheaper rates than they can be made here."

By the adoption of the Constitution this power passed from the states, but it did not cease to exist; it simply became vested in the general government. I know of no clearer exposition of this doctrine and defense of it than that made by that sterling Democrat, President Andrew Jackson, who said:

"The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several states. The right to adjust those duties with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry is so completely identical with that power that it is difficult to suppose the existence of the one without the other. The states have delegated their whole authority over imports to the general government, without limitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having entirely passed from the states, the right to exercise it for the purpose of Protection does not exist in them, and consequently, if it be not possessed by the general government, it must be extinct. Our political system would thus present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to foster their own industry, and to counteract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations.

"This surely cannot be the case; this indispensable power, thus surrendered by the states, must be within the scope of the authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress. In this conclusion, I am confirmed as well by the opinions of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, who have each repeatedly recommended the exercise of this right under the Constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the states, and the general understanding of the people."

How perfectly absurd the language of the Chicago platform seems when read in connection with this clear and emphatic declaration by Andrew Jackson of his own faith and of the faith of the fathers as he understood it!

There can be no more persuasive and conclusive exposition of the intent and meaning of a constitution or a law than that given contemporaneously with its being framed by those who framed it. The first American Congress constituted in large part of the wise men who made the Constitution passed as its first important act a law "laying a duty on goods, wares, and merchandises imported into the United States" for (among other things) *the encouragement and protection of manufactures*. The act was drawn and supported by James Madison, and when passed was signed by George Washington.

The policy of Protection inaugurated in the administration of Washington was persevered in during the administrations of Adams and Jefferson, with the approval of both of these Presidents and, in the following administration of Madison, called forth from him this explicit endorsement in a message to Congress:

"There is no subject that can enter with greater force and merit into the deliberations of Congress, than the consideration of the means to preserve and promote the manufactures which have sprung into existence and attained an unparalleled maturity throughout the United States during the period of the European wars. This source of national independence and wealth I anxiously recommend, therefore, to the prompt and constant guardianship of Congress."

To such an extent did Jefferson (the apostle of a party which pretends to revere his name, while it denies his faith) commit himself to Protection that he gave his approval to even prohibitive duties. Hear him: "The *prohibitive* duties we lay on all articles of foreign manufacture which prudence requires us to establish at home, with the patriotic determination of every good citizen to use no foreign article which can be made within ourselves, without regard to difference in price, secures us against a relapse into foreign dependency."

That sounds very much like the Republican platform as to tariff adopted at Minneapolis!

To pursue this subject further seems much like fighting a phantom. Even John C. Calhoun, the father of secession, may be quoted on the side of the constitutionality of Protection. Under his able leadership in the House of Representatives the protective tariff act of 1816 was passed.

I make a single quotation from him:

"Neither agriculture, manufactures, nor commerce, taken separately, is the cause of wealth; it flows from the three combined and cannot exist without each.

"The wealth of any single nation, or any individual, it is true, may not immediately depend on the three, but such wealth always presupposes their existence. [He viewed the words in the most enlarged sense.] Without commerce, industry would have no stimulus; without manufactures it would be without the means of production; and without agriculture neither of the others can subsist.

"When separated entirely and permanently, they perish. . . . It is admitted, by the most strenuous advocates on the other side, that no country ought to be dependent on another for its means of defense; that, at least, our musket and bayonet, our cannon and ball, ought to be of domestic manufacture.

"But what [he asked] is more necessary to the defense of a country than its currency and finance? Circumstanced as our country is, can these stand the shock of war? Behold the effect of the late war on them! When our manufactures are grown to a certain perfection, as

they soon will under the *fostering care of government*, we will no longer experience these evils. The farmer will find a ready market for his surplus produce; and, which is almost of equal consequence, a certain and cheap supply of all his wants. His prosperity will diffuse itself to every class of the community; and instead of that languor of industry, and individual distress, now incident to a state of war and suspended commerce, the wealth and vigor of the community will not be materially impaired.

To make an end of discussing what to one acquainted with our political history needs no discussion, it may be said that there is no name in American history that commands the admiration of Americans, from Washington to Harrison, that cannot be quoted in defense of the constitutionality of the Protective system.

Nor, moreover, was there ever a time in our history when its unconstitutionality was asserted except during the nullification period of Jackson's administration, nor ever a public man whose name has survived to posterity who advocated it except some few of the men of that period. With the end of the period and the death of the men the doctrine died and was buried.

So, suffice it to say: the doctrine of the Democratic platform has been these many years a corpse. Sad pity that the orgies of a Democratic convention should be permitted to seek a disturbance of its rest.

But what boots it after all, it may well be asked, what the Democratic party may see fit to say on the tariff question? Any man who knows its history will be slow to give it any credit for sincerity in its utterances. It is a harlot of harlots and mouths principles as occasion may seem to require to get votes. Its platforms from Presidential year to Presidential year are a Joseph's coat. They are of all colors.

In 1848, the platform was for Free Trade. It declared that "*the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844 which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas President and Vice President of the United States have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union . . . in the noble impulse given to the cause of Free Trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842,*" etc.

In 1852, Free Trade seemed too strong a dose for the average

voter and it was dropped. The utmost then deemed expedient to say was that "justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another or to cherish the interest of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country." A harmless declaration that meant nothing and was not intended to mean anything. In 1856, courage was plucked up again and it was declared, "the time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and *progressive Free Trade* throughout the world."

In 1860, Free Trade was again endorsed by the Northern Democracy, while the Southern Democracy shortly after, engaged in the Christian effort of founding a confederacy upon the ruin of the Union and the property of man in his fellow-man, declared in the constitution of their sham confederacy, "Nor shall any duty or tax on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry."

In 1864, the Democratic party was so busy in declaring on paper that the war was a failure, that it had no time or stomach for tariff, and its general attitude was so magnificently contemptible to all patriots that but few cared for, or paid any attention to, what its opinion might be.

In 1868, Protection seemed to be constitutional and the Democratic party was in favor of it, *but the Protection was required to be incidental.*

In 1872, the doctrine of Protection was recognized as one which honest people might entertain, and the Free Trade and slavery-upholding Democracy had no opinion to express on the subject, preferring to run the chances of getting patronage by having people vote for its candidate for the presidency, Horace Greeley, a lifelong Abolitionist and Protectionist.

In 1876, the Democratic party professed to believe in a tariff for revenue only. And so it did again in 1880. But in 1884 it had so far changed its mind that it expressed a belief in tariff revision but only on such terms as should protect American labor and American capital. And so also it professed to believe in 1888. But both in 1884 and in 1888 according to that great

leader of Democratic thought, Henry Watterson, the platform was "a straddle," that is to say, one on which Samuel J. Randall and Protection Democrats like him could preach Protection as Democratic doctrine in Protection states, and Free Trade Democrats could preach Free Trade in Free Trade states, one thing in one place and another thing in another place to get votes for the Democratic party.

But now Samuel J. Randall is dead ; the Southern Democracy is again in the saddle and one is tempted to wonder whether the tariff doctrine of the Democracy has not been made to conform to the tariff doctrine of the Southern Confederacy.

After this brief review of Democratic inconsistency, hypocrisy, and deceit, I feel disposed to put the question to every man who thinks his conscience ought to have anything to do with his vote : in the name of common honesty how can you vote with the Democratic party ? Do you suppose that in voting for that party you are voting for anything but a chance for its leaders to get and parcel out offices ? And do you think that a sufficiently worthy motive to influence a morally responsible being ? Two things would seem to be apparent. One is that the Democratic party is unworthy of confidence on the tariff question and the other is that there is absolutely nothing in the pretense that a protective tariff is unconstitutional, and when the Democratic party, as it does now, seeks to avoid responsibility for the fair protection of labor and of established industries on that ground, it is guilty of a manifest false pretense.

Is a protective tariff, as the Democratic party claims, a fraud on American labor ? Certainly not, if our immigration statistics mean anything. Laborers flock to our shores by the hundreds of thousands annually. They come from every country in the civilized world. They leave the homes of their childhood, their early associations, the graves of their dead ; they sunder every tie that binds men to neighbor, to friend, and to place, to seek new homes among new faces in a strange land. Why ? Because, as President Harrison has eloquently said, "they know the land of hope as the swallow knows the land of summer." And they

never go back. They come here because here as nowhere else the wages of labor are high. This is an indisputable fact. It is useless to darken counsel by quoting figures familiar to every student of the subject. The proposed and repudiated plank of the Democratic platform contains a concession of this fact.

It was not repudiated because that was untrue, but because, granting it to be true, it is claimed that the system that protected these high wages is unconstitutional. It avails nothing to deny that high wages are the result of Protection. What difference does that make? For the argument's sake let it be conceded that American wages were originally fixed higher than wages elsewhere from causes outside of the tariff. Still the fact remains that being higher, they are kept higher by a protective tariff.

Let any workman in a protected industry consider for a moment what would happen if the protective tariff duty upon the product he makes should be stricken off and his employer be brought into immediate competition with another employer engaged in the same manufacture but paying foreign wages to his workmen. Necessarily the competing employers must place themselves under the same conditions or one of them must go under. And clearly he will go under whose product involves the greatest cost in its production. In such event his only safety will lie in reducing the cost of production through a reduction of wages.

Nor is there anything beyond demagoguery in the cry as to the amount of manufacturers' incomes. The annual receipts of the employers, large as they may seem, are but a small percentage of the receipts from the same source by labor. Take a pound of steel for example; let us suppose that it brings to the manufacturer two cents in the market. How much of that two cents did he pay out before he was in a position to market it? He paid for the ore, for the labor that mined it, for the labor that loaded it, for the labor that transported it, for the labor that unloaded it, for the labor that puddled it, for the labor that put it through every process necessary to its perfection, and he paid besides the interest on the capital invested in his plant, for its insurance,

for its repair, for the percentage of its decay, for the cost of its management, for the marketing of his product, and for many things else besides incapable of enumeration, and had left only a fair and sometimes less than a fair return on his investment. Edward Atkinson, a statistician of unquestioned ability and a Free Trader, puts manufacturers' profits at a figure not to exceed on the average six per cent on their investments. And so manufacturers' profits, while they may seem large when measured by their incomes in dollars and cents, will, when measured by the amount of their investments, be found to be no larger than, if as large as, those of capitalists in unprotected callings. The totals of manufacturers' earnings when compared with the totals of the earnings of all of their workmen will be found to be but a small fraction of the aggregate of both.

Anarchist newspapers and political demagogues have recently sought to make capital against a protective tariff because of strikes and lockouts among workmen in protected industries. It is matter of congratulation that no respectable newspaper and no public man of character has joined in this unholy crusade.

The fact is that conflicts between labor and capital are as old as the race and are at one time or another universally prevalent. They have no possible relation to tariff nor has tariff any relation to them. The truth is that strikes are more numerous in Free Trade England than anywhere else in the world.

In 1891, there was presented to both Houses of Parliament "by command of Her Majesty" a "Report of the Strikes and Lockouts" in various countries compiled by the London Board of Trade. This official report, covering the year 1890, made the following exhibit :

<i>Countries.</i>	<i>No. strikes.</i>	<i>Persons affected.</i>
United Kingdom,	1,028	392,981
France,	31	
of these	6=	98,700
Germany,	45	
of these	12=	45,800
United States,	927	
of these	553=	219,915

Two things are conspicuously apparent from this exhibit :

First. Strikes are more prevalent in Free Trade England than in any country where the Protective policy prevails.

Second. Strikes in Free Trade England in a given year were more numerous by 100 than they were in the Protected United States, and affected over 173,000 more persons, although the population of England is only a little more than one half that of the United States.

The limit of this article prevents further elaboration of this subject. If time and space permitted it would be easy to show that in the case of the United States Protection has contributed in every way to everything that goes to make a people prosperous, to its internal commerce, to its foreign trade, and to the harmonious development of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.

Do we want a tariff for revenue only instead of a tariff for protection? The garnered experience of our past answers no; emphatically no. We have never had an era of protective tariff in all our history that was not an era of national prosperity; we have never had an era of tariff for revenue only that was not an era of national adversity. True under the revenue tariff of 1846 we did for a while flourish in spite of its baleful influence, but this was due to accidental causes more powerful for good than its influence was powerful for harm. The discovery of gold in California, the failure of European crops, and the prevalence of European war helped us out. But when these causes ceased to operate and the revenue tariff policy had a chance to make its legitimate effects felt disaster came.

When, at the end of a tariff for revenue period, James Buchanan turned over the government to Abraham Lincoln its treasury was bankrupt, its credit gone, and we were beggars in the world's money markets for the means to carry on the government.

The contrast between the Morrill tariff bill of 1861, passed to replenish a national treasury bankrupted by a Democratic tariff for revenue only, and the McKinley bill of 1892, passed to relieve a treasury overflowing from the results of a Republican protective tariff, is one of the most instructive lessons in the world's economic history.

Do our people appreciate what a tariff for revenue means? Do they know what it is?

A tariff for revenue and Free Trade are practically synonymous terms. No civilized country has ever raised its revenues except in part through the medium of import duties. England is the only Free Trade country on the face of the globe to-day, yet she collects \$100,000,000 per annum of import duties. These duties are levied on tea and coffee and sugar and tobacco and the other necessities of life and are paid by her poor people. So jealous is she of being deprived of objects of tariff taxation that she has made it by law a criminal offense to raise tobacco within the British Isles.

Professor Sumner of Yale College, a recognized authority as a Free Trader, considers a revenue tariff the equivalent of Free Trade; and Mongredien, the authorized spokesman of the Cobden Club, says in his "History of the Free Trade Movement in England": "Is our present tariff (English) one from which every shred and vestige of Protection have been discarded? Is it truly and thoroughly a *Free Trade tariff*? That these questions must be answered in the affirmative it is easy to prove in the most conclusive manner."

The purpose of a revenue tariff is to raise revenue. Hence the primary objects upon which it acts are the things that people *must have*, that come to them from foreign countries; such as tea, coffee, sugar, drugs, and the like. Such a tariff, unlike a Protective tariff, is a tax, since, there being no home competition in the articles on which it is levied the importer adds the duty in the price. Such tariff to fulfill its purpose must be levied on articles of general use, because only from these can a large revenue be secured.

Under our Protective system we imported for the year ending May 31, 1892, over \$400,000,000 worth of articles free of any duty. These articles came to our people free of any tax. Under a revenue tariff every one of these articles would have been charged with an import duty, and that duty would have been a tax on the purchaser.

It must be perfectly apparent that a revenue tariff will bear

more heavily on the poor than on the rich. Let me quote from Henry George, whose general conclusions I cannot endorse, but whose reasoning on this subject is unanswerable. Speaking of a revenue tariff as a means of indirect taxation, he says :

"A still more important objection to indirect taxation is that when imposed on articles of general use (and it is only from such articles that large revenues can be had) it bears with far greater weight on the poor than on the rich. Since such taxation falls on people not according to what they have, but according to what they consume, it is the heaviest on those whose consumption is largest in proportion to their means. As much sugar is needed to sweeten a cup of tea for a working-girl as for the richest lady in the land, but the proportion of their means which a tax on sugar compels each to contribute to the government is in the case of the one much greater than in the case of the other. So it is with all taxes that increase the cost of articles of general consumption. They bear far more heavily on married men than on bachelors ; on those who have children than on those who have none ; on those barely able to support their families than on those whose incomes leave them a large surplus. If the millionaire chooses to live closely he need pay no more of these indirect taxes than the mechanic. I have known at least two millionaires—possessed not of one, but of from six to ten millions each—who paid little more of such taxes than ordinary day laborers.

"Even if cheaper articles were taxed at no higher rates than the more costly, such taxation would be grossly unjust ; but in indirect taxation there is always a tendency to impose heavier taxes on the cheaper articles used by all than on the more costly articles used only by the rich. This arises from the necessities of the case. Not only do the larger amounts of articles of common consumption afford a wider basis for large revenues than the smaller amounts of more costly articles, but taxes imposed on them cannot be so easily evaded. For instance, while articles in use by the poor as well as the rich are, under our tariff, taxed fifty and a hundred, and even a hundred and fifty per cent, the tax on diamonds is only ten per cent, and this comparatively light tax is most difficult to enforce, owing to the high value of diamonds as compared with their bulk. Even where discrimination of this kind is not made in the imposition of indirect taxation, it arises in its collection. Specific taxes fall more heavily upon the cheaper than the costlier grades of goods, while even in the case of *ad valorem* taxes, undervaluation and evasion are easier in regard to the more valuable grades."

Continuing, Henry George concludes, and we may well agree with him :

"Those Protectionists are right who declare that Protection is the only justification for a tariff, and the advocates of 'a tariff for revenue

only ' have no case. If we do not need a tariff for Protection we need no tariff at all, and for the purpose of raising revenue should resort to some system which will not tax the mechanic as heavily as the millionaire, and will not call on the man who rears a family to pay on that account more than the man who shirks his natural obligation, and leaves some woman whom in the scheme of nature it was intended that he should support, to take care of herself as best she can.'

The purpose of a revenue tariff is to increase importations. But home productions decrease as importations increase, and it is therefore plain as the noonday that the Free Trader's dream will have been realized and his millenium will have come with the destruction of our industries and the loss of our independence.

Foreign products as against home products become the creatures of governmental regard, since from them come the sources of supply for its Treasury. A revenue tariff says welcome to the products of the cooly labor of India and the pauper toil of China; welcome to the manufactures made by the starvation wages of Wales and Belgium; welcome, men of all races and climes, kindreds and tongues, toiling as slaves and living like beasts, to a competition with freemen in an American environment, with American wants, privileges, habits, and American manhood.

There is no sensible man who does not know that a revenue tariff would strike down American manufactures, in which millions of money are invested and hundreds of thousands of men employed; would shut furnace doors, and make their smokeless stacks the sad monuments of industrial ruin; would still the music of the loom and the spindle, bankrupt American capital, and put out the fire upon the hearthstone of American labor. For many a workman without work it would give the alternative of starvation or beggary. It would crowd our farms with superfluous laborers, take from the farmer his home market, and multiply his products without multiplying the mouths to feed.

Over and above and beyond all, it would strip us of our independence and make us the hewers of wood and drawers of water for all the world besides.

The real truth is that, if we are to have a tariff which shall not protect our labor and our capital, but shall only tax our poor people on what they eat and drink and wear while it opens our markets to the products of the poor paid labor of the world, we had better have no tariff at all. And if we have no tariff we must reverse the wisdom of all nations up to this time as to the methods of collecting revenue ; abolish custom duties, and resort to direct taxation. I am sure that there are few intelligent men in this country ready for that.

Our salvation lies in the Republican policy which, having a regard to American capital and American labor, has made us great as a people and which is destined to make us yet greater ; the policy defined in the platform of the Republican party adopted at Minneapolis, to wit :

" We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be duties levied equal to the difference between wages at home and abroad."

JOHN DALZELL.



IS CORPORAL PUNISHMENT DEGRADING ?

BY ANDREW J. PALM.

IS corporal punishment degrading? This question is taken as the subject for an article in a recent number of *The North American Review*, by the Dean of St. Paul's, London, and answered, presumably to his satisfaction, in the negative. The Dean's article is strikingly free from any effort at reasoning on the subject or attempt to discuss it on its merits from a philosophic standpoint. He relies for his proofs of the elevating and refining influence of the whip mainly upon the Bible and the general voice of mankind. Because Solomon recommended the liberal use of the rod and for the reason that Greece and Rome flogged children freely, he draws the conclusion that corporal punishment cannot be degrading, and he regretfully says, "There is said to be a feeling in America that it is degrading, and there are painful signs of the growth of such a feeling in England."

The time is past when persons such as those who are likely to read the Dean's article are willing to accept an argument for any more than it is worth, no matter whether it be drawn from the Bible or from the hackneyed praises of Greece and Rome or from any other source. Truth is no less truth if it come from the lips of a devil, and a wrong, sanctioned by the Scriptures and practiced by the whole world, is just as wrong as if condemned by Greece and Rome and the Bible. The Dean evidently did not find it convenient to think that he could, with the same effort and with equal consistency from the same authorities, prove that polygamy and slavery are not degrading, and that we have sinned grievously in disobeying the teachings of Scripture and forsaking the practices of Greece and Rome by making polygamy a crime and slavery a misnomer.

Every age must settle its own questions and should decide them in the light of its own intelligence. Taking into consideration the low stage of civilization three thousand years ago, it would be wonderful, indeed, if Solomon with all his wisdom and riches, with all his wives and children and concubines, would be as good an authority on training nineteenth-century children as the educated Englishman or American who has good sense, good morals, and fine sensibilities, and who has the advantage over Solomon of thirty centuries of the world's evolution and experience.

Quoting Solomon as authority has always been regarded as an end of the discussion by those who believe in pain and the fear of pain as an antidote for bad thoughts and their natural result, bad actions; and yet Solomon has never been held up as a model in other respects. He willfully, flagrantly, and repeatedly violated that very Bible upon which the Dean relies to prove the wisdom and goodness of corporal punishment. He took wives from all those nations with whom God had expressly forbidden intercourse, marrying as his first wife a daughter of Pharaoh and following it up by choosing from the Zidonians, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Hittites, and all the other "ites" within reach until he had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, of whom the Bible says: "Solomon clave unto these in love." Though he was severe with children he seemed anxious to please as many of his wives as possible, and to do this he erected a temple to Chemosh, the obscene god of Moab, and worshiped Ashtaroath, the moon-goddess of the Phœnicians, as well as Molech, the horrid god whom the Ammonites worshiped with human sacrifice. The circumstances under which he put his brother Adonijah to death would create a suspicion in an unprejudiced mind that the prevailing ideas of right in England and America to-day need not fear comparison with the standard recognized by Solomon in the days of the Pharaohs.

The Dean well knows that in early times and even in later years learned theologians have many times seriously discussed the question as to whether there is any hope of Solomon's salvation, and his case indeed seems critical unless some lover of the

barbarous practice of corporal punishment can, when some church creed is being revised, have an *ex post facto* clause inserted to cover Solomon's case.

After Solomon's death the subjects, who had been grievously burdened with taxes to carry on his schemes of grandeur, respectfully petitioned his son Rehoboam, who had ascended the throne, saying: "Thy father made our burden heavy, make thou it lighter."

What was the reply of this son who had been whipped into the ways of goodness and wisdom by the great authority for corporal punishment? We should be led to think that no matter how firmly "foolishness might be bound in the heart of a child," Solomon would be able to beat it out with his favorite instrument for making good children. Rehoboam's answer to the reasonable request of his suffering subjects shows that his training had been a sad failure. His reply to the petition was, "Whereas my father did lade you with a heavy yoke I will add to your yoke. My father chastised you with whips but I will chastise you with scorpions." This was the natural result of his training, for, as has been said by some one, so long as the wise persist in the use of the rod the ignorant will use a club.

As far as slavery is right because authorized by the Bible, so far can corporal punishment be defended on the same ground but no further and, unless other than Bible proof can be offered in support of the rod, it must stand or fall on its merits or demerits aside from what the Bible may say of it. If it be argued that slavery was right at the time and under the circumstances when supported by the Scriptures, but has been outgrown in the march of civilization, the same argument will apply with equal force to the inhuman practice of beating children.

Upon what other proofs does the Dean rely to show that the lash is a fitting concomitant of civilization? He says, after quoting from Solomon, "I turn from the book of authority to that general voice of mankind which speaks with authority. Greece and Rome are the two nations of antiquity to which appeal is ever made for guidance, as from them we learn what the

more cultured nations than thought and did. Corporal punishment certainly existed in the schools of Greece, and we do not find any objections raised to it on the score of its being degrading, though Plutarch thinks it might well be dispensed with."

The Dean is just as unfortunate in this direction as in the other, because he again proves too much, and, unless he be considerably permitted to pick out of Greek and Roman practices simply what suits his own purpose, he would be ashamed of the result of his argument. Who would for a moment argue that England and the United States should pattern after Greek or Roman civilization? Slavery existed in Greece and none of the Grecian philosophers objected to it on the score of morals. Aristotle defended its justice on the ground of a diversity of race, dividing mankind into the free and the slave by nature. Plato did not condemn it but desired that no Greeks should be made slaves.

The case looks still worse when we turn to Rome, where millions of slaves were treated with great severity. In early Roman history there was no penalty attached to a master's putting his slave to death at will, and even under the reign of Augustus, Vedius Pollis flung such of his slaves as displeased him into his fish-ponds to feed his eels. It was customary to leave old and useless slaves to starve on an island in the Tiber.

But what do Greece and Rome have to offer on the subject of training children? Since the Dean turns to these nations of superior culture for light, we should certainly expect to find at least something besides the rod worthy of imitation in their management of children.

Infanticide, which is abhorrent to modern civilization—condemned even by those who clamor for punishment by the lash—prevailed in Greece and Rome, not secretly and among the depraved, but authorized by law. Aristotle in his "Politics" says: "The law should forbid the nurturing of the maimed, and where a check to population is required abortion should be produced before the quickening of the infant." In Sparta when a

child was born the father was obliged to carry it to be inspected by the elders of the community. If these censors decided that "its limbs were straight and its looks wholesome" they returned it to the parents to be educated, but if their decision was adverse the child was thrown into a deep cavern at the foot of the mountain Taygetus. In Rome it lay with the father to say whether the child should be permitted to live or whether it should be put to death, and yet, we are asked to maintain the hardening, degrading use of the cudgel because the old Greeks and Romans understood the true method of rearing children.

I have no patience with the morbid sentiment that is continually decrying the higher civilization that progression and evolution are slowly but surely establishing, and going back to the Egyptians, Hebrews, or Greeks for examples of right living.

PRACTICAL EXAMPLES.

The Dean gives two illustrations to show that corporal punishment is beneficial and hence should be maintained.

One dear, good friend of his, one of the most distinguished men of his day, according to the Dean's description, had so wandered from the higher wisdom of his fathers or had so little aboriginal blood in his veins that he could not bring himself to pound wisdom and goodness into his sons, but when they went wrong he would try to show them the folly of their course by appealing to their minds instead of their muscles. Though the Dean does not say that they turned out to be thieves or cut-throats, he says, "They treated their father with painful indifference," and he would have us infer from this that, like spaniels, these sons would have kissed their father's hand if it had been kind enough to smite them.

Let the Dean give the other case in his own words :

"I knew a woman whose widowed mother had brought her up in a manner that seemed to me most harsh and unjust. They were in very poor circumstances and at times the girl was sent to gather sticks to light the fire ; if the child brought too large a stick, the mother would beat her for having stolen it out of a hedge, without examining into the truth of what she asserted. I give this as a sample of the home discipline. Of all the affectionate children I ever knew that daughter was one of the most remarkable. Her wages were freely given to her

mother ; there was nothing she would not do to help her ; I believe she would have laid down her life for her. It is only right to say that both mother and daughter were excellent Christian women."

It was very thoughtful on the Dean's part to state that the mother was an excellent Christian, for judged by his description of her conduct, she would be written down as a wicked old fish-woman. Does he for a moment think or would he have us believe that this girl was so peculiarly, so abnormally constituted that the treatment of a wise, loving mother would have soured her disposition and made her disobedient and unlovely ?

The Dean is fearful that without legalized corporal punishment boys will grow to be as foolish as their fathers. He says : "The boy who will say to his father when threatening to box his ears for being disobedient or impertinent, 'If you do so I will summon you before a magistrate,' will soon set all parental authority at defiance."

The question arises whether such parental authority as that indicates ought not to be set at defiance. It certainly should find no sanction on the part of such men as the Dean of St. Paul's. The man who will make such a threat does not know enough to be a father, and if he should bring up a child to be a man of average goodness and ability, it will be more the result of blind chance than wise management. Like begets like the world over, and the father who beats his son for offenses similar to those of which he himself is guilty should neither complain nor be surprised, if, when the boy's muscle develops, he concludes to return blow for blow. The parent who cannot command the obedience of his children from any higher or better motive than the fear of physical punishment will learn that the law of self-preservation, implanted in both human and brute nature, will lead the child to resent force with force as soon as his strength will justify it. The desire to do so exists long before the strength.

When a man is beaten he feels humiliated, disgraced, outraged, profane ; and he swears vengeance on the author of his trouble ; so does a boy ; it is but the feeling and expression of human nature and what else is child nature ? Thousands of boys,

smarting under the pain of the lash, have sworn to be revenged as soon as they would grow strong enough to measure muscle with the teacher. Fortunately, children are usually of a forgiving disposition, and the impression of their wrongs grows less and less distinct as time passes, so that those threats are commonly "more honored in the breach than the observance"; yet there have been many cases where the slumbering demon did not die, but where the teacher was called to account and given a dose of his favorite prescription long after he had forgotten that he sowed the seeds of revenge in a boy's heart.

To show that corporal punishment is not degrading but brings up good men, the Dean refers to Eton College, where flogging boys was formerly the principal amusement and business of the faculty, and where the teaching is said to be still largely on mediæval methods. If the Dean could have before him the names of the thousands whose tempers have been soured, whose dispositions rendered vicious, and whose lives blasted by harsh punishment at home and at school, he would have neither apology nor illustration to offer in its behalf.

It is true that some natures can stand a wonderful amount of abuse and neglect and still remain comparatively unimpaired so far as we can observe. These distinguished men to whom we are continually referred as living monuments of the good results of flogging became good and able in spite of their training and not as a result of it. It would be difficult to place human beings in conditions so unfavorable that some of them would not develop a fair degree of mental, moral, and physical strength, and it would be equally hard to have them so situated that all would grow strong and symmetrical in body and mind. Of the one hundred and forty-six men who were jammed into the Black Hole of Calcutta, twenty-three had sufficient endurance to survive the horrible torture and come out alive; and though this is as large a percentage as that of the Eton boys who grow into good and distinguished men no one would refer to the Black Hole of British India as a place designed to promote the health, strength, and general welfare of the inmates.

A great principle like that involved in the infliction of physi-

cal pain to create an intelligent and beneficial change of mind cannot be settled by a few examples showing its supposed good effects. There is but little advantage in knowing how well John Smith's boy Sam turned out under the influence of a good flogging every day or how great a rascal Bill Jones became because his parents were kind and reasonable and didn't "lick" him. Neither does it make the least difference how they did it in Egypt, Greece, or Rome, or any other place. The question narrows itself down to this: does the infliction of physical pain upon men, women, or children in this age make them better? Does it enlighten their clouded minds, elevate and refine their moral feelings, and inspire them with the desire to do better, or does it smother their better impulses, inflame their passions, rouse a spirit of retaliation, and strengthen those very characteristics that should be softened and subdued?

Willfully bad conduct is the result of bad thoughts. Does pinching the skin, pulling the hair, or pounding the muscles change these bad thoughts into holy aspirations? Does it occur to the Dean or any one else that physical pain has even the slightest tendency toward creating moral or intellectual strength? A severe mental affliction may sometimes soften a harsh nature and bring out the better impulses, but is it so with physical pain? Does the dyspeptic grow more lovely in disposition because of the pain in his stomach? Does the sufferer from gout or rheumatism become more gentle and reasonable than he was in health? If the Dean wants a wealthy brother to contribute largely to some church expense, does he wait until the good man is howling with toothache before approaching him? Or let him appeal to his own experience. Has he ever attempted to drive a perverse nail and struck the wrong nail, or has he ever in bare feet stepped on a carpet tack? If he has had these and similar experiences, what was the effect on his mind? Did they have a tendency to bring out the lovely and amiable in his disposition or did he forget for the moment that he is a dean and imagine that the third commandment had been repealed in order to give him a chance to express himself in fitting language? In truth, is it not the natural tendency of

all physical pain to drive out the higher feelings and rouse in us only that which is revengeful and vindictive, and should we not oppose its infliction, no matter from what source it may be threatened or what its pretended object? The pain of the surgeon's knife is all that should be voluntarily inflicted by one human being upon another, unless in absolute self-defense.

It is sometimes argued that the Almighty sends physical punishment upon us for violating the laws of health, and hence pain must be recognized as the proper method of dealing with offenses.

Without stopping to discuss the purposes of nature in following intemperate indulgences with physical pain, it is sufficient for the present to inquire whether the pain so sent reforms those upon whom it is visited. The drunkard may suffer all the torments of hell from a debauch, but does he reform as a result or does he rather go right on repeating the fearful experience more and more frequently as long as he lives? If we want him to reform we must appeal to his intelligence instead of his nerves. We must work a change of thought and purpose on his part instead of trying to keep him sober by talking of the suffering arising from getting drunk.

If the Dean had referred to any work on psychology, English or American, or even Grecian or Roman, that points out the relationship between physical pain and moral strength, he would have conferred a favor, and at the same time have alluded at least to an argument that he did not attempt to make.

It is safe to presume that punishment for the sake of revenge or a sort of grim, savage satisfaction for an offense committed no longer finds sanction by any one competent to write an article for *The North American Review*. Punishment as such should be banished from the thoughts of enlightened people. It may arise as an unavoidable incident of correction, but in and of itself it is diabolical and its effects are like their cause, only devilish. A true philosophy will imprison a man, if necessary, not for the sake of punishing him, but for the higher and only true purpose of teaching him and so improving his intelligence and morals that he may be fit to take a place in society, and, by

the way, if he never improves so as to be a law-abiding citizen, he should be kept in perpetual restraint. Children need correction, but a very large part of the prevailing punishment both at home and at school is as far from being corrective as stealing is from being in harmony with the principles of the decalogue. I shall be reminded that it is necessary to punish for the sake of example, but it is so clearly an outrage to punish one person for the anticipated offenses of another or to make one suffer to scare another into good behavior that it surely is not necessary to argue this point.

The Dean like all his modern predecessors on this subject so hedges and qualifies his theory that he practically abolishes what he assumes to cherish. He says: "In defending corporal punishment, I must be understood as defending its use and not its abuse; as approving it when employed after reflection by a judicious parent or teacher."

The Dean no doubt would endorse the sentiment expressed by Professor John Ogden, one of the ablest and most ardent advocates of corporal punishment in the United States, when he says: "No one should ever lay hand on that fearful instrument, the rod of correction, unless he can first lay his hand on his heart and say, 'O God, I do this to glorify thy name.'"

Surely the god whose name can be glorified by beating a child is not the same who said: "It were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck and he cast into the sea than that he should offend one of these little ones."

It is amusing to read the wise and loving directions that are always given to accompany the use of the rod. Its advocates would have this caution printed in large characters and pasted on every rod in use: "I am to be used only in loving-kindness. No angry hand should ever touch me." No matter how widely they may differ in other respects they are a unit on this point, that the whipping should always be inflicted without any feeling of anger or resentment. Was this ever done? Did any parent or teacher ever whip a child soundly and not feel the old Adam seconding every blow and urging the executioner to make each stroke a little harder than the preceding? The man or woman

who can beat a child and at the same time be in a happy, forgiving frame of mind ought to be too good to need brute force as an ally in controlling children.

On one essential point the advocates of the lash differ widely. Some declare that the pounding should never be severe, as it is the shame rather than the pain that does the perfect work. Others insist that when the whip is used it should be laid on with a strong arm, but, of course, in purest love. Some would have us believe that they inflict this cruel punishment as a matter of duty, though they are so loving that it hurts them worse to whip than to be whipped.

Away with such nonsense! As General Sherman says of war, whipping is cruelty and you can't refine it. There is no such thing in punishment as an affectionate slap, a loving kick, or a Christlike blow. Blows given to cause pain are always demoralizing, no matter whether in the home, the school, or the prison; they are alike degrading to those who inflict, those who receive, and those who witness them. No kind, thoughtful parent or teacher ever whipped a child, even under the delusion that it was necessary, without feeling a loss of self-respect and a pang of conscience suggesting that there might have been a better way.

Several writers in order to enable us to distinguish between the use and abuse of whipping have given minute directions for carrying into effect this ancient method of appealing to the finer feelings of children, but never has one done so without conveying the idea that he was simply ridiculing a practice that should have died, at least with the advent of Christianity. They tell us that the clothing should be reduced to a proper "thinness," point out the part of the "human form divine" that was made especially to receive the blows that are to work a change of heart, tell how many strokes are to be given per minute, how hard the impressions should be made, and what loving advice is to be offered between the blows. When the victim has been properly stripped to receive the moral lesson, the executioner is first to make him understand that he is to be whipped purely for his own good; that the pain and the shame are necessary for his

benefit; to strengthen his self-respect and improve his moral understanding. Then when he has been made to comprehend this incomprehensible, inconsistent twaddle, the blows are to be prayerfully applied to the proper place, with the proper force, and at the rate of one or two per minute until the loving lady-like or gentlemanly executioner, with a watch in one hand and a cowhide in the other, in some mysterious manner understands that the pain and the shame have done their perfect work and opened the mind of the child to the beautiful results of physical suffering.

As I understand it, the principal difference between the use and the abuse of corporal punishment is this: In the abuse, an angry parent or teacher jumps upon a child and beats it because he is angry. In the use, the assault is not committed in hot blood but with deliberation and forethought; and I am not prepared to say that he who can excuse his cowardly act, even by so unworthy a plea as a bad temper, does not stand better in the light of reason than the cold-blooded, methodical person who in cool judgment can beat a helpless child under the delusion that he is doing it a kindness.

It was once thought that husbands could not have the proper respect and obedience of their wives without the privilege of whipping them as they might seem to need it. The English common law permitted a loving husband to chastise the partner of his joys, providing he did not use a rod larger than his little finger; and the Englishman who had the biggest little finger was looked upon as "one born to rule." It is now pretty generally admitted that wives are just as loving, obedient, and intelligent as they were under the rod, and let us be manly and honest enough to admit that children are very much like their fathers and mothers.

The Dean has been rightly informed regarding the feeling in America, that corporal punishment is degrading. It is no longer permitted in the public schools of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Erie, and many other smaller cities, nor in the State of New Jersey, where it was abolished by law in 1867. If the Dean will go across the

Channel into France where corporal punishment was abolished in the schools twenty-five years ago, he will find that they are better disciplined than the schools of his own "Merrie England" as the control is by reason and persuasion, not by force and fear.

The School Board of Providence, R. I., has recently passed an order forbidding corporal punishment from being inflicted on any except primary pupils and upon these only by consent of their parents or guardians. This step is strictly in keeping with the cowardly nature of the punishment. Teachers have very often met serious difficulty by arousing the passions of older pupils by a physical attack, but the Providence Board of Education kindly comes to their aid and requires them to attack none but little children, and only such as have guardians with too little intelligence or feeling to forbid the inhuman practice.

Corporal punishment has been abolished in all American prisons that make any pretensions of being first-class institutions of their kind. In some states such punishment is prohibited in prisons by law, but in most of them the humanity and good sense of the managers are all that is necessary to prevent its use. The fact that thousands of convicts are controlled without blows, and yet that flogging goes on in our homes and schools is a comparison that to some parents and teachers may be odious, but one that they might study with profit.

This punishment is doomed to go and there is no use in offering any feeble remonstrances to prevent it, for they can no more save it from the fate of the unworthy dead than the last expiring wails uttered in defense of slavery or hanging for forgery could retain them. Civilization is fast reaching a plane where it will find no place for any method of reforming or training either children or adults that does not in some measure appeal to the reason and intelligence, no matter how feeble they may be. The child or man out of whom an evil spirit can be beaten by blows and into whom an angel of light can be driven by cruel force is a monstrosity, and while it is barely possible that such creatures abounded in Greece and Rome, they are not a product of nineteenth-century civilization.

ANDREW J. PALM.

THE TEACHER'S INFLUENCE IN POLITICS.

BY GEO. J. LUCKEY, LL.D., SUPT. CITY SCHOOLS, PITTSBURG, PA.

THE world is what we make it, and we are what we are by education. The organs of speech are alike in all people, and yet by education different nations speak different languages. The Chinese and the Russian hand down their peculiar dialects from generation to generation, and will continue to do so until the end of time, unless a stronger educational force from without shall compel them to accept a new language or a different dialect. The peculiar habits, customs, and prejudices of every people are nothing more nor less than the result of education. The traditions of the fathers influence the children to the third and fourth generations.

Education leads the Englishman to venerate his Queen, and the Irish Celt to hate the government under which he lives. It makes the Briton extol the name of Wellington, and causes the breast of every Frenchman to swell with pride when he recounts the daring deeds of the first Napoleon. It directs the Moham-medan in his pilgrimage toward Mecca, and brings the Jew to worship in the synagogue of his fathers. It moves the Buddhist to chant his sacred songs in the gilded temples of the East, and controls the Christian in his more rational worship of the true God.

We ask ourselves the question, Why do beings of a like nature and with the same faculties differ so radically in their political notions, religious views, and social customs? To this question there is but one answer; viz., the belief and actions of mankind are greatly controlled by education. Even in our own community among our Christian sects, we find, by investigation, that the dividing line is education. Our Episcopalians have had Episcopal training; our Presbyterians have had Presbyterian

fathers; our Methodists have had Methodist mothers; and our Catholics have been reared with priestly care in parochial schools. So generally is this true that we may predict, with reasonable certainty, what will be the religious belief of those who are yet unborn. For instance, no one will care to doubt the prediction that nine tenths of those who will be born in the next decade on the sunny hills of Spain will be Catholics; and a like proportion of those who may first see the light on the Scottish soil will be imbued with the principles of the Reformation. Why will this be true? There is not enough in the physical surroundings of these people to indicate what will be the religious belief of their future generations; but knowing what will be taught, we can foreshadow the tenets of their creed, and predict the tenor of their rules of faith and practice. Let the religious education in these countries be reversed, and the next generation of Spaniards will read the works and follow the teachings of Luther, Knox, and Calvin, while the mass will be celebrated in every Scottish kirk, and the image of the Virgin will adorn the walls of St. Giles.

What is true in the matter of religion is true in everything else. Our young politicians argue with warmth and enthusiasm for the doctrines of their respective parties, all believing that their convictions are based upon reason and investigation, while in fact they are but the bias of education. Their political opinions have been molded by home training. Had the Republican been reared by a Democratic uncle or had the Democrat been sheltered beneath a "Stalwart" roof, their politics and convictions would have been reversed.

To the casual observer it might appear that this rule does not always hold good. In the realm of mind, as in the realm of matter, we find sudden and unaccountable changes, great revolutions in thought that compare in grandeur and sublimity with the physical eruptions whose footprints we find in the deep canyon, or penciled in rugged outline far up the mountain side.

The great convulsions of mind and matter are not outside of law and rule, but are as surely the results of a cause as are the more common occurrences of everyday life. Take, for in-

stance, the reformation of the sixteenth century, when whole communities and states and nations, almost as one man, changed their creeds and customs, and it will be at once conceded that this mighty revolution was but in obedience to the general rule, that men are what they are by education. The new doctrine, though having its vague inception far back in the recesses of hoary centuries, under the general rays of brightening ages, at length broke through the eyelet of its secret spring, and gathering strength in its onward flow through the confines of awakened thought, at last swept before it with irresistible force every vestige of opposing error and superstition.

The education of an individual or of a community is a much more rapid process to-day than it was in the ages that are past and gone. Then the only educating agencies were the church and the family; then the thoughts, the convictions, the customs, and the prejudices of a generation were almost exact duplicates of those of preceding ages; but to-day we have so multiplied the educational forces that it has become possible for individuals and communities to be entirely changed in their customs, habits, and convictions in a single generation. The invention of printing makes the thought of each individual the common property of mankind; the telegraph daily brings into every household the important doings of all nations; and the improved modes of travel make it possible for us to visit the remote ends of the earth, and for people of different climates and languages to mingle together and learn from each other. But we must not suppose that the open, visible, and recognized educational agencies are the only ones that influence the belief and actions of mankind. From the cradle to the grave our opinions and actions are, in a considerable degree, molded and controlled by a thousand subtle agencies; they are influenced by the words and acts of our companions in childhood, by the mountains that encircle our homes, by the rivers upon whose shaded banks we hold our childish sports, by the storms of summer, by the snows of winter, and by the delicate flower that sheds its perfume on the gentle breezes of springtime. But of all the educational agencies, there is no one that exerts so powerful an influence

upon the human mind as does the professional teacher. In his hands is the destiny of the American people ; to his care have been committed human liberty and free institutions, and he should be prepared to accept the responsibility which the people, the nation, and the nineteenth century have imposed upon him. This great nation was not born of chance ; the principles of free government were not the discoveries of a single generation ; the love of liberty and the hate of tyrants were the results and outgrowth of a long-continued process of education ; thought was quickened by perception, cultured by hardships and suffering, and ripened amid scenes of carnage and bloodshed. The result of this education of our fathers is a nation of freemen. As it was developed by education, so must it be preserved by education ; and under our peculiar system of government the chief responsibility for its preservation has been placed in the hands of the public school-teacher ; hence the necessity that the teacher realize his responsibility, and that he be thoroughly prepared for the great work in which he is enlisted. What shall be the nature of the preparation ?

He should have a sound body. I know that great things have sometimes been accomplished by men whose souls have been confined in fragile shells, but the rule is the other way. A forest tree, planted in the crevice of a rock, may sometimes be the peer of its more fortunate neighbors in the valley below, but yet men do not search for the finest timber upon the rocky hill-side. The fruit from the blighted apple tree may, in the distance, look red and luscious, but on close inspection you will find the marks of disease plainly written in the core. The work of the teacher is of such a nature that it will soon destroy a sickly body ; and he who possesses an unsound constitution, if he values life, should never preside at a teacher's desk.

Accompanying a healthy physique the teacher should have a cultured intellect. By this I mean more than a knowledge of books. Side by side with his knowledge of mathematics he should have a knowledge of the world ; underlying his knowledge of geography should be a knowledge of mankind ; and above and beyond his knowledge of science and astronomy

should be a knowledge of Him who made all things. The teacher is the pupil's model, and this model should be as perfect as it is possible to have it. Every word spoken, every motion made, every action performed by the teacher, has its part in the education of those placed in his charge. If the teacher is uncultured in expression, the pupil will imitate him; if he is rude and awkward in his manners and movements, the pupil will be like him; if he is drowsy and slow in his actions, the pupil will incline to be dull and stupid.

The teacher should be a student of child-nature, and have a heart big enough and good enough to furnish sympathy in every childish sorrow; he should possess a centripetal force which should draw every individual pupil toward him, and this force should be strong enough to reach out over fields and hills, through streets and alleys, to every home. He who possesses the opposite repulsing or centrifugal force can never be a teacher; he may keep school and draw a salary, but he cannot be an educational force. The true teacher must not only understand science, but he must know himself; and his ability to govern and control others will depend largely upon his ability to control and govern himself. A man may have a sound body and possess good literary attainments, and fail as an educator for want of enthusiasm. To be a successful teacher he must have unbounded zeal in his calling; he must realize the great importance of his work; he must feel that he is engaged in making citizens of a great republic, in making mankind better, and in helping his little corner of earth to be happier and purer.

The American teacher can follow no model,—his work is different from that of all who have gone before him. In older countries the teacher supplements home training, and home training is a well-defined, definite, positive quantity. Here the teacher's work is not supplementary, but original. We are building a new nation; we must take the different people from all nations and climes and mold them into a new nationality; we must change their language and their customs; we must teach them to love another flag, and wean them from the graves and traditions of their fathers; in short we must transform them

from serfs to sovereigns, from slaves to men. If we are successful in our work, the future historian will record the existence of a nation more populous than ancient Rome and more cultured than Greece. If the Roman forum gave law to the world, and the gardens of Athens furnished her with models of art and oratory, may it not yet be said that the American schoolhouse gave liberty to human-kind? Whatever this great Nation is to be in the future, whatever blessings are to be bestowed upon the human family, the public school must largely determine.

Already the public school has done much to make mankind better. In it the children of all denominations and parties form a common brotherhood. The walls of prejudice and hate, which divided our fathers into hostile sects and parties, have been leveled to the earth, and only imaginary lines are felt instead. Those who in youth sit at the same desk, play at the same games, and recite in the same classes, cannot and will not be enemies in manhood.

The rack, the thumbscrew, and the stake might flourish when education was in the hands of sects and clans, when love was circumscribed and hate was universal, but they can have no place where dividing lines between sects have been obliterated, and where the human family constitute a single clan, unbounded by color or nationality. The question of the Great Master, asked eighteen centuries ago, *Who is thy neighbor?* is answered to-day in every public school in the land, in the teaching that,—Every man is my neighbor; no matter where he is born, no matter what his political belief or what his religious opinions; if he bears the image of God, he is my neighbor.

GEORGE J. LUCKEY.

POLITICAL PLATFORMS.

IN THIS great American republic where every man is a sovereign, at least in sentiment if not in fact, greater interest is taken in political matters than in any other country on the globe. Almost every man is a politician to some extent and is proud of the influence he wields, or thinks he is wielding, in shaping the destiny of municipal, state, or national government. Even the ladies are in a fair way to become as foolish in their demonstrations over political matters as their husbands, fathers, and brothers. A club of women, named in honor of the wife of one of the candidates for the presidency, has already contributed a sum of money for the campaign fund. The fact that the chief magistrate who shall be chosen this year will be the first President for whom or against whom any women of the United States have had an opportunity to vote will lend additional interest to the coming contest.

While it is true that the great majority blindly follow party from impulse rather than from judgment, and while another large class of professional politicians is always in the thickest of the political fray, anxious to win simply for the loaves and fishes, regardless of the principles involved or the methods employed, yet it is doubtless true that the men who really shape the course and outline the principles of parties are usually honest in their efforts to promote the country's welfare.

There have been but few periods in our history when there was not at least one question of national interest, pending settlement at the hands of the people; but never have so many important issues presented themselves to the American voter at one time as are laid before him in the national political platforms promulgated within the past sixty days; and the man who can look at political principles, untrammelled by party prejudice, with an eye single to his duty to the public welfare as a citizen,

may hesitate long as to which declaration of principles he should support.

It has been customary ever since the early days of the government for political parties, or those who desire to form parties, to set forth a platform of principles and appeal to all who believe in such principles to support the candidates representing them. The political wayside is strewn with the wrecks of platforms, candidates, and parties. Some organizations lived to fulfill their mission and died a natural death ; some seemed to be still-born ; while others founded on good principles and supported by good and able men struggled long and hard only to go down at last, leaving their mission unaccomplished.

The Federalists, the earliest political party organized after the achievement of liberty, died in 1820 after their candidate for President, John Quincy Adams, received one electoral vote out of 235. Though this party had framed the federal constitution ; elected Washington twice and John Adams once to the presidency, its glory and strength soon departed. Its opponent, the anti-Federalist party, changed its name to Republican in 1793, and then adopted the name of Democrat in 1805, under which name the party has continued to the present.

Even in those early days party lines were closely drawn and the contests bitter. The main issues between the Federalists and their opponents may be briefly stated : The Federalists at first desired the adoption of a federal constitution while their opponents wished to retain the Articles of Confederation. They insisted on a federal government while the anti-Federalists adhered to the rights of the states and local self-government. After the Constitution was adopted, one party aimed to extend and the other to limit its powers and this controversy has been more or less prominent all down through the hundred years of our constitutional government, the Democratic party holding with greater or less tenacity to the early anti-Federal idea of restricting the powers of the general government, while some of its opponents have favored the more liberal exercise of its authority. The Federalists, though construing the Constitution as having greater powers than admitted by the Republicans,

claimed that it conferred no right to acquire new territory, and they opposed the purchase of Louisiana on the ground that it would give the South a preponderance of territory, and that states constructed west of the Mississippi would injure New England's commerce, so that the admission of the West into the Union would compel the Eastern States to establish an empire of their own. The purchase, however, proved popular and none of the dangers predicted ever followed. The Federalists were charged with being in sympathy with England in the War of 1812, and, whether the insinuation was true or false, it hastened the downfall of the party.

Lack of space forbids giving even a sketch of the many parties that have set sail on the ocean of politics, but it may be interesting to notice briefly some of the principles set forth in the platforms on which they asked the suffrage of the people.

The first platform, or resolutions, as they are called, that attracted general attention was the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 drawn by James Madison, and declaring the "alien and sedition laws" unconstitutional and defining the rights of the states. The principles set forth in these resolutions were made part of many political platforms up to the close of our Civil War.

In 1800 the Federalists had no platform but a Republican platform was adopted in Congressional caucus, the plan at that time being to put Presidential candidates into the field by such a caucus instead of selecting them by a convention of delegates chosen for the purpose. This platform among other things declares in favor of free commerce with all nations, political connection with none, and little or no diplomatic establishment. It also favors freedom of speech and press and religion, just as some of the last platforms placed before us.

From 1800 to 1812 no caucuses or conventions were held and no platforms adopted. In 1812 neither the Federalists nor Republicans presented any formal declaration of principles, but the New York wing of the Republican party, dissatisfied with the regular nominee of their party, James Madison, nominated De Witt Clinton on a platform in which opposition is declared against nominating candidates for the presidency by Con-

gressional caucuses. A very peculiar resolution for a national political platform is a sarcastic one in this declaration relating to Virginia's monopolizing the business of furnishing the country with presidents. Resolution 3 reads as follows :

"We declare our opposition to all efforts on the part of particular states to monopolize the principal offices of the government, as well because of their certainty to destroy the harmony which ought to prevail among all the constituent parts of the Union, as of their leanings toward a form of oligarchy entirely at variance with the theory of republican government ; and, consequently, particular opposition to continuing a citizen of Virginia in the executive office another term, unless she can show that she enjoys a corresponding monopoly of talents and patriotism, after she has been honored with the presidency for twenty out of twenty-four years of our constitutional existence, and when it is obvious that the practice has arrayed the agricultural against the commercial interests of the country."

It further advocated the election of De Witt Clinton as the surest method of relieving the country from all the evils existing and prospective.

The only platform promulgated between 1813 and 1830 was that of the Federalists at Hartford in January, 1815, and which no doubt hastened the downfall of the party, owing to the stand taken in opposition to the war. Among the resolutions was one declaring that no person thereafter naturalized should be eligible as a member of the Senate or House of Representatives of the United States or capable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States, and another, resolving that the same person shall not be elected President of the United States a second time, and that the President shall not be elected from the same state two terms in succession.

The anti-Masonic party held a meeting at Philadelphia in 1830 for the purpose of calling a national convention, at which a platform was set forth with the single resolution opposing secret societies.

The Democratic national platform for 1832 was adopted at a ratification meeting held at Washington, and is a rather remarkable platform throughout, and would hardly be recognized to-day as having any of the earmarks of a Democratic platform. It resolves that an adequate protection to American

industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country ; and that an abandonment of the policy at this period would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation. It further sets forth that a uniform system of internal improvements, sustained and supported by the general government, is calculated in the highest degree to secure the harmony, the strength, and the permanency of the republic. A very creditable resolution of this same platform, one that has been often repeated but never respected, is the following :

"Resolved, That the indiscriminate removal of public officers for a mere difference of political opinion is a gross abuse of power ; and that the doctrine lately boldly preached in the United States Senate, that 'to the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished,' is detrimental to the interests, corrupting to the morals, and dangerous to the liberties of the country."

A review of political platforms discloses the fact that the much condemned monopolies are not new in American politics. In the Locofoco platform adopted in New York in 1836 we find the following :

"We declare unqualified hostility to bank notes and paper money as a circulating medium, because gold and silver are the only safe and constitutional currency ; hostility to any and all monopolies by legislation, because they are the usurpations of the people's sovereign rights."

In 1839 at Warsaw, N. Y., the Abolitionists held a convention at which they passed the following resolution :

"In our judgment every consideration of duty and expediency which ought to control the action of Christian freemen, requires of the Abolitionists of the United States to organize a distinct and independent political party, embracing all the necessary means for nominating candidates for office and sustaining them by popular suffrage."

The first national platform of the Abolition party was enunciated in 1840. It favored the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and territories, the abolition of the interstate slave trade, and a general opposition to slavery to the full extent of constitutional power.

The Democratic party of 1840, losing sight of the position taken in 1832, declares that the Constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a system of internal improvements. It also declares that no

more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government. It contains the two following resolutions which, viewed in the stronger light that three decades of experience have furnished, seem inconsistent and ridiculous.

"Resolved, That Congress has no power under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states; and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our institutions.

"Resolved, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit that swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute book."

The first national platform of the Free Soil party was adopted at Buffalo in 1843. It was made up of twenty-one resolutions and several "whereases," and though the platform declares that the party was not organized for the accomplishment of a single purpose, nineteen of the twenty-one resolutions bear specifically on the question of slavery, and one on the inviolability and sacredness of the freedom of speech and the press—a principle that the early Abolitionists found of rather uncertain sacredness in practice.

The Whig platform of 1844 was summed up as follows:

"Resolved, That these principles may be summed up as comprising a well-regulated national currency; a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds from the sale of public lands; a single term for the presidency, and a reform of executive usurpations."

In '44 the Democrats reaffirmed nine of the resolutions of '40 and added that the proceeds of the sale of public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Con-

stitution ; that our title to the whole of Oregon is clear and unquestionable ; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power, and that we recommend the reoccupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas.

In '48 they repeated a large portion of their preceding platform with several new resolutions, one of which places the cause of the Mexican War upon Mexico and asks for a vigorous prosecution of the war until Mexico should sign the treaty.

Resolution 21 is a sweeping one and reads as follows :

"Resolved, That the fruits of the political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas President and Vice President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in defeating the declared purposes of their opponents in creating a national bank ; in preventing the corrupt and unconstitutional distribution of the land proceeds from the common treasury of the Union for local purposes ; in protecting the currency and labor of the country from ruinous fluctuations, and guarding the money of the country for the use of the people by the establishment of a constitutional treasury ; in the noble impulse given to the cause of Free Trade by the repeal of the tariff of '42 and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846, and that, in our opinion it would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of a political organization by which the great reforms have been achieved and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries."

The Whig platform of '48 was made up of seven resolutions, every one of which is devoted to the laudation of the virtues, civil and military, of their candidate, General Taylor.

The platform of the Free Soil party in 1848, in addition to denouncing the evil of slavery, contains a demand for cheap postage ; for retrenchment of expenses and patronage of the federal government ; for the abolition of all unnecessary offices and expenses, and for the election of all civil officers in the service of the government, so far as practicable. It recognizes the necessity of paying the national debt and favors such a tariff of duties as will raise revenue adequate to defray the expenses of the federal government and to pay annual installments of our debt with the interest thereon.

The Democrats in 1852 adopted a platform similar to those of '44 and '48. It asserts that the war with Mexico was just and necessary, rejoices at the restoration of friendly relations, and

congratulates the American people on the results which so manifestly justified the policy and conduct of the Democratic party, insuring indemnity for the past and security for the future.

The Whigs this year held to the same principles enunciated in '48 with the addition of a resolution acquiescing in the series of acts of the Thirty-second Congress including the act known as the fugitive slave law, and insisting upon their strict enforcement until time and experience should demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of laws on one hand and the abuse of their powers on the other, and deprecating any further agitation of the slavery question, thus settled, as dangerous to our peace.

The Free Soilers in '56 held their convention in Pittsburg and adopted a platform which was then considered most radical and revolutionary, but which, read in the light since shed upon the subject of their grievances, seems only a plain declaration of the principles of right and justice. It declared that slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man which no human enactment can make right; and that humanity, Christianity, and patriotism alike demand its abolition. It denounced the fugitive slave law as repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world, and denied its binding force. It condemned Congress for the compromise measures of 1850, asked that the independence of Haiti be recognized, and recommended the amicable settlement of all difficulties between the United States and foreign countries by arbitration. One resolution sets forth that all men have a natural right to the soil; and that, as the use of the soil is indispensable to life, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as life itself.

Seldom has a platform set forth so plainly and univocally the principles of its party without any regard to results as the Free Soil platform of 1852. There is no attempt at "policy wording" and in this regard it is in strong contrast with more than one of our latest platforms, in which the greatest ingenuity was exercised by the "word-juggler" to write resolutions that mean nothing, and yet seem to have a significance.

The present Republican party was formed by a union of Knownothings, Free Soilers, and those Whigs and Democrats who were not in harmony with their respective parties on the slavery question. In 1856 the Republican party presented its first national platform.

It declared in favor of the prohibition of slavery and polygamy in the territories, insisted on the immediate admission of Kansas under her free constitution, and arraigned the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories before or after the facts, for their treatment of the people of Kansas, and affirmed it as their fixed purpose to bring them to a sure and condign punishment. It also declared that a railroad to the Pacific coast was imperatively demanded and that the Federal government should render immediate and efficient aid in its construction.

The Democrats in their declaration of principles at the convention of '56 held at Cincinnati, readopted a large portion of the platform of previous conventions, and, in addition, deprecated the crusade against Catholics and foreign born, recognized the right of territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, to form constitutions either with or without the recognition of slavery as a majority of their residents might decide, reaffirmed the Monroe doctrine, and declared that the time had come for the people of the United States to assert themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world.

The American party composed of those who were less radical in their slavery views than the Republicans and less conservative than the Democrats, adopted a platform in 1856 in which they asserted that Americans must rule America; that a residence of twenty-one years should be required as an indispensable requisite for citizenship and that native born citizens should be selected for all state, federal, or municipal officers of government.

The Whigs came out for the last time in '56, and declared that they had no new platform to establish or new principles to announce. They lamented the violent dissensions that threatened the life of the Union, and declared, as a fundamental principle

of political faith, the absolute necessity of avoiding geographical parties. One resolution was :

"Resolved, That all who revere the Constitution and the Union must look with alarm at the parties in the field in the Presidential campaign—one claiming to represent only sixteen northern states, and the other appealing mainly to the passions and prejudices of the southern states ; that the success of either faction must add fuel to the flame which now threatens to wrap our dearest interests in a common ruin."

The Republican platform of 1860 held in abhorrence all schemes for the dissolution of the Union, and that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends. It denounced the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as the gravest of crimes. It declared in favor of duties upon imports adjusted so as to develop the industries of the country, protected against any change in naturalization laws or any state legislation by which the rights hitherto accorded to immigrants should be abridged, and repeated its desire for the building of a Pacific railroad.

The (Douglas) Democratic platform of 1860 had nothing new except joining in a recommendation for the Pacific railroad and favoring the acquisition of Cuba by the United States on such terms as should be honorable to Spain and ourselves.

The (Breckenridge) Democratic platform in '60 affirmed the platform of 1856 and in addition favored the Pacific railway from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, and also favored the acquisition of Cuba at the earliest practicable moment on terms honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

The Republican platform of 1864 expressed a request for the general abolition of slavery and a constitutional amendment to terminate and forever prohibit slavery within the limits or jurisdiction of the United States. It declared in favor of fostering and encouraging foreign immigration, of continuing the war without compromising with rebels or offering any terms of peace except such as may be based upon "unconditional surrender"

of their hostility and a return to their allegiance to the United States.

The Democratic convention for this year was held at Chicago. It asserted its fealty to the Union and declared that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, in which the Constitution had been disregarded in every respect, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demanded an immediate cessation of hostilities with a view to settling the contest by peaceable means on the basis of the federal union of all the states. It deprecated the interference of the military in elections and extended the sympathy of the party to the soldiers of the army and sailors of the navy.

What is known as the "radical platform" was adopted at Cleveland in 1864. It was in substance about the same as the Republican except that it declared in favor of a single term for the presidency, and in favor of confiscating the lands of the rebels and dividing them among soldiers and actual settlers.

In 1868 the Republican declaration of principles congratulated the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress; denounced all forms of repudiation as a national crime; declared that it was due to the labor of the nation to reduce and equalize taxation as rapidly as the national faith would permit; deplored the tragic death of Abraham Lincoln; regretted the accession of Andrew Johnson to the presidency, and severely denounced him as acting treacherously to his party.

The Democrats in their platform recognized the fact that the questions of slavery and secession had been settled for all time by the result of the war, and demanded immediate restoration of all the states to their rights in the Union under the Constitution; amnesty for all past political offenses; payment of the public debt as rapidly as practicable; equal taxation of every species of property; one currency for the government and the people, the laborer and the office holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder. It praised President Johnson for resisting the aggressions of Congress against constitutional rights and tendered the thanks of the convention to Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase for the justice, dignity, and

impartiality with which he presided over the court of impeachment on the trial of Andrew Johnson.

The Labor Reform party came into formal existence in 1872 and announced a platform of principles at their convention at Columbus, Ohio. The main points of their platform were that a national circulating medium should be issued based on the faith and resources of the nation and interchangeable for government bonds bearing a rate of interest not to exceed 3.65 per cent, this money to be full legal tender for the payment of all debts; that Congress should modify the tariff so as to admit free such articles of common use as we can neither produce nor grow, and lay duties for revenue mainly upon articles of luxury; that the presence of Chinese laborers imported by capitalists for servile use is an evil and should be prohibited by legislation; that there should be such a reform in the civil service of the national government as will remove it beyond all partisan influence; and that money necessary to carry on wars should be collected from the wealthy and not entailed as a burden on posterity.

The Prohibition party also came into existence this year and its first convention was held, too, at Columbus. The cardinal principles then laid down were much the same as now advocated in their resolutions: That the traffic in intoxicating liquors is a dishonor to Christian civilization, a political wrong of unequaled enormity, not capable of being regulated or restrained by any system of license whatever, and imperatively demands, for its suppression, effective legal prohibition both by state and national legislation; that removals from public office for mere differences of opinion are wrong; that the President and Vice President should be elected directly by the people; that suffrage should be granted to all persons without regard to sex.

Lack of space forbids our following further the different platforms, but a majority of our readers will perhaps recollect more or less distinctly the principal features of those adopted since 1872.

Some of these questions over which men fought with a zeal worthy of a noble cause look so trifling to us at this distance in

time that we flatter ourselves that we have made great progress over our ancestors in our ability to look upon political questions philosophically and discuss them with reason and dignity ; and yet, before ninety days roll round we shall see ministers, lawyers, doctors, and prominent business men strutting single file through muddy streets, wearing little capes and caps—emblems of party fealty—carrying torches that send their stifling smoke into the air and their dripping oil over the backs of the self-sacrificing patriots who carry them, yelling like a body of savages. It is thought to be something remarkable and the papers never forget to praise the great coolness and judgment of these men, if, when on dress parade, they happen to meet a body of similar patriots of the opposite party and succeed in passing without bloodshed—that they should get out of each other's sight without abuse would be expecting too much.

One of the most dangerous things in our form of government is that party zeal may blind partisan adherents as to the character of methods used to achieve success. Not infrequently even the judiciary, that department which of all others should be above and beyond the influence, or even suspicion, of partisanship, has yielded to party feeling and party clamor rather than listen to the voice of law and justice.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

The Working Principles of Political Economy. By S. M. Macvane, McLean Professor of History in Harvard College. 12mo. pp. 392. New York: Effingham, Maynard & Co. Price, \$1.00.

This is a very attractive book in matter, method, and language. It has been the author's aim to connect the science of political economy with the practical everyday affairs of business life rather than to deal with it as an abstract philosophy; and as the book is intended principally for those who have never made any special study of the science this method of treating the subject is the best that could have been chosen.

He starts out with the proposition that wealth in its many forms is the general subject of political economy, and that the object of the science is to study the conditions under which we carry on the struggle for means of support; that it aims to discuss the principles that govern the production and sharing of wealth; the circumstances that favor and those that obstruct the largest production and the fairest sharing of the product.

The positions taken by Mr. Macvane are not widely different from those of the majority of writers on political economy, though he has a freshness of style that invests the subject with new interest. He draws a distinction between "savings" and "working capital," an innovation peculiar to this work. He has adopted the term "bank currency" to designate the total volume of our circulating medium. By "bank currency" he means all demand deposits in private, state, and national banks and also the total amount of currency, paper and metallic, in circulation, less the amount held as bank reserves. Thus for the year 1887 he takes the demand deposits in private and state banks, \$780,000,000, the like deposits in national banks, \$1,350,000,000, and the \$650,000,000 of currency in circulation and by adding them makes our "bank currency" for that year

\$2,780,000,000. This vast sum, as he says, was based on about \$400,000,000 of gold in the United States Treasury, and yet he thinks that each dollar of this amount answered all purposes as well as if it had been gold.

This may be entirely true, but it illustrates forcibly what Mr. Macvane did not intend, that our financial system is a huge "confidence game." This, however, seems to be his favorite system, and yet he admits that for every dollar of gold taken abroad our bankers must loan seven dollars less because seven dollars of "bank currency" are based on one of gold. At this rate the withdrawal of a hundred millions for any purpose would cause a most disastrous panic. Such a system may perhaps be the best that human wisdom can devise, but, if so, it does not speak well for man's wisdom.

Mr. Macvane is a firm believer in the single standard, which, of course, he wants of gold. He does not think there is likely to be any international agreement that will recognize silver and gold as a double standard in any ratio.

The question of convict labor is taken up and very ably discussed. It is shown conclusively that the cry against prison labor arises from a lack of careful thought on the question.

The advantages and disadvantages of the wages system are clearly set forth, and labor unions come in for a brief but able consideration. While admitting that labor organizations have done much good in way of helping the sick, destitute, and unfortunate, Mr. Macvane does not consider it possible that even a general demand for higher wages can succeed. He bases this opinion on the ground that there would not be a sufficient supply of savings to make an increase of wages possible. This is assuming that employers always pay as much as they can afford—an assumption not warranted either by the teachings of experience or by the avaricious disposition of human nature.

Mr. Macvane condemns strikes as worse than useless as means of increasing wages. He holds that high profits are favorable to high wages and that strikes can tend only to lower profits. A strike for increase of wages is more likely to succeed than a strike against decrease, for the reason that the former is likely

to be made when profits are good and business improving, but on the contrary a strike against lowering of wages is generally made when business is poor and profits small. He says that strikes generally result in failure for the reason that there are usually many other laborers who are idle or who get less pay than the strikers and who are glad to accept the terms the strikers have rejected.

The chapter "Exports Pay for Imports," is a clear exposition of the principles underlying international exchanges of products and should be read by all who are fearful that a balance of trade may be against us. The author holds that the trade between the North and the South, or between the Pacific slope and the Atlantic slope, depends upon the same conditions as that between the United States and the United Kingdom.

To write a text-book on the subject of political economy that shall be satisfactory to the great majority of our people has perhaps never been so difficult as at the present time. While the underlying principles of this science should be as far above the narrow domain of partisan politics as are those of meteorology, yet the author who ventures to formulate his conclusions concerning some portions of the subject is sure to be met by the cry that his work is partisan, and some political party will raise a howl about its being used as a class book. Mr. Macvane, prudently foreseeing the danger, has balanced himself perfectly on the tariff fence.

The book is a valuable contribution to the science of economics and is well worth a reading even by those who may feel that they have been graduated in the study of political economy.

English Social Movements. By Robert Archey Woods. 12mo. pp. 277. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons.

Under the head of social movements the author discusses the Labor Movement, Socialism, the University Settlements, University Extension, the Social Work of the Church, Charity and Philanthropy, and Moral and Educational Progress.

As described by Mr. Woods, English workingmen have gained more from labor unions than have the toilers of this country,

owing to the fact, perhaps, that organization embraces a wider range in England than in the United States. What they call the New Trade Unionism is making more rapid headway and showing greater results than the old unions that have been rather conservative. This new form takes up the cause of the unskilled—those that were left to shift for themselves until recently in England, and who, in this country, are still obliged to do as best they can without any form of organized action.

Attention is called especially to the Docker's Union to illustrate the benefits that arise from the organization of unskilled labor. Within two years of its existence this union had brought about results very gratifying to its members, now numbering over 60,000. It has an annual income of \$140,000; publishes a monthly magazine having a circulation of 30,000 copies; has won over two hundred strikes and increased the average weekly earnings to the amount of \$1.25.

The Gas Workers' and General Labor Union was formed in 1889 and has now a membership of over 120,000. The spirit of new unionism is spreading and is likely to extend to all classes of laborers that in the past have been left to fight labor's battles without system or organization.

As regards moral and educational progress he thinks the present efforts in England toward supplying all classes with healthful occupations of body and mind must tend toward a higher standard of life. He regards intemperance less dangerous there than in the United States both on account of the climate and the different conditions of life. The manufacturers and wholesale dealers of liquor are considered a dangerous power in England but less dangerous than those in our own country. A large portion of the English people take some kind of liquor moderately and regularly with their food. This habit, it is declared, weakens the power of the public bar and lowers it in the scale of respectability.

Though Mr. Woods seems to have made a careful study of English social conditions, he does not share the prevalent opinion as to the great difference between the United States and the English laboring classes. He says in the preface to this book :

"The American aristocracy is more powerful and more dangerous than the English. Our class system is not less cruel for its having boundaries less clearly marked. And it can no longer be taken for granted that workingmen are better off in the United States than in England."

The IV. Georges. By William Makepeace Thackeray. Large 8vo. 211 pp. Meadville: Flood & Vincent.

This is a very fine edition of Thackeray's famous "Four Georges." The drawings and decorations are by George Wharton Edwards reproduced in photogravure. It is richly bound in buff and white vellum, stamped heavily in gold, with wide margins, rough edges, and gilt top. It is a fine specimen of book making and makes a very appropriate gift volume.

It may seem out of place to say anything in way of review of a work that has been in print so long as this one has, but sometimes a book is so old as to seem practically new, and on its second advent be better appreciated than on its first appearance.

The Four Georges was the subject that Thackeray chose for a series of lectures delivered in the United States in 1856-57 and afterwards given in several English cities. They appeared in book form in 1861. The four sovereigns described were at best a sorry quartet, and they make a particularly bad showing under the keen wit and irony of Thackeray, whose unfriendly critics charged him with portraying only the baser side of human nature.

This book is not a history, in the usual sense, but deals with the habits, peculiarities, and characteristics of these rulers and the morals, manners, and customs of English court life under their reign. Their weakness and wickedness is mercilessly exposed, and if they had good qualities, Thackeray did not discover many of them. George the Fourth and last comes in for the severest censure while his immediate predecessor, whom Americans are likely to know best and hate worst, appears in better light than any of the others. The book will repay a careful reading by those interested in English history.

Vermont: A Study of Independence. By Rowland E. Robinson.

12mo. pp. 370. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, \$1.25.

This is the twelfth volume of the American Commonwealths series, edited by Horace E. Scudder, and is uniform in style of binding and price with the others of the series.

The history of Vermont is very peculiar, differing essentially from that of all the other states of the Union. These peculiarities, which are but referred to in most United States histories, are treated fully in this book.

The hardships of the early settlers in earning a livelihood in the wilderness and their struggles with the savages and their allies, the French, are set forth in eloquent terms. The bitter contest between New York and New Hampshire for the possession of Vermont is fully described, and the fact brought out that land speculators and jobbers were at work in this country a century and a quarter ago as well as at the present day.

The part taken by the Green Mountain Boys in the French and Indian Wars, the War of the Revolution, then the War of 1812, and finally the Civil War is detailed in a manner that reflects credit upon the author and those whose history he writes.

Instead of taking the Lexington skirmish on the 19th of April, 1775, as the first blood shed in the contest for American Independence, Mr. Robinson, in speaking of the Westminster massacre on the 14th of March, 1775, says:

"Thus in a remote frontier town was shed the first blood of the momentous conflict that gave birth to a nation."

Perhaps the most interesting chapter to the average reader is "The Haldimand Correspondence," in which are detailed the negotiations that were carried on for three years—1779-1782—between Vermont leaders and the British in Canada with a view to making Vermont a British province.

This book like others of the series is especially interesting to all students of history, and will be particularly valuable to the wide-awake teacher of history who is anxious to supplement the lessons found in the ordinary class books by other interesting information bearing on the subjects taught.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

SEPTEMBER, 1892.

THE PROTECTIONIST IDEA OF INDUSTRY.

BY DAVID A. WELLS.

THE typical Protectionists are a queer set. From McKinley down, they all continually cry, "We must protect American industry"; as if they alone, and not all Americans, were in favor of any and every policy that will protect and benefit our own people and country in preference to all other peoples and countries. But at the same time it is clear from their actions—when they come to substitute action for words—that they have no correct idea of what industry is. Doubtless, some will say, "What an unfounded and impudent assertion!" "What a Free Trade lie!" But let us reason about it a little and see wherein is the truth.

Industry consists of two factors, or there are two elements in it. One is *production* (derived from two Latin words—*pro*, forward, and *ducere*, to lead), meaning, in this connection, the drawing out of materials or products from natural resources, and the other is exchange, or the selling of the things produced; and industry can't get along without both any more than a man can get along with only one leg. For example, if a farmer grows 10,000 bushels of corn, and needs only 1,000 for himself, family, and animals, and can't exchange or sell the other 9,000, he might as well not have raised it. He can eat corn, burn it for fuel, and make whisky of it, but he can't clothe himself with corn husks, plow with a corn stock, wear corn shoes, and the like. To get these other things he must sell or exchange his surplus 9,000 bushels; and he must be stupid who does not

at once see that the greater the facilities afforded to him for exchange, such as good roads, bridges, horses and wagons, cheap and swift railroads and steamships, low tolls, freights, and taxes, the greater will be the opportunity for exchange and trade to advantage. On the other hand, poor roads, unbridged streams, few or no railroads or steamships, and high tolls, freights, and taxes all tend to restrict or destroy trade and the opportunity to sell his 9,000 bushels of corn to advantage. A twenty per cent tariff tax may fairly be considered as the representative equivalent of a bad road; a fifty per cent of a broad, deep river without proper facilities for crossing; a seventy-five per cent of a swamp bordering such river on both sides; while a hundred per cent duty, such as is levied on blankets, window glass, cotton ties, and the like, can only properly be compared to a band of robbers, who strip the producer of nearly all he possesses and make him thankful that he escaped with his life. In short, there has never been a case in all human experience when the removal of restrictions—natural or legislative—on trade did not result in the extension of trade to the mutual advantage of the great majority of the people concerned; and on the other hand, there has never been a case where trade has been restricted by mountains, seas, bad roads, or tolls, or tariff taxes, in which trade has not decreased, or not developed, to the great disadvantage of the great majority. The man who can get a law passed that will enable him to tax trade or exchange, always sees an advantage to himself in the restricted trade that will result. So also does his brother-in-law who sits behind a bush on the road, with a gun, and tells the farmer who has sold his surplus of 9,000 bushels of corn, you can't pass unless you give me a big part of what you received for it in exchange.

But I fancy some farmer Protectionist saying, "There is no one sitting behind a bush for me. I don't see him." Nevertheless, he is there all the same. Suppose that the farmer concludes he can sell his surplus of 9,000 bushels of corn to better advantage in some foreign country—say England, for example—than he can at home, and there is where the farmers of the

United States as a whole have to go with their surplus, or it will not be raised, or if raised, will be left to rot on the ground ; and there are, furthermore, more people in the United States who depend for their employment and living on the raising and selling of surplus agricultural products to Europe than are employed in all the iron and coal and textile industries of the country. So our farmer sells his 9,000 bushels of corn in England and, as he wants *things* rather than money, and as many things are cheap in England, he concludes to take his pay in hardware, woolen clothing, blankets, starch, paints, oils, glass, salt, cordage, hats, crockery, cotton ties, and other like articles, and starts for home by way of New York. There is no man with a gun behind a bush on the wharf to lie in wait for him, but there is another man, armed with something better than a gun, who tells the farmer that he must give up more than half the value of all the things he has received in payment for his corn before he can come into possession of the other half. If he doesn't pay quickly or if he makes any fuss about the charges, this other man will take the whole, and not unlikely put the farmer in jail. If the farmer could pay in things instead of money, and had taken salt in exchange for his corn, then for every hundred bushels he would have had to bring and give up 73 additional bushels. For every yard of the cheapest carpet, he would have had three quarters of a yard cut off ; and if he had cotton ties, each tie would be shortened to the extent of 90 per cent. If he had taken the commonest kind of China plates or cups, then in order to carry a dozen of them home, he would have had to pay for eighteen. And so on. If our government needed to impose and collect such taxes in order to meet its necessary expenditures, there would be some justification for such procedure. But revenue was not the object sought for in the enactment of the laws which authorize or require them ; but the restriction of trade : to prevent the farmer from selling his products to the best advantage. In short, carry out logically and to their fullest extent McKinley's views about industry, and you would have every man trying to produce a good deal and sell as little as possible.

TRUSTS.

The declaration has been made over and over again by leading Republican senators and representatives that whenever it could be shown that the tariff favored or created trusts then the tariff in such respects should be abolished. War on trusts and monopolies is a cardinal feature of the Republican creed as it is proclaimed to the people. Let us see how much this creed amounts to :

What is a trust ? In the popular and political sense it means a combination of the domestic producers of certain commodities to control production and advance prices. No trust of this kind, operating on articles for which there is a possible competitive supply from other countries, could be maintained in the United States for a single month except under one of two conditions—either all the competitive producers throughout the world must be brought into the “trust” ; or, what is the same thing, the product of the whole world must be controlled ; or the product of all foreign producers must be shut out from the markets of this country. The first result is not attainable. It would be obviously impracticable to induce all the manufacturers of starch, for example, in all the different countries of Europe to unite and put the control of their business in hands of trustees residing in the United States. The *second* is made not only possible, but effective in the highest degree, by the imposition of tariffs, or duties on the importation of the articles in which the trusts are specially interested, so high as completely to bar them out of the American market. These duties the McKinley tariff act provides. It thus becomes the creator and preserver of trusts and monopolies, the like of which cannot and do not exist under the tariff system of Great Britain, as the starch trust, plate and window glass trust, nail trust, linseed oil trust, lead trust, cotton bagging trust, borax trust, axe, saw, and scythe trust, cracker, cake, and biscuit trust, oatmeal trust, rubber boot and shoe trust, and many others ; all of which, freed from foreign competition, are advancing prices to American consumers to an extent that will afford them from 50 to 100 per cent more profit than can be fairly considered as legiti-

mate, but in which profits their employees do not participate.

For a more detailed illustration of trust operations, take the case of the "cracker, cake, and biscuit trust" :

"It consists of two companies, the New York Biscuit Company and the American Biscuit Company. The former controls all the trade of the country east of Chicago, and the latter the trade west of Chicago. The former has a capital of \$5,000,000; the latter, one of \$10,000,000. They control nearly all the cracker factories in the country. In the spring (1891) there was a war between the two. The United States Baking Company, composed of twenty-six cracker concerns, joined the latter. Later in July there was a division of the field. There was an advance of 20 per cent in price and retrogression in quality."

Breadstuffs, in all forms, it is needless to say, are fully protected against all foreign competition.

Chauncey M. Depew said at the Cracker Trust opening in New York :

"As the representative of a monopoly, I am glad to welcome one to this city which, by concentrating its resources, can produce an article of food cheaper than before."

But said Mr. Depew at Woodstock, Conn., on July 4, 1891 :

"If trusts or combinations of capital in any form seek to destroy competition, to restrict trade, to oppress communities, or to gain undue advantage, the whole machinery of legislation and the courts should be put in motion for the emancipation of commerce and employment."

There are more than 100 trusts in the United States that could have no existence except for the high duties that have been enacted or kept down in order to maintain and protect them. And yet the Republican party through its chosen leaders declare that they are opposed to trusts. But to what trusts are they opposed? How did the party vote? How did your representative in the last (51st) Congress vote?

Did he vote for the salt trust, protected and alone made capable of existence by a duty of from 44 to 85 per cent?

Did he vote for the window glass trust with a Protection of from 120 to 135 per cent?

Did he vote for the linseed oil trust with a Protection of over 90 per cent?

Did he vote for the white lead trust with a Protection of 75 per cent?

Did he vote for the starch trust with a Protection of over 90 per cent ?

Did he vote for the steel trust with a Protection running from 40 to 115 per cent ?

And so of all the other trusts created by the tariff and especially by the McKinley bill. Look them up ; and if you find that your representative voted for such an imposition of taxes, ask him to explain why he did so.

DAVID A. WELLS.

WOOL AND THE TARIFF.

BY THEODORE COX.

WHY has the Democratic House of Representatives failed to repeal the McKinley bill? That "fraud," that "robbery of the majority of the American people" has been allowed to remain with all, save a scanty half dozen, of its 2,500 items intact. And yet, only a few short months ago these same gentlemen, whose present action is causing such comment, were loudly proclaiming from one end of the land to the other, that all they asked was to be given a chance to lay their hands on that "culminating atrocity of class legislation" and they promised "its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party." Well, the people acted, they intrusted, and what have these gentlemen done in the way of redeeming their pledges? The session is drawing to a close and still they refuse to act. Now what is the meaning of this? There must be some cause for such strange proceedings. Such a cause there is, and it is not difficult to discover. For at every step toward Free Trade the Democratic majority in the House has found its way blocked by such determined opposition from manufacturers, farmers, and, in short, from all classes except college professors, that it has literally been forced to remain passive. No matter how hard it tried, it was unable to find a single article upon which to practice its "tariff reform" theories without accomplishing the ruin of the manufacturers and growers of that article, and thus causing wide-spread devastation. Let us take the free wool bill, for instance, and we will find that both the woollen manufacturers and the woolgrowers are unanimous in condemning it, and that they have good reason to be so. We will first survey the effect upon the manufacturer, since he is

the one who, the Democrats claim, will derive the most benefit from it. The following are extracts from a memorial that was presented to Congress some time ago.

"The National Association of Wool Manufacturers respectfully petition the LII Congress against any change in the tariff of 1890, particularly Schedule K, of the act relating to wool and woollen and for the following reasons. . . . 2. The retention of the wool and woollen schedule in its present form, until it can be thoroughly tested, can work no injury to woollen manufacturers. There is universal agreement among manufacturers that the tariff is now *accurately and scientifically adjusted* in its relationship between the duties on raw material and the finished product. It thus establishes the condition of prosperity for the woollen industry, so far as dependent upon custom duties. 3. On the other hand, no injury to consumers has resulted from the law, notwithstanding the fact that the increase in the duties on woollen goods by the tariff of 1890 was greater than in any other schedule (necessitated by the unfortunate and illogical disproportion between the wool duties and the goods duties in the tariff of 1883). *There has been no increase whatever in the market price of domestic woollen goods.* On the contrary, all the staple goods and most of the fancy goods may now be obtained in the greatest abundance at a cost to consumers *less than ever before in the history of the country* except at brief intervals of universal panic and financial crisis. Competing woollen goods of foreign make have paid the increased duties *without an increase of the prices* at which these goods are sold to the consumers. Thus far the increased duties have forced a corresponding *reduction in foreign prices.* . . . 6. In 1860 our woollen manufacturers consumed 85,334,896 pounds of greasy wool, of which 30.4 per cent was imported. In 1890 their consumption has grown to about 400,000,000 pounds, of which 26 per cent was imported. . . . In the ordinary wear of our people the domestic manufacturers *can now easily supply their entire wants*, with fabrics which for durability and general excellence are nowhere surpassed. . . . In 1860 the British manufacture was consuming . . . nearly four times as much (wool) as our own. In 1890 the British manufacture consumed . . . but 15 per cent more (wool) than our own. . . . No record of growth equal to our own has ever been witnessed. Marvelous as this development has been, it will be surpassed by the growth of the next decade *if the tariff bill of 1890 remains undisturbed.*"

Yet if the free wool bill will not help the manufacturer, if it ever becomes a law, who will it help? But let us look a little further into the facts of the case.

Woollen manufacture has grown \$77,046,753 in the last ten years under a Protective tariff. And labor has received its share of the increase as is shown by the fact that the wages paid to all

hands, including children, in all branches of woolen manufacture averaged, in 1880, \$293 annually. In 1890 they averaged \$347 annually—a gain of 18 per cent. The wages paid in all branches of scoured wool consumed averaged 27.5 cents per pound in 1879-80. In 1889-90 they had risen to 35.7 cents per pound—a gain of 30 per cent. In the manufacture of woolen and worsted fabrics the consumption of wool increased from 238,674,281 pounds to 283,049,418 pounds, or about 18 per cent, while the rise in wages in those branches was almost exactly 40 per cent.

Now let us turn to Rhode Island alone. During the decade ending in 1890 the number of people employed in the woolen industry in this state, has increased from 12,164 to 19,325, while the total amount of wages has risen from \$3,711,657 to \$7,049,109, and the deposits in savings banks have reached \$175 *per capita*, while in Great Britain they are but \$14 *per capita*. Is it much to be wondered at that the state has wheeled into the Republican column for the coming campaign? Of course the Democrats claim that although Free Trade would lower wages it would cause such a corresponding reduction in the cost of living as to benefit the laboring man in the long run. But this fallacy is knocked on the head by the fact that while in our country wages average 77 per cent higher than in Great Britain, the entire cost of living averages but 17.29 per cent higher here than in the United Kingdom, so that even if we should realize the full benefit from Free Trade our workmen would still be 59.71 per cent worse off than at present.

Mr. Springer, in his report in favor of passing the free wool bill, said :

"The consumers are compelled to pay whatever taxes are imposed upon woolen goods when imported, as well as whatever increased cost may be added to domestic goods by reason of the tariff."

Yet the price of woolen clothing has fallen, according to the *American Economist*, from \$24 in 1857, under Free Trade, to \$16.75 in 1889, \$14.50 in 1890, and at length to \$14.25 in 1891. We are unable to perceive where the "tax" comes in here.

The above journal has also demonstrated that the wages paid

to hands in woolen manufacture would be reduced nearly one half according to Mr. Springer's own statement. For if the tariff on woolen is a tax upon the consumer, then the people of this country have paid 80.62 per cent (the average ad valorem duty) more for their woolen clothing than they would have done if that item was admitted duty free. Now, the following table shows the wages paid, the cost of material used, and value of goods manufactured in all branches of the woolen industry during 1890 :

Wages paid,	\$ 76,768,871
Cost of materials used,	203,095,642
Value of goods manufactured,	338,231,109

So, according to Mr. Springer, the third item was 80.62 per cent too great; it should have been but \$187,261,161. Then, estimating that the duty on the materials used, which is 38 per cent, was added to the price of these materials, their cost was 38 per cent too great, on account of the duty; then, if wages were not reduced, the results under Mr. Springer's free wool bill would be as follows :

Wages paid,	\$ 76,768,871
Cost of materials, less 38 per cent duty,	147,170,755
Total cost materials and wages,	\$223,939,626
Selling price, less tariff,	187,261,161
Loss,	\$36,678,465

Now it is clear that manufacturers cannot afford to stay in business and lose nearly \$37,000,000 a year, so they would either have to shut down altogether or reduce wages by that amount, almost one half.

But this is not all Mr. Springer promises to do for the woolen manufacturers and their employees. He acknowledges that the loss of revenue by his bill would be from \$10,000,000 to \$20,000,000,—\$6,000,000 of which is on raw wool. How is the government going to make good this loss? But Mr. Springer does not think that his bill would endanger our national finances. He, therefore, admits that the importation of foreign woolen fabrics would increase to such an enormous extent that, notwithstanding the reduced duties, the revenue would remain undisturbed.

Now, neither Mr. Springer nor any one else can cause a corresponding increase in the home consumption; so, according to his own claim, this enormous amount of foreign goods would displace an equal number of domestic fabrics, which simply means that not only would the workingmen in this industry be forced to work at half pay, but they would find it hard to obtain employment at any price, for a great part of the woollen manufacturers all over the country would have to stop work in order to make room for the foreign materials. Can any one deny that this would be a national calamity?

But let us now turn our attention to that side of the question as seen from a farmer's point of view.

There is ample room to doubt whether the Democrats are sincere in their claim that the free wool bill would benefit the farmer or woolgrower, as is shown by the fact that in 1883, when a Republican Congress passed a tariff bill in which the duty on wool was somewhat reduced, the Democratic campaign committee in Ohio circulated a pamphlet of which the following are extracts:

"The Republican President, Tariff Commission, and Congress, at the bidding of the monopolists of New England, *wantonly and wickedly reduced the duty on wool* so as to enable foreign producers to compete advantageously with native growers. With the reduction of 18 per cent, the abandonment, to a great extent, of sheep raising must inevitably follow if the *pernicious course* designed by the Republican party is allowed to be carried out. . . . To state the consequences in a practical manner, the farmer whose flock produces 500 pounds of wool per year will get \$36 less this year, estimating upon the maximum price last year, and estimating upon the minimum price last year, he will get \$31.50 less than he would *had the duty not been removed*. . . . Our farmers will do well if the American sheep raising industry escapes total ruin. . . . Farmers of Ohio, can you trust the party that has in our national legislature outraged and robbed you at the bidding of the capitalists of New England? Is there any hope for you from such a party, who have thus deliberately sacrificed your dearest and best interests?"

Pretty good for a Democrat, is it not? But that is not all, for on January 23, 1884, the Democratic Legislature of Ohio passed the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The Forty-seventh Congress reduced the tariff on im-

ported wool, against the protest of every woolgrower of the state of Ohio and the United States; and

"WHEREAS, The said reduction on imported wool, discriminates against the woolgrowers of the West, in favor of the manufacturers of the East, thereby compelling the woolgrowers of the West to *compete with cheap wool of foreign countries to their very great injury*; and

"WHEREAS, That tariff was reasonable and not too high before the reduction, and stands now at a rate so low as to injuriously affect that large and respectable class of people who have devoted themselves to woolgrowing; and

"WHEREAS, An Ohio Congressman has already introduced a bill in the House of Representatives of the Forty-eighth Congress to restore the tariff on wool as it stood prior to the recent reduction, which should be passed at the earliest time possible; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, By the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, that our senators in Congress be and are hereby instructed, and our representatives requested, to use all honorable means and vote for the bill to restore the tariff on wool as it stood prior to the recent reduction, and that the governor be requested to send a copy of this resolution to our senators and representatives at Washington."

And yet the Democrats at Chicago had the impudence to declare that it was "a fundamental principle of the Democratic party, that the federal government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only." A Democratic explanation would at least be interesting reading. But let us look at the facts of the case.

To-day the United States produces more wool than any other country except Australia and, possibly, the Argentine Republic. Now, a glance at the following table will be sufficient to show us what Protection has done to bring about this advantageous state of affairs:

Number of Sheep in the United States.

1860,	22,471,275	1887,	44,759,314
1880,	40,765,900	1888,	43,544,755
1884,	50,623,626	1889,	42,599,079
1885,	50,360,243	1890,	44,336,072
1886,	48,322,331	1892,	44,938,365

In 1867 a tariff was adopted with high duties on imported wool. This caused the number of sheep to increase in the 24 years between 1860 and 1884 by 28,155,351, or to more than double in that period. But late in 1883 the duties on foreign wool were considerably reduced. Toward the close of 1884 the

effect was marked, and by 1889 the number of sheep had fallen 8,027,547. In 1890 the high tariff was restored and by 1892 the sheep had increased 2,339,286 over the number in 1889.

How any sane man can deny that Protection has been beneficial to the woolgrowers passes comprehension. For this is not argument; it is mathematical solution. Let us take two instances in far distant parts of the country and see how the tariff has worked. In Oregon there were 2,431,759 sheep in 1891, now there are 2,456,077, showing a gain of 24,318 sheep in one year. A man writing from Washington township, Mo., states that when he first visited that locality in 1889-90, he found there less than 200 sheep, while now there are more than 2,000, an increase of over 1000 per cent.

But, not only has the tariff of 1890 greatly raised the number of sheep in the country, it has also caused a corresponding advance in the price of that animal, notwithstanding the fact that all other classes of farm stock have decreased in value. It is stated from a reliable source, that in Wright County, Mo., the price of sheep rose within 18 months after the passage of the McKinley bill, from \$1.25 per head to over \$4 per head. This means so much gain to the farmer. But, as has been shown farther back, in the face of this tremendous advance in the value of sheep, woolen fabrics actually cost the consumer less to-day than under the old law. This may seem at first glance to be strange and contradictory, but it is easily explained. Although the manufacturer is obliged to pay more for his wool now than he did before the McKinley bill became law, he is assured of a steady market for his goods, which was impossible when the British manufacturers could, at any moment and without warning, flood the American market with goods at a price below cost, till, having broken down the domestic mill owners and thus conquered a clear field, they were in a position to raise the price of woolen goods to their heart's content. Now this is impossible and therefore the American manufacturer, farmer, and consumer are in a far more advantageous position than when under the Lion's paw. Why, even the college professor is benefited, outside of the advantage he receives as a consumer, for if

the woolgrower and woolen manufacturer are better off than formerly, these men will be able to give a far greater proportion of their sons college education than would be otherwise possible. The Democrats are ever ready to applaud the name of their great leader Andrew Jackson ; let them follow the advice he gave when he wrote :

"Heaven smiled upon and gave us liberty and independence. The same Providence has blessed us with the means of national independence and national defense. If we omit or refuse to use the gifts which He has extended to us, we deserve not the continuation of His blessings. He has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals, with lead, iron, and copper, and given us a climate and soil for the growing of hemp *and wool*. These being the grand materials of our national defense, they ought to have extended to them *adequate and fair Protection*."

THEODORE COX.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CURRENCY.

BY A. B. AND H. FARQUHAR, AUTHORS OF "ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DELUSIONS."

WHAT can the government prudently and properly do to insure its citizens an adequate currency supply?

It seems unnecessary to consider, in this place, how large the supply ought to be; or how far justified, and how far exaggerated is the popular preference for an ample rather than a contracted currency. The benefits of a copious circulating medium being granted the question before us is, what can and ought the government to do to obtain those benefits for its citizens? Because an object is a desirable one, it by no means follows that direct government action should be taken to secure it. Beyond possibility of question, an adequate supply of shoes is a highly desirable object. Acute suffering comes from a want of them; and we may say without any qualification, the more shoes a community has the better off it is. Yet no one recommends that government shall take any steps to increase the number of shoes in use, whether by providing that each citizen shall have on the average so many pairs, by encouraging the making of them from some cheaper material that will answer pretty nearly as well as leather, or by taxing their exportation. For the attainment of this important and confessedly desirable end, the government is asked to do nothing, and does nothing directly. It is the same way with innumerable other valuables. The government confines itself to indirect acts, such as securing the possession of all kinds of property and the enforcement of contracts; and it leaves the rest to the normal course of trade, the unfettered action of supply and demand. This is the easiest course, and why not also the wisest? It is difficult to see how the abundance of one of these desirables could be artificially increased

without producing a scarcity of something else equally desirable. To give our citizens more shoes we must use up the resources with which they would otherwise procure dresses or furniture or tools or books, and who so well as he who feels it, can tell which need ought first to be satisfied—what is the best use to make of the citizen's resources?

These conclusions are everywhere accepted, in case of all desirable things but one; they have become, indeed, little better than commonplace. But when we come to money, we find no such agreement. Those governmental acts which we found quite without an advocate when applied to increasing the country's stock of shoes, have every one a troop of zealous advocates when applied to increasing the country's currency supply. It is widely and loudly said to be the duty of government to see that every citizen has on the average so much of the circulating medium, to make money out of a cheaper material which will answer pretty nearly as well as the standard of value, to obstruct its exportation by taxes—that is to say, to tax the importation of the goods we would buy with it. Almost as few as the voices raised in behalf of direct governmental action to insure a large quantity and liberal use of other desirables among our citizens, are the voices not raised in behalf of such action with regard to money.

That the functions of money are of a class in some degree apart, that some characteristics belong to it that do not belong to other desirable things is admitted. But its issue by the government, that fact out of which so much of the popular impulse to call on the government for an increased amount of it doubtless arises, is not very important among these. The duty of issuing money belongs to government, just as does that of issuing standard weights and measures; it must be vested in a single hand to secure uniformity. The government gives no value by this function, any more than it gives length to its yardsticks or contents to its bushels. What is known as the power of declaring legal tender, a power which the government unfortunately has, is something, it cannot be too strongly insisted, which bears no resemblance to a power of giving value. It

is nothing whatever but a right to grant impunity, if it chooses, to citizens who pass off two feet for a yard or three pecks for a bushel. To speak, as many do, of the legal-tender function as forming any part of the value of money, is very much like speaking of standard measures as dependent on legislation for their length or contents, because they do depend on legislation for the names by which they must be known, and for enforcing contracts that involve them.

In taking the position that value in exchange has no dependence on function as legal tender, it ought doubtless to be explained that we do not go so far as to claim that laws cannot affect values in any way. Values of prohibited articles, and of articles in which the law recognizes no value, are certainly different from what they would be if contracts in them could be enforced as in other articles. It has been proposed, for instance, by some of the more enthusiastic partisans of free silver, to outlaw gold contracts entirely, wherever the amounts of gold are stated in terms of the denominations of United States money. These partisans would make every "dollar," even where gold dollars are expressly called for, payable by 412½ grains of standard silver. Supposing, for the sake of argument, that such a proposition could be enacted into law and sustained by the Supreme Court, the value of gold coin would very probably be changed thereby. The most likely effect would be that no more gold would be coined in the country while the law continued in force, unless for transportation to the coast in express parcels. But the effect of a simple legal-tender act is on debts only. Those already existing are affected by whatever difference there may be between the cheapest legal tender before its passage and the cheapest after its passage; those which become due afterwards, by the degree to which one or the other tender grows cheaper or dearer; this cheapness and dearness being determined by causes entirely apart from the act—unless the supply of the tender is limited by the act itself or by necessary conditions.

The mint act of 1873 took away some of the legal tender power of silver and silver went down in price. But silver, in

the first place, had been going down for fourteen years at a gradual rate, the ratio to gold in 1859 being 1 to 15.19 and in 1872, 1 to 15.63; secondly, the more rapid decline which was observed in 1873 really began in November, 1872, more than two months before the act was passed; thirdly, the table of ratios shows a fall in value fully equal to that in 1873 for the three years 1790, 1794, and 1808 (without any legislation of the kind complained of) whose aggregate effect was to lower the ratio of silver to gold from 1 to $14\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 to 16; fourthly, the fall in gold accompanying the discoveries in California and Australia, from 15.85 in 1848 to 15.33 in 1853, and 15.19 in 1859, naturally prepares us to see the same effect reversed when silver became the metal more abundantly produced. It is very plain, then, that the fall of silver in value, during and since 1873, is nothing but what was normally to be expected, even though the mint act had never been thought of. The effect upon our country of the rich silver discoveries would have been very different if there had been no mint act, of course. Our mints would have been pushed to supply silver dollars. Our green-back currency would never have risen to par in gold, and that metal would have remained permanently at a premium. Our customs receipts would have been all in silver dollars, and our payments on principal and interest on the public debt have been restricted to the same coin; our course would therefore have been regarded as partial repudiation by foreign countries, and our credit have suffered accordingly. All these things would pretty certainly have happened, but the same significant change in the commercial ratio of gold to silver, brought about as it was by causes independent of our legislation, would still have come. The utmost activity of our mints and of our legal-tender laws would have been powerless to stop it. What was the cause, then, of this great fall in silver, which began in 1850, grew more rapid in November, 1872, became almost a panic in 1876, was renewed in 1885-88, and has not yet ceased—silver having been brought within the present year to the lowest price it has ever known? This question calls for some special attention, because of the important practical bearing of the construction that

is put upon the phenomenon. To some minds, it is but a proof of the mutability in value, and therefore untrustworthiness, of silver. Others, quite as naturally, would find in it a lesson of the inadequacy of gold to discharge the office of a monetary standard unsupported. Many are content to explain the fall of silver in price, solely by the increased production of it within the last quarter-century, notwithstanding the equally remarkable increase in gold production which just preceded it, and its failure to have an equal effect in the opposite direction.

Of one thing do all who make it their mission to secure a larger use of silver as money, whether by action of our country independently or by co-operation with the great commercial nations, appear persuaded: that this increased production had no important effect in bringing about the decreased price. Hon. W. M. Stewart, United States senator, while admitting that the price of money metals as of other things is determined by demand and supply, confines his attention to the perversity of the lawmakers whose enmity to silver he charges with all the reduced demand for it, and quite overlooks the effect of this increased supply. Mr. Leech, director of the mint, is content to point out the small proportion of each year's additions (large though it might be, by comparison with such additions in the past) to the world's already existing stock of silver, and then to set down the coincidence of increased product and decreased price as a lamentable accident. It does not occur to him, apparently, to apply the principle that a very small increase in the supply may produce a very significant fall in price when the demand is fully satisfied; perhaps because he finds it difficult to conceive of a demand for one of the money metals as ever satisfied. The total value of silver mined yearly, moreover, has grown since 1890 to be about 4 per cent of the world's state of silver coin—and that is no contemptible increment.

To account completely for the fall in silver, we must take account of another factor, less obvious and yet more important than the greatly increased production; a factor which was in operation in the years following the gold discoveries of 1848, preventing the increased supply of gold from exerting its full

effect—still in operation after 1859, causing a slow decrease in the commercial value of silver, notwithstanding the greater production of gold—and in operation with undiminished force after the silver discoveries of 1869 and succeeding years, to strengthen their tendency to further reduction in the commercial value. This factor is found in popular convenience. Copper took the place of polished shells, and long afterwards silver the place of copper, in the progress of mankind toward civilization, simply because exchanges came to be more frequent and to involve larger values. The more compact expression of value was adopted as a time-saving device, just as have been the railway and the telegraph in our century. In the gradual replacement of silver by gold, as a monetary stand-by, history has been but repeating itself. It must in candor be admitted that this explanation has already been examined and rejected by certain inquirers; partly because they find it too simple and partly because they are able to show that paper symbols of credit have very largely replaced both gold and silver in mercantile business. It is true that for nearly nineteen twentieths of the amounts transferred in a day's business the agency is paper, but it cannot be admitted, as a conclusion from that fact, that easy portability is not a matter of high importance in a monetary standard—for the remaining twentieth of the transfers is a matter too important to be overlooked. The higher the tree of credit grows the firmer must its roots cling to the soil; the greater the business done by paper, the more necessity there is that its foundation be strong, and, more than that, that it rest on values that can be transferred swiftly, safely, and cheaply. Perfect mobility is an essential character of sound money.

Strange though it sounds, in this land where the love of the people for the dollar of their fathers has been so loudly sung, to speak of the depreciation of silver as having been a popular movement, such a way of speaking is accordant with the fact. The succession of laws, in different countries, providing a merely subsidiary office for this metal, have not been hatched out by a conspiracy and forced on a negligent or protesting public; nor have they been arbitrary decrees of despots.

Those laws have not disturbed or defied popular opinion, even in the monarchic countries where they were enacted; they have expressed and embodied it. If this is true, the declining price of silver and the laws which have been credited with "demonetizing" that metal have been quite distinct effects of the same cause; neither one an effect of the other. If this is true, how futile the effort to reinstate silver by a repeal of the obnoxious laws—how futile the expectation of accomplishing anything toward bringing matters back to where they used to be, by anything that can be done in an international monetary conference!

Senator Stewart has truly characterized such conferences as simply shams; and the best we can hope from one of them is, that it shall clearly and openly expose itself for the sham it is. We need not care to deny that if we could procure from all the European nations, by means of a conference or by any means, legislation favorable to silver, a higher standing might be given to that metal; but this would be, not by force of the legislation itself, but by force of the changed popular opinion which alone could make its enactment possible.

The consideration of the ineffectiveness of legal-tender legislation on values of other things than debts, has led us into a long digression, for which the practical importance of the question discussed is our best excuse. The conclusion to be drawn from it, so far as it affects our main question, differs not from the one with which we started out: that there is nothing in the power of government over legal tender, which calls for legislation to increase the amount of currency rather than that of other desirable articles. But there are other special peculiarities of money, not yet mentioned; what influence have they in the matter?

The power of measuring value without having value itself, would, if it really existed, be eminently distinctive, and might therefore be of importance in this inquiry. General F. A. Walker, in his able and interesting treatise on money, is so sure that the power exists, having many examples to give of exchanges conducted on a merely *fiat* circulating medium, limited in amount, that he objects to the usual term "measure of value,"

and would substitute "common denominator." According to this view, the function of money depends all upon the amount circulated, and none upon the utility of the substance used in making it, or to be obtained by presentation of it. But does General Walker quite establish his point? He has shown many instances of the circulation of "inconvertible" money, but has he shown any in which those among whom it circulated were not persuaded that it would at some time become convertible? Has he shown that its value in exchange was at any time anything else than the general estimate of the probability of its redemption? In establishing the fact that this inconvertible currency was always certain to depreciate when issues of it were greatly increased, has he proved this depreciation due to the mere large quantity, rather than to the diminished faith in ultimate redemption, resulting from the excessive issues? Not conclusively. One suspects at times that he has substituted hindsight for foresight in treating his colonial currency system as based on mere *fiat*, and not allowed for the hopes that were really held, though extravagant, as the event proved, of their being made good.

Exchanges are founded on values attached, not on values inherently belonging, to things. But even if we should accept General Walker literally, we could not infer from his treatise that it is advisable for the government to provide an ample currency by inconvertible issues; for it is an essential part of his doctrine that such currency can act as true money only in narrowly restricted amounts.

There is another trait in which money differs from other valuables: that a smaller amount of it can perform very nearly the same office as a larger, if distributed in the same way.

"If a man had only fifty cents for every dollar he now has, and the price of everything he wanted to buy fell one half, would he not be just as rich as now? So of a community or a country. It is only because it may come into business relations with some other commodity or country that has a greater supply of money and goods at higher prices, that it need take a thought for its own supply. When 'money is tight' in any place it is not because the amount in general circulation is small, but because calculations have been made on a greater amount than actually exists—which can happen, and does happen, whatever the amount."

Other desirable things show nothing analogous. No matter how many others share our deficiency one pair of shoes can never be to us an equivalent for two pairs. But this difference between money and other things, though one of the most significant differences existing, is so obviously a reason why the government should be less rather than more solicitous to increase the supply, than is the case of other desirable things, that no further time need be spent upon it.

There seems to be no reason in the peculiar nature of money, therefore, why any of the lawmaking force of government should be expended in efforts to increase the supply of it; nor are we any more encouraged to such efforts by our knowledge of the effects which, despite the wishes of those who make them, they are adapted to produce. They usually take the direction of reinforcing the currency of the country with currency of an inferior kind; reinforcing currency, to speak explicitly, whose value is that of the metal in it, with currency which is made to pass at a higher value than it intrinsically has, by being allowed a higher power in paying debts. The added currency (which may be merely overvalued, as is proposed with silver, and may be intrinsically worthless, as with promissory notes) can only have this higher debt-paying power as far as the legislation of the country extends, and therefore the practical tendency of this measure is always to accumulate the inferior kind within the country, and send the superior abroad, according to a principle known as Gresham's law, which is after all only an application of the larger truth, that things go where they fetch the best prices.

Thus it is not an addition to our currency that we gain by this device, but a substitution of one sort for another. We have therefore no warrant for expecting any lasting addition to our currency supply from any form of the project for the free coinage of silver, at a valuation higher than that intrinsic in the metal; for that can only result in making the demand for silver relatively higher, and that for gold consequently lower here than in countries where silver is not so favored, and hence in banking up our silver at home and sending our gold abroad. This very

effect has been produced by the artificial demand for silver created in this country by another agency: the "pawnbroker act" of the 14th of July, 1890, often called the "Sherman bill"—a reproach from which the Ohio senator, by his earnest endeavors to mitigate the graver vices of the measure, is by this time entitled to be cleared. The fiscal year ended June, 1891, was marked by a strong demand on us for specie, owing to the financial crisis in London; our excess of exported gold increased from \$4,000,000 of the previous year to \$68,000,000. And yet, under the influence of this act, our silver exports actually diminished, the export excess being \$14,000,000 in 1889-90, and but \$4,500,000 in 1890-91. The figures for the fiscal year just closed will show the same character; and the effect of this artificial demand for silver in holding that metal at home, while hastening the export of gold, is plainly to be read in them. The number of years that such a process can continue, before bringing us to an era of gold premiums and reducing us to the rank of a silver-using country, is quite calculable, and not very great.

The ways in which our good forefathers used to try to hold the best money in the country, by laws punishing the export of it, and by laws punishing the import of foreign merchandise, have often been discussed, and their futility has been thoroughly exposed.* Indeed, we might almost say if a measure of legislation could be more foolish than that for supplementing the better money of a country by inferior money to increase the currency, it is that for securing the retention of the better money by penalties.

In considering this question on its theoretical side, we must not fail to recognize experience as the true teacher, and general principles, however carefully reasoned, as suitable for guidance only so far as experience confirms them. The history of governmental efforts to expand the currency—by its own promissory notes, even though secured (as in the *assignats* of a century ago), by embarking in banking enterprises (as in the famous Missis-

* See, for example, Chapter III. of "Economic and Industrial Delusions," where the proof is detailed, elaborate, and it may be added, conclusive.

issippi scheme, the recent Argentine land bank, and other instances in the history of every country), by depreciating the coinage (which no country has failed to try, at one time or another, and most of them repeatedly), and by discriminating against gold exports—is an extensive history, and it is a history of failures. Space does not permit an adequate discussion of this history, and this is the less necessary, since the work has been recently so well done in a series of editorial articles in the *Century Magazine*—whose publishers have wisely reproduced it in book form. History there speaks, in the same voice with theory.

What can the government prudently and properly do to insure its citizens an adequate currency supply? Just what it does to insure them an adequate supply of shoes and other desirables: it can secure the possession of property and enforce contracts. Beyond that, nothing. What private enterprise may do, by government permission, “is another story.”

A. B. AND H. FARQUHAR.

EDUCATION AND POLITICS.

BY C. H. REEVE.

A TRUE and practical education will enable us to recognize and make the best and most judicious use, legitimately, of the opportunities that may come to us, or that we may be able to create for ourselves, in all the relations of life. The plane on which we live and act will be fixed by our mental organism, our environment, and education.

Education is the acquisition of knowledge. True education is knowledge of facts and their relations to each other. The word *facts* is here used in the broadest sense—to include conditions, their origin, outgrowths, ultimates, and the operative forces throughout. Whatever the source of the knowledge, whether scholastic or only from observation permitted by the environment of the individual, every impression created that produces perception, is education. Whatever impression creates impulse that amounts to perception, producing thought, will be a fact for the time to the individual; and if old enough to reason he will form a conception and have an opinion. His opinion will dictate his action. However erroneous the opinion may be in the light of more knowledge, to him—for the time—it is fact; and he uses it as such for reasoning and for action.

The origin of mental energy to each individual, is dependent in the first place on physical conformation and adjustment. With the dawn of consciousness and perception education begins, and the character and trend of that energy is dependent first, on the organism, and second, on the education; while the latter is dependent on the environment.

The word "education" is so associated with teaching and book knowledge that the thought is apt to apply it only in that way; but when considering the subject we must think of it as

being, whatever makes impressions that produce corrected thought.

If a child be born in which the organism is so formed and adjusted that it will have large development of acquisitiveness, secretiveness, and caution, without conscientiousness, reverence, love of approbation, and good moral perceptions (I speak of mental impulses and faculties, not phrenological bumps) with the acquisition of knowledge of surroundings, the natural trend of his impulses would be toward stealing. If born and reared in the slums he would become a thief. If born and reared among conditions that would bring example and teaching tending to create counteracting impulses and give practical knowledge of the right use of its dominant propensities, he might become a millionaire. If benevolence, love of approbation, reverence, and self-esteem should be developed to a proper degree by education, his ability to acquire riches would be coupled with a philanthropic use of wealth. But if to these three active impulses should be added combativeness, firmness, reverence, and self-esteem, abnormally developed, with dull perception of even-handed justice, naturally, he would be a religious fanatic and bigot; and, if his environment should be in keeping with the natural impulses, he would be an intolerant radical, persecuting all who refused to accept his opinions, however much he might change them at any time.

When the infant begins to become conscious, one of its first responsive impulses is to impressions through the eye and ear; noticing the person and voice of the mother, and laughing. Its education has begun. In time it will reach out for things and begin to acquire a perception of distance. The developing mental energy, which is the natural outgrowth of its physical formation and adjustment, will appear in the impulses responsive to impressions; and the character of the demonstrations will disclose the trend of the impulses. As it grows, and consciousness increases, and it takes more notice, the demonstrations will be stronger and more marked.

At the earliest moment of susceptibility to impressions creating mental impulses, education begins; and thence onward,

education continues, and is made up of each thing and everything that makes such an impression as to create an impulse that responds or manifests itself in any form.

Here we have an automatic piece of animated machinery, capable of infinite adaptation and development, of which we actually *know* very little; but duty requires us to try to learn and develop the best adaptations to the practical purposes of a lifetime, of which it is capable. We control it only for a time, and thence on it must develop and apply itself. In doing this we are educating it, and at the same time are being educated.

It is perfectly patent that the education we impart may be a true one or a false one, depending on whether the one we have received is true or false, and whether we have a true conception of the child and of the best methods for guiding it. We may comprehend our position better as educators, whether as parent, nurse, or teacher, if we will consider it as an inanimate, automatic machine, capable of infinite possibilities, forced into our care, and which we must keep and deal with; knowing really nothing of what its development will be, but knowing that it will grow and enlarge, and operate in some way, for good or ill; and to a material extent dependent on the use we make of our knowledge in dealing with it. What would we do if rightly educated ourselves? Evidently, we would begin to educate ourselves further by acquiring a knowledge of the thing we have to deal with. We would watch and study it, and learn from all we could observe as its developments from day to day appear, as to the formation and adjustment, and what course to pursue in relation to it to develop its capabilities and make it most useful. How much more important is it that we should pursue the same course with the animate machine? It may develop its natural faculties early and rapidly, or late and slowly, in either or both, physical and mental directions. With it, the character of the impulses in response to impressions indicates the physical formation and adjustment of the organism for mental energy; and a careful observation of the impulses will indicate what course to pursue in the creation of impressions and cultivation of impulses; in encouraging spontaneous ones

or developing others to counteract them ; which to try to depress and which to stimulate in order to produce and maintain equilibrium. In all this, we are being educated ourselves while educating the child ; not only mentally but physically ; not only the intellect by reasoning, but the muscles and nerves and organs by habit. As the infant passes on through the stages of growth to childhood, youth, and manhood or womanhood, the same course of observation and action should attend on the part of those having supervision ; and the final development will depend largely upon this observation and action, or the want of it. Until of school age, observation, example, instruction, and impulse in response, will constitute the sources of education. The natural trend of faculties, with outgrowths of environment, will create mental conditions and impulses that will affect all the after life—more or less.

Of course, judicious management presupposes the requisite education in the parent, custodian, or teacher. Comparatively few have it. Among those who have, as parents, emotion, false sentiment, and a disinclination to check any spontaneous outflow, together with a disposition to encourage and force every sign of precocity, prevent the use of it too often and by too many ; and so, like weeds, erroneous impressions are permitted to be made and injurious impulses are developed. With teachers, the effort is made to instill as much information as possible, regardless of everything else. When school age is reached scholastic restraint and teaching begin, and here the same observation and adaptation of methods to ends should be observed with increased care. The natural mental trend when in a healthy direction should be encouraged, while it is held in check and balance by effort to develop whatever is latent and morbid that is needed to maintain a practical balance—such a balance as will enable the leading faculties to become most useful.

Every mentality has its limitations. The true object of education should be to ascertain what the boundary incloses and then instill a knowledge of such facts as will enable that mentality to be most practically useful within the boundary of its limitations. I say practically useful. That includes not

only the scientific knowledge of facts to be used in some business—trade or profession—but some knowledge of the laws of life; of the necessity of adjustment to conditions; how to preserve health; recognize and discharge social and political obligations and duties; to practice such self-control as will maintain equilibrium—give the best use of the faculties in all individual, domestic, civic, and business relations. Education—like money—has no use of value, except such as tends to give us what we need, and maintain physical, intellectual, and ethical equilibrium and progress.

Education is the cultivation of a mental organism. It is much like any other cultivation in its subordination to natural forces, and educators must be governed by the same character of reasoning that other cultivators are. The subjects to be cultivated are already made to their hand; must be taken just as they are; and the mode of development that is applied, as well as the extent sought to be attained, must be adapted to the subject, which adaptation the educator himself must learn by observation and experiment. The sheep farmer must have breeds of sheep adapted to the climate and soil which he cultivates; and he must seek a market in the place that buys or uses the kind of wool his sheep produce. The grain farmer must raise such grain as is adapted to his soil and must use such implements and cultivate in such manner and time as the soil, the climate, and the crop will permit. The manufacturer of metals must adapt his furnaces, forges, retorts, condensers, and machinery to the materials he works, and must locate his plant where power, supplies, and waste can be properly adjusted. The same principles apply to the cultivation of a mental organism. Methods adapted to the individual must be used, and he should be fitted for the kind of place his ability will best enable him to fill.

Every attempt to pursue a mode not applicable, or to push effort beyond the limit fixed by conditions, or fit the subject for a place to which he is not adapted, is waste of effort and productive of retrogressive action. The ultimate is this. Education and civilization are counterparts and mutually interde-

pendent. A true education (where the individual is developed in the line of and to the extent of his best natural capacity—for the place he can best fill) produces a true civilization—a fairly balanced social condition—and that in turn produces a higher education, which, again in turn, begets a more advanced civilization. On the other hand, a false education, or education by false methods, or a false position in the uses of education, produces a false civilization; which in turn may produce more advanced conditions in knowledge, but also produces more false methods; and tends to obliterate ethical perception, and to degrade the intellectual force to the use of the animal impulses.

Inasmuch as the natural forces inherent in matter are only active under the fundamental law of equilibration in maintaining equilibrium, we must recognize that all progress is in reaction and readjustment. Displacement is constant, bringing into operation new manifestations of force, and under that law reaction and readjustment restore equilibrium and so maintain order. Where readjustment fails catastrophe follows; or where readjustment is obstructed and not completed abnormal and inadaptive conditions result. Wherever natural force is put in operation by our acts, it will follow its own laws. If we attempt to change its operation we only obstruct, and at once new forces are evolved. Natural order is disturbed, and no artificial force can produce order. An effort to make a musician out of a person who has no perception of time or tune; or to make a clergyman out of one who has no clear moral perceptions, would be a useless effort. No amount of learning could accomplish it. If, by education, the lacking perceptions could be supplied, then natural force would operate in establishing order. But without this, neither could succeed in the vocation assigned to him and the attempt to educate either for the place would be in violation of order, and an obstruction of natural force.

It follows then, that when one is in a false position no step can be taken that will not lead to more falsities; the only escape is to get into a true position. No fixed system of study for a large body of students in one class, with varying mentalities leading in various directions, can be profitably followed with a

view to a true education for each individual. Each may be crammed with the same quantity of information, but to no practical end as a whole. Some will fail to learn what they need to know and others learn much of which they can make no practical use. When development discloses in a student the faculties which will prove to be the most practical in and for the uses of life—which he can himself put to the best use—he should go into a class where those faculties can be practically educated, without regard to any other classes or grades. That cannot be done now under any system followed in the common schools or in many of the higher institutions. A rearrangement should be made, beginning now, and progressing as fast as experience will permit. It will take a good while to reach a proper organization. It is not material whether the arrangement is made in classification of schools or departments in each school. Each student should go into a class in the school that is best adapted to develop him, regardless of any other class.

There can be no progressive education or civilization without government. There can be no government without civil order. There can be no civil order without intelligent and judicious political action. Therefore, politics demands the first and highest use of education. Politics proper is the formulation and consideration of policies to be carried into practice in the administration of government, adapted to the organism of the particular government to be administered. The relations between the general government and its subordinate agencies, and of the people to both, should be taught and constitute a part of the education of every person owing allegiance, as far as can be made possible.

Politics is properly a profession; and in fact, the highest among the learned professions. It should be so regarded by the state. In this view the uses of education reach the highest limit of human importance and endeavor; that is, the administration of government. On that administration, the peace, the morals, the prosperity, and the liberty of the whole people are dependent. There can be no true and practical religion without civil liberty. In turn, the character of the administration is

dependent on the political education of those selected to conduct it. Especially is this so in a republic like ours ; a national republic made up of a union of lesser republics, all government being under authority of written constitutions, and each republic with separate and differing constitutions. The policies to maintain the integrity of each and all to be recognized in administering government, must, necessarily, be an outgrowth from the organization, and whatever that outgrowth may be—whether tending to good or evil—to preservation or destruction of liberty—it must be recognized when it appears, be studied, and be so dealt with as to make it least harmful and most useful.

In the governmental organization we have the inanimate automatic machine, made to our hand,* capable of infinite possibilities, and we are to educate ourselves in its arrangement, adjustment, practical uses, and possibilities. Like the animate machine, under the operations of natural force it is subject to impressions, creating and responding in natural impulses. Our knowledge of its intricate machinery, and the outgrowths when in action under the operations of natural force as it may be impressed in contact with other nations and with contingencies arising among the local agencies, is very limited. It grows ; its connections and relations expand ; bringing constant and increasing new relations, conditions, and operations of force ; hence, new outgrowths. It develops idiosyncrasies—unlooked-for and ineradicable relations and conditions. In every respect it is like the child ; needs the same watchful care and study ; and the same course of adaptation to outgrowths and environment. It is capable of so much and no more, and must be kept in its right place to accomplish that of which it is capable. This education of ourselves into the capabilities and uses of the organism, and the adaptation of its outgrowths to ends of just and progressive government, is political education—the source of progressive national civilization—and the very fountain of liberty and justice.

To illustrate. Finance is an outgrowth of trade and commerce. Without these there would be no use for finance. If a

financial policy be inaugurated by government, when established and put into operation the laws and forces that will finally govern and control its operations will grow out of itself. Legislation could control only so far as to frame a system. In operation, it would have to be adapted to external and changing conditions, for it would evolve new forces that could not be anticipated and provided for. Hence, financiers would have to watch and study the system constantly, and adapt it to the business conditions and changes so far as the law would permit. Where that could not be done it would be in antagonism with natural force arising out of the conditions—because of a faulty law.

Just so with the system of government. Under it, while on a general plane, fixed principles can obtain and be recognized everywhere in a general way, in a special way, varying policies must and will be necessary in different localities. The industries in the New England regions will not be the same as they are in the prairie regions; nor will either be the same as they are in the cotton and sugar regions. The maritime localities in all things will be unlike the inland. Variation in the civilization, the social conditions and habits of the people, will exist; as well as variation in the modes of conducting business and trade. The impressions and impulses of the people will be different; and different policies will exist as to government. Each state is a separate government agency, sovereign and independent in some things; and the various countries, townships, cities, and other municipal divisions are lesser agencies. Each is organized according to the impulses and civilization of the locality and environment of the state; some under general laws, some under local and special laws in force in a particular agency only. The general government formed by all, as in interstate and international agency, is bound to protect each in its own republican form. The national government must protect the states in their constitutional rights, and the states, severally, must protect all of their subordinate agencies in their constitutional rights; while each and all must maintain the rights of the people according to the fundamental law of each state. In each one, local conditions evolve varying forces, creating new

and dissimilar conditions, and the adaptation of the machinery of government to these ends—recognizing the conditions—requires the highest political knowledge and skill.

The propositions of statesmen looking to such adaptation constitute the questions of policy for examination and discussion, and on them as they arise true parties should form. Whether those propositions are legitimate outgrowths of the governmental organizations in action, is the first proper subject for inquiry. If they are, they are *principles*. That is, rules of action growing out of an existing state of facts. If they are not, they are mere propositions and are only matter for untried experiment. As such they may be the open door to danger and disaster.

When a constitution is adopted the form of government is fixed. Its provisions constitute an existing state of facts. Out of those facts will grow the rules or principles that must govern all propositions intended as political policies to be carried into practice in administering the government. Unless a proposition be within the line of those principles, it is inapplicable; and attempts to enforce it as law will do violence to the true ends of government. But few of those intrusted with the administration of government—especially of legislation—have a political education. They are ignorant of—or if they know they disregard—these truths, and are constantly trying to force upon the statutes propositions that are inimical to the principles which are the legitimate outgrowth of the governmental organizations—both state and national. They are in constant conflict with those principles, and the true ends of the form of government are only partially attained or are defeated altogether.

Partisan clans are miscalled political parties—clans whose members hang together, though divided in sentiment and opinion, and follow leaders in opposition to another clan of like make-up, following other leaders. Propositions totally inapplicable under our forms of government are presented as political policies; are miscalled political principles; and attempts are made to force them into practice. They constitute new conditions of fact, evolve forces antagonistic to the true political

principles arising out of the governmental organism, confuse and mislead the people, and breed more falsities and national immorality.

The necessity for regarding politics as a profession for which a thorough political education is requisite in those who follow it, and for a political education of those having the elective franchise to an extent that will enable them to understand policies when called upon to choose, is an overwhelming necessity, if we are to retain our republics and the liberties they are intended to guarantee. We cannot expect that persons chosen to fill official positions will all be statesmen, nor that all of them will have a political education; but with a proper adjustment of the schools so that they can and must impart a knowledge of politics, the coming generations would know enough to test would-be official representatives, and require enough of them to have such a knowledge of the profession of politics as would enable them to discharge their duties intelligently as administrators of government.

Then political parties would be a means to political ends, and not as now, mere clans, striving for place and emolument, many members in each, voting for officials who will support policies to which they are opposed from principle, simply because they belong to a particular partisan clan, miscalled a political party. A true party is made up of all those who think alike on any political policy, acting together as a unit for the time, in supporting or opposing it. When the question is settled the party ends. Others arise on other questions as they come up for consideration. The present incongruous condition of party organizations is a result of the substitution of mere propositions for principles—time-serving expedients for partisan advantage instead of real political policies—and forcing them into practice as legitimate government.

Members of the Cabinet should be—*ex officio*—members of the House of Representatives, without a vote, but with leave to present bills, to debate, and subject to interpellation.

The elective franchise should be limited to citizens, and should be forfeited for violation of the election laws.

Only strict compliance with the naturalization laws, to be proved in court by witnesses who are native citizens, should entitle foreigners to citizenship.

Voters should be registered, and failure or refusal to register should forfeit the right to vote.

If the suggestions made could be carried out by a proper modification of the laws, we might reasonably hope for a great and beneficial change in political methods and administrative results ; for a higher standard of morals in both business and government ; for a more exalted character of ethical force in the uses of all the opportunities which education and advancing civilization afford us. A public opinion seems to be forming and growing in this direction, and well may we wish for its rapid advancement.

C. H. REEVE.

ELECTORAL REPRESENTATION.*

BY SANDFORD FLEMING, C.M.G., LL.D., ETC.

THERE are in Canada few men past middle age, who have not long felt the unsatisfactory condition of much which appertains to public life in the Dominion. There are not a few who have from year to year hoped that the unfortunate features in that which we call "politics" would in some way disappear. Recent revelations have, however, rudely dispelled such hope, and have confirmed the fears of those who foresaw that as the tendency of the evils was progressive, we could not reasonably look for an improvement.

Thoughtful persons, having the welfare of the country at heart, are thus impelled to give serious attention to the subject, with a view of considering the possibility of securing some beneficial change. The examination naturally takes the direction of an inquiry into the origin of the evils with which we are confronted, and the causes which persistently keep them associated with government, which therefore tends to become misgovernment.

The objects of government may be thus defined: To maintain peace and security, to increase prosperity and wealth, to advance moral and intellectual development, and generally to promote the good and the good will of the people.

With us the universal belief is, that the representative system is best calculated to attain these ends. In other countries the representative system has long been a constitutional reality, and from time to time modifications have been made in the system to render it more workable and more beneficial; but, notwithstanding the various changes which have been made, it cannot

* This article was written to apply to the Dominion of Canada, but those who read it need not be told how closely it applies to the United States.—EDITOR.

be held that its full and complete development has yet been attained. In Canada we are familiar with many of the defects of popular government. In the neighboring republic the defects in its adaptation are still more marked, and the political condition is consequently far from satisfactory. In Great Britain, the cradle of modern representative government, where the system should have attained the highest perfection, similar evils have been developed.

That the political evils which everywhere attract attention are attributable to imperfect methods of carrying out the representative system may justly be inferred. The fundamental principle of representative or popular government is, that the sovereign power of a state rests in and proceeds from the people, and that it is exercised by the representatives of the people assembled in Parliament. We have accepted this the democratic theory as our principle of government; but an examination will show that the methods adopted in carrying it into practice, have failed in their object. We, in fact, follow a course which, in its results, operates in a manner diametrically opposed to the true theory of our political constitution. The theory is that the mass of the electors shall be present in the persons and heard in the voices of those who constitute the national assembly or Parliament. Such undoubtedly is the principle of government which we aim to carry into effect, but it has never in practice been even approximately attained; moreover, it is impossible of attainment so long as members of Parliament continue to be chosen according to the present method of election. The obstacles to obtaining a true representation of the people in Parliament are due to the combined influence of two causes. The *first* is the expedient universally adopted in choosing members of the legislature by a majority of votes in each constituency. The *second* is the division of the people and the representatives into two great parties. The second, indeed, follows in a great measure from the first; undoubtedly the primary radical error is in assuming that the aggregate numerical majorities in the several constituencies are representative of the whole community. On this assumption, all those who do not

vote with the majorities are unrepresented in Parliament. The aggregate majorities represent only a portion, in place of the whole people; the electors who voted for the defeated candidates, together with those who had no vote, or did not vote, remain unrepresented. Under these circumstances, even if the whole elected body gives its unanimous support to the administration, we do not obtain a true and perfect model of popular government, that is to say, a people self-governed. We have but the government of a part over a part; possibly, but not necessarily, the major over the minor part. It is proper, however, in considering the question, that we should deduct the members in opposition, and then we still less have the government we are told we possess; that is the government of the people. We then have practically government by the minor over the major part. It can be conclusively shown that the minor and governing part is but a fraction of the whole, and that we are, as a matter of fact, usually governed by this fractional part. There cannot be a doubt that from this circumstance spring the unhappy forces which so much disturb the harmony of our political machinery.

It has elsewhere been made clear by actual statistics, that the electoral methods which we follow prevent a large portion of the community from being represented in Parliament, and exclude a still larger portion, generally the great majority of the people, from any share or participation, directly or indirectly, in the government. It has been likewise established that in place of the supreme power being exercised by the people's representatives, the whole power of the state is absolutely possessed by a minority, and practically by an exceedingly small minority. Thus we utterly fail in attaining what is understood to be representative government; in its place we have acquired a totally different and perverted system—a system of the character of an oligarchy, and, it is hardly too much to say, exhibiting some of its worst features. We have accepted the fallacy that a part is equal to the whole. We give supreme authority to a part, numerically in the minority, and we allow it to assume the power which should be exercised by the whole; at the same time

we exclude a large part, generally the majority of the people from the rights and privileges which by theory they possess.

Is it surprising that this system should result in the constant recurrence of difficulty? Would it not rather be a matter of surprise if those excluded from participation in government, or from representation in Parliament, should quietly acquiesce in the injustice? It is only natural that they should resent the deprivation, and strive to regain their lost rights and privileges, by waging political warfare against the men who for the moment rule; hence it is that they employ every means, good and evil, to drive them from power. The dominant party for the time being, on their part strenuously defend the position they hold, and leave nothing undone to thwart the efforts of their adversaries to displace them. On the one side, there is a persistent and relentless attack upon the party controlling the government; on the other a life and death struggle for political existence. Thus we have the political peace of the community continually disturbed, and we witness, in and out of Parliament, a never-ending conflict with all its concomitant evils. Such to-day is the chronic condition of public life in Canada, whatever party be in power, and it seems to be much the same in all countries similarly circumstanced. In the work of Sir Henry Maine on popular government the condition of party government, is mildly described as "a system of government consisting in half the cleverest men in the country taking the utmost pains to prevent the other half from governing."

It is easy to be seen that the source to which we may trace our political difficulties is an incomplete, if not absolutely false, electoral system. The method of election which we follow, in its effect disfranchises half the population entitled to representation in Parliament, and, without any doubt whatever, it is this grave defect in our political system, which throws all our constitutional machinery out of gear. It is this defect which brings the organized parties of the present day into being, and which animates and intensifies party feeling. It is this defect which leads to party abuses and vices, and while this defect remains, improvement is not probable, indeed, unless humanity changes

its nature, it may be affirmed that any marked improvement is not possible.

Glancing over the pages of history, it cannot be denied that a party had its good side as well as its bad in the early days of representative government. There were special objects to be attained, and questions of great importance to be settled. But great questions do not last forever, in some way they are disposed of, and one by one disappear from the political surface. If parties had depended on great questions to keep them alive, they would long since have perished, and would not to-day be known as permanent organizations. With truth it may be said that we stand upon the graves of great questions, and it is impossible to conceive that the ghosts of dead issues are of themselves sufficient to maintain the vitality of parties for any length of time. But every effect is associated with a cause, and the parties which flourish to-day have other and adequate cause for their continued activity. Until this cause be removed, parties will survive as living antagonistic forces to disturb the peace and political harmony of the nation. Until the day comes when Parliament shall be properly constituted, and we have representative government, *in fact*, we cannot look for a truce in political warfare; until the whole electorate be fairly represented in the national assembly—a cessation of hostilities is, in the nature of things, impossible.

In order clearly to understand a guiding principle of party government and gain an insight into the ideas of leading party men, let us endeavor to ascertain their aims and aspirations. Suppose we ask those in opposition to the ruling power what their views are with respect to the future. Will they not declare their determination to gain office, and that their hope and desire is to hold the reins of government permanently? If we make the same inquiry of the ruling party, will they not tell us that they have no intention of throwing up the power they hold, and that they will, if they can, retain power always.

Is not the cardinal idea of each party, that it shall exclusively rule? That is to say, the ideal government of each for itself is a class government, the class to consist of the men of the party.

If this be the logical inference it seems to be indisputable, that party government is utterly at variance with free institutions.

All history goes to prove, and it is indeed a necessary result of our human nature that the end of government is primarily and essentially the welfare of the ruling class. If an oligarchy governs, the first and great aim is the benefit of the oligarchy. Similarly with respect to a party, and the consequences are the same whatever party may govern. This rule has always obtained, and we may rest satisfied that it will be the rule to the end of time. If, therefore, our object be the welfare and well being of the whole people, it is perfectly clear that the whole and not a part must govern. It becomes a fundamental necessity, therefore, that some way must be devised by which we shall obtain government by the whole people, or by representatives or deputies of the whole people, if we are to make any advance in the art of government.

In Canada we have been accorded full liberty to manage our own affairs substantially in our own way. There is no cast iron rule which we are bound to follow; there are no theoretical impediments to constitutional changes which we may generally desire; no reason can be adduced why we should rigidly adhere to usages of the past, if we have been made to feel that they are productive of evil.

Feeling clear on these points, two courses are open. First, we may adopt the *laissez-aller* policy, and allow matter to go on as now, with the prospect, nay, the certainty, that the evils we experience will become greater, and even more confirmed. Second, we may make an honest attempt to rectify Parliament, and obtain a government based on the true principles of popular representation.

Following the second course, the problem which challenges our attention is: to devise a scheme of electoral representation, by which the whole electorate may be equally recognized in one deliberative body, and every elector may have an equitable share through Parliament in the general administration of public affairs. It is, in short, to perfect our constitutional

system so that every interest within the Dominion shall be fairly represented in its government.

This problem may be difficult of solution, but considering its vast importance it ought not, in this inventive and constructive age, to be insoluble. What is a party but a portion of the people organized for political purposes? If it be practicable to organize two political parties in the community, it should be quite possible to form one organization, the outcome of that one organization to be the Parliament we are in search of. We are led to think that political organizations are costly affairs. In the one case, each of the two parties obtains funds from private sources or secretly and improperly from public sources. In the other case the expenditure of a single organization would be purely in the public interests, it could be made openly under the highest authority and be a proper direct charge on the public exchequer.

In forming a new scheme of electoral representation, the central idea should be to constitute Parliament so that in reality it will be "the nation in essence." With this central idea constantly in view, it would be found that no good purpose could be secured by giving exaggerated importance, as is often done at present, to abstract political questions during the period of a general election. It would be in the interest of the whole community to choose men to sit in Parliament who are best qualified by common repute to represent the electoral mind, and to leave the settlement of all public questions to the assembled legislature. Representatives ought not to be considered mere delegates to echo conclusions, dictated perhaps by whim or passion, or formed on insufficient evidence and immature judgment. It is well known that often during general elections one question brought into prominence will decide which party shall rule; while in Parliament many questions arise, some of which may involve far more important considerations than the one which receives special attention at the moment of the election. It is not sufficient that members should represent their constituents on the one question, or on several questions. The electorate should be well and thoroughly represented on all questions

which may arise throughout the duration of Parliament. What is needed in a member is a man of rectitude, good ability, and good sense, in direct touch with, and in full sympathy with those whom he is called upon to represent. The duty of the electors is to select the men who have the proper qualifications, and leave the final settlement of every public question to Parliament. When Parliament assembles, each representative should feel himself unpledged, and free to speak and vote on his own clear convictions, unbiassed by preconceived opinions, formed possibly upon incomplete information. In Parliament a member following a debate has the means of acquiring a more perfect knowledge of the subject under discussion than he previously had, or which the generality of those, who have selected him to represent them, could possibly have. The position of a member provides the best opportunity of obtaining familiarity with all sides of a public question. He will hear the most eminent men in public life, he will have access to the best evidence which can be obtained. For all these reasons, representatives of the people in Parliament should be left free to act according to the dictates of their own judgment, after full examination, and full consideration of every subject. It is not possible for an electorate to determine in advance the varied demands for legislation or the conclusions which should be reached on the many questions which will arise.* The greater is the necessity, therefore, that they should select men of the proper caliber to represent them, men whose ability and reputation is well established. The representative on his part will owe his constituents the exercise

* It would be absurd to throw on the people at large the actual work of legislation—since the people only form general aims and wishes, for which it is the business of the legislative expert to supply appropriate particular rules fit to be enacted,—but that these general aims and wishes should be regarded as paramount by a representative legislature. And certainly it would be difficult for the citizens at large to perform effectively the complicated discussion that is often required to mould a legislative scheme into the most acceptable form. Nor would it be practicable for the constituents to direct the action of the representative in every detail during such discussions; since it would sometimes happen that compromises and modifications were suggested at the last moment, rendering any previously expressed wishes of the constituents irrelevant to the issue finally put to the vote; while to give time for a reference to the constituencies in all cases would involve intolerable delay.—*Sidgwick, "Elements of Politics," London, 1891, p. 529.*

of his best judgment and the maintenance of perfect rectitude in all matters.

This point has an important bearing on any new scheme of representation. While the electorate has the right, and should whenever necessary, exercise the right to discuss public questions, it is obviously infinitely more important for the constituencies to obtain as members, intelligent independent men, known to be generally sound on vital questions, in preference to those who are willing, in order to obtain a seat, to pledge their opinion on any given question.

Legislation is not so simple that it may be undertaken by any one. It is not a matter of indifference who undertakes it, or what character of legislation is obtained. We should have as legislators the wisest, the most clear-headed, the best informed, the most just and honest members of the community. The average elector may or may not be well grounded in matters of legislation, or in forming correct opinions on all subjects; but he can, without any doubt or difficulty, exercise his judgment as to whom he can trust, and it becomes him to choose some trustworthy man as his proxy to represent him and deliberate with other trustworthy men; and having done so, he can leave the decision on all legislative questions with confidence to the Parliament which they would constitute.

A Parliament so constituted would be a miniature copy of the aggregate electoral mind—a microcosmus of the world it would represent. The legislature of the country would become a focal center, where all the currents of national life would mingle unembittered by party feeling, where all aspirations and impulses would come into friendly contact, where the different rays of public opinion would meet under the most favorable conditions, to modify each other into a unity of expression.

Bearing on the proposal to rectify Parliament, it may be confidently affirmed that the present method of electing members does not furnish a correct reflex of the national mind. If the two parties into which the country is politically divided be evenly balanced, and if at a general election one of the parties, by skillful tactics or other means, succeeds in many of the

constituencies in gaining the upper hand, however slightly in each case, the opposite party may be almost excluded from representation in the assembly. How misleading, therefore, it is to assume that the majority in Parliament represents the aggregate public opinion of the nation! and yet many are apt to do so until undeceived at the next general election by the movement of the political pendulum to the other side. The consequence of these administrative revolutions is often extremely unfortunate for the country, as each party on accession to power endeavors generally to reverse as much as it can the policy of its predecessor. This condition of unstable equilibrium, inseparable from party government, would, it is believed, be obviated, while continuity of policy, subject only to desirable modifications from time to time, would be secured by the plan suggested.

Election by majorities, it is obvious, is the immediate cause of this instability. Experience everywhere goes to show that elections are often carried by exceedingly narrow majorities, so that a comparative handful of electors, distributed over the constituencies, could, by reversing their votes, transfer the majority in Parliament from one party to the other, and entirely change the character of the administration.

One of the strong arguments advanced by the advocates of party government is that by means of the party organizations an interest is stimulated among the electors in public affairs, and without this stimulant it would be difficult to get voters to go to the polls. If this argument be well founded, the difficulty might be easily overcome through the instrumentality of properly devised machinery which would carry the polls to the electors. Such a device need not be widely different from the means employed for effecting assessment purposes, or for taking the census.

Since the views of the writer on the subject have been made public, he has had the advantage of examining other schemes which at different times have been proposed for improving the electoral system. It is recognized by many that the present unsatisfactory system cannot be viewed as permanent, and that it must in the end give place to some better method.

The great aim and desire of Messrs. Hare, Andrae, Fawcett, Mill, and writers who share their opinions, have been to secure the representation of minorities. Will it be held as a political heresy to say that there should be no minorities to represent? But such is the view of the writer, who inclines to the opinion that, outside the walls of Parliament, minorities and majorities should practically be unknown; and moreover that unless the whole electorate, as a body, finds its representation in the national assembly, we do not obtain a true representative Parliament. It is natural that there should be differences of opinion. Such divergencies of view are to be expected on every question brought forward for decision, when considered on its merits; moreover to act with ordinary prudence and wisdom there should be deliberation in public affairs; but deliberation to be of any use must precede decision. It may be asked, Is the public mind in the heat of a general election in the best state to deliberate on all important legislative questions, or on any question? and can there be any effective deliberation without the electors coming together? Both these queries can only be answered in the negative. It is physically impossible for all the electors to meet in order to deliberate, and in consequence, deliberation can only be effected by deputies or substitutes who assembling in a recognized form will satisfactorily represent the electors, and by their deliberation and decisions will effect substantially the same results as the electors themselves would effect if they had deliberated and voted in one body. Thus it is that Parliament properly constituted becomes the deliberative assembly of the nation, and it is quite obvious that deliberation and decision on all questions ought to be the function of Parliament alone. This principle being recognized, in Parliament majorities and minorities would be as diversified as the questions discussed. Members in all cases would give their votes according to their own clear, independent convictions, unfettered by pledges or party ties. A stereotyped majority and minority are not possible in a true deliberative body; there would, therefore, be none in the free Parliament we have portrayed. If such a Parliament can be constituted, if it be possible to elect members on some better

plan than that now followed, and on sounder principles than that of a numerical majority, the foundation of standing parties would disappear. Neither inside nor outside of Parliament would there be the same causes to develop the growth of the dualism which now exists. There would be an absence of purpose in any effort to inflame the passions or stimulate antagonism in the community. In place of these evils there would be scope and encouragement for the awakening of a calm patriotism, and the nobler instincts of all classes, and under such conditions it is believed that men of capacity and wisdom, and of good conscience, with minds evenly balanced, would be preferred and generally would be chosen as representatives. A Parliament thus constituted would, as much as it could be possible, be free from a contentious spirit. Its members would be in a fit state to exercise their highest reason in the positions they had been selected to fill.

If the means be put in practice of constituting a Parliament of the whole people, by whatever plan may ultimately be found best, the great and permanent cause of political conflict would be removed, inasmuch as no interest would be excluded from the legislative body, and no individual elector would be deprived of his fair share in the general government through Parliament, in which he would be represented. Thus it would result that party organizations would lose support, their lines of cleavage would be obliterated, and the party divisions which now form a dualism in the state would disappear and practically become blended into one. No doubt occasions would from time to time arise when members of Parliament would differ in opinion on important questions, and those of the same way of thinking would co-operate in order to carry their views to a successful issue. Under such circumstances it might with truth be said that the combinations formed would be of the nature of parties, but they would be merely special and temporary associations, to cease in each case as the questions would be disposed of. There would no longer be the same cause to induce the organization of permanent parties with their members arrayed as foemen one side against the other—voting on all questions identically. There would be no *raison d'être* for two such antagonistic forces,

as now exist, with fixed antipathies, disputing under party banners every inch of ground, and mutually wasting their energies in ceaseless conflict.

As already pointed out, we have happily in this new land no social complications or traditional impediments to encumber our political constitution or clog the working of any improvement in our system of government. In Canada we are in a state of general and continuous development. Year by year we advance steadily as our fathers did before us. If the methods of our fathers do not serve the purposes of the present generation we must, as they would have done, abandon the methods of our fathers. When we find defects in our political condition it is our duty to discover their origin and remove causes of friction by a readjustment of the legislative machinery.

SANDFORD FLEMING.

THE HOMESTEAD RIOT.

BY THE REV. W. M. JONES.

THE affair at Homestead demands all the attention and discussion it receives. There is involved in it the peace of society and the rights of man. It is the expression in outward acts of a conflict in thought, feeling, and purpose between the parties immediately concerned in the conduct of our necessary industries. Viewed as the possible beginning of a series of like disturbances it is of paramount importance. Every citizen capable of thought should study it as widely and thoroughly as possible, that his action, when it shall come his time to act, may be deliberate and just and in earnest.

The circumstances in brief are these: The managers of a large iron mill, at the expiration of a contract with their employees, submitted the scale of wages they proposed to pay for future work. The terms were objectionable to a labor union which includes in its membership the majority of the iron workers in the section. Official representatives of the union held several conferences with the mill owners without effecting a change in the offer. A strike was ordered, and the mills shut down. The owners of the mills ostensibly considered their property in danger of damage and appealed to the sheriff to protect it. He thought himself unable to do so with the deputies he could secure; whereupon the company employed a number of men as watchmen and sent them by night, in armored boats, to the mills. Reaching there in the early morning they found the place occupied by a force of armed men, who, without parleying, began at once to fire upon them with guns, afterwards with cannon and dynamite bombs. After several hours of battle the company's employees were compelled to surrender, were disarmed, put ashore, run through a mob of infuriated men and

women, and sent out of the town. In the *mêlée* several men were killed and many wounded.

Between these men so slaying one another was no personal enmity. They who came in boats had contracted as watchmen and guards, under our laws which recognize such labor as necessary and grant the right to perform it to every man. They who had contracted with them were the owners of the property, having the right to occupy it and protect it from injury, by arms, if necessary. Up to the hour of battle no conceded right of man had been infringed and no law of the land violated by either party.

Are the Homestead managers members of a combination of many such mills; and was the scale presented one dictated by the combination? Mill owners have the right to act in unison if they wish to do so. The laws of the land, however, do not compel any individual of such combinations to adhere to a rate of wages agreed upon to be paid to other men for work.

Were the laborers there seeking to contract through their union in accordance with its methods? They also have the right to combine and fix in common council the prices at which the union members shall perform given labor. The law, though, again will not compel any member of a union to obey its orders as to work or wages or suspension of work. His obedience to his union, as also the method of his contracting with his employers, is at his own choice.

The rights of all parties to do as they did up to the hour of the battle are both recognized in the law and well fixed in public opinion. Any attempt at compulsion by force, before that, would have met instant resistance by an indignant public. If the mill owners had forcibly compelled the laborers to continue working at a price for which they were unwilling to work, or the workmen had kept the mills going and forcibly seized property in pay for their labor at a price to which the owners had not consented, an officer of the law might speedily have had all the help he needed to restore order, in either case.

But law and custom were set aside in another and terrible way. Property was ruthlessly destroyed; blood was shed; a

savage battle waged for hours where was no civil war; what the law names murder was done; the authorized agents of the owners of property were beaten off the premises by a mob. While these desperate and utterly lawless things were transpiring and for days afterwards, the representative of the law was powerless for the want of deputies, though he called for volunteers and summoned many men. Partial order was restored only by the massing there of all the militia of the state. At this writing, a month after the event, it is doubtful if, save in the presence of a large armed force, the mill owners could resume their work without violence, if they sought to do so with other men than the strikers.

Why? Because public sympathy is with these lawbreakers and against the enforcement of law in this case. It cannot be fear of a mob that seizes property unrighteously and killing in malice that restrains men from arresting marauders and murderers. Nothing in American history warrants the assumption that we have fallen to that cowardice of spirit. Nor can it be that we have ceased to hold it right that property exposed to danger or even believed to be so by its owners shall not be guarded by them. We believe it true even of those men who resisted the guards at Homestead that they have respect toward the right of men to possess goods that are their own. Had the ostensible guards meant only the protection of the mills from injury, there would have been no gun fired nor any violence done.

What these men saw and what the sympathizing public saw with them was a deliberately planned attempt on the part of the company to occupy the mills with a force great enough and well enough armed to protect other laborers whom they might bring in. Many circumstances in the conferences with the representatives of the union and the mill owners caused the men to think that the latter had determined to be rid in future of the interference of labor unions in dealing with their operatives. This union and its methods—the maintenance of its power in industries where it had obtained a footing—this, and not the paltry differences in the scale of wages proposed, is that for which the

strike was ordered at first, and the guns fired and property destroyed at last. This is, in the estimation of those men and very many more everywhere now, a cause of such weight as to demand the annulling of the hitherto conceded rights of men, and even the taking of human life in its behalf. They name the blood shed in resisting the purported guards martyrs' blood.

Now because these men do not stand alone in their thought and purpose, but are representatives of a very large and growing class, we are brought face to face with these questions: Are the interests and weal of men so at stake in this double conflict between labor unions and capital on one side, and labor unions and independent nonunion laboring men on the other, that men shall not be legally secured in their right to do as they will with their own—the capitalist with his money and plants; the laborer with his time and work? Shall A and B, mill owners engaged in lawful and necessary industry, be compelled by the armed resistance of C, D, E, F, union men, to abandon their enterprises or as an alternative to employ only these at greater prices than other men would willingly receive for the same labor? Shall G, H, I, J, nonunion men, by choice preferring or by necessity compelled to find work as they can at such price as they can get, be forced away from the fields of steadiest employment and best pay because the labor unions have determined to hold these for themselves? Shall the confiscation or destruction of property of employers by employees, when there is a difference between them over wages which they cannot adjust by voluntary concessions, be held a lawful seizure or destruction, as in times of war when great emergency demands it for the public protection? Shall the killing of a man or company of men by another man or company of men, when the former offer to do work the latter have refused to do at a given price, be held justifiable homicide?

This is stating the case in its extremity. We are loth to believe that the initial intention of the labor unions was to destroy property and take human life in case capitalists and competing laborers should not yield to their demands. But this is what was done at Homestead; and the plea in extenuation, urged by

thousands everywhere, is that so only could the ends of organized labor be secured.

Our American idea has been that the rights of every individual to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness, in ways which do not deny equal rights to every other man, are inalienable; that these rights may be trespassed only in times of greatest danger to the whole people; and then only by the state, in which every citizen has equal voice. The question fronting us now is: Shall this supreme prerogative be delegated to a class of men of whom we have not yet learned—and have so far no reason to infer—that they are more than others lovers of the general good; or less than others devoted to their own interests; or wiser in the judgments they reach in secret conclave, than are the whole people in open representative assemblies?

The assertions of the labor union men urged in justification of their proposed defiance of law and custom are these: it behooves us to weigh them. They say that conditions are not now what they were when existing laws defining property and labor rights were enacted. A few great firms have united to break down all competition of other factors, and have largely succeeded in doing so in the leading industries. It is not now true, as once it was, that a dissatisfied laborer may go to another employer and make better terms; or uniting his fortunes with some weaker concern for less wages for a time, build it up to be profitable to owner and operative alike. The might of the great owners has or will soon put an end to competition, both in the sale of products and in the employment of labor. There are many plants under many names; but really in every department but one or two great operators; and these master the business in every detail. These all-dominant ones care nothing for the consumers nor the producers of their wares—they care only for their gains. The great wealth of these managers enables them to run their own mills at actual loss for a season. This tremendous advantage they unscrupulously use to destroy weaker competitors. Then buying the properties of ruined men at bankrupt sales, and employing idle laborers at starvation wages, they so enormously increase their own wealth out of the misfortunes of other men—misfor-

tunes which were not, had competition been honorable and just.

Combinations pursuing these methods are formed not only in the same departments, but in allied industries, until a few great operators own the controlling interest in every labor-employing establishment in the land. These fix wages in every trade at about the same figure, and always for the mass of laborers at a price below the possibility of accumulation, and little if any above the cost of barest living. To learn a new trade, when one has become hopeless of fortune or comfort in an old one, is therefore of no avail. They are all managed in the same spirit and largely by the same men.

The new industries that spring out of modern scientific knowledge and invention afford a little respite. Skilled men routed in the old establishments may find employment in those producing new fabrics. But if skill and energy make these successful the magnates crowd them out here too, so soon as it is seen that they promise to be sources of profit. The brains as well as the skill and muscle of men must pay tribute to this king.

The decline in prices of farm products and the adoption of labor-saving agricultural implements send many men to the factories and mines who else were tillers of the soil. The emigrant ships bring to our shores constantly thousands of needy laborers. These all become grist to the magnates' mills. They know that at whatever wages they offer there will be a supply of hungry applicants; and that by their wealth and shrewd competition they can force the poor products of unskilled labor through the markets, until practice makes the raw operators skillful. After that they depend upon the laborers' needs to keep them at work, if not contented.

By these processes of dishonorable, might-enforced suppression of competition in leading industries, there are a few men in America whose weekly incomes are enormous fortunes; whose single wealth is greater than that of many kings of olden time; whose power to work evil under existing laws might entail suffering and loss upon the rest of the people greater than would attend an invasion of a foreign army; who with the years and

their increasing wealth grow increasingly estranged from their fellowmen. These scheme night and day to increase their wealth, with no other object apparent—since they cannot possibly use their incomes in expenditures upon themselves—than the increase of their power to dominate other men. They have attached to themselves an army of sycophants to do their bidding. They keep in their employ the shrewdest financiers to watch the tide of industry and commerce, cunning lawyers engaged solely in their legal complications with those whom they ruthlessly wreck, trained lobbyists and legislators in every lawmaking assembly from the Senate of the nation to the town council of every considerable town where they have interests, whose places they openly buy and who are commonly known to concern themselves only in their chief's behalf. They are few who are supreme dictators, but they are mighty and they are one—one in their purpose to ruin all men and industries that do not pay tribute to them.

Is this true which the laboring men assert in journals and public and private speech? Undoubtedly the facts are alarming as they report them, whatever be the spirit and purpose behind them. And in view of the facts there is justification and the answer of a crying need that the laboring men should unite, and all good citizens unite with them, in efforts to effect their protection and secure some voice in the regulation of their wages and the conduct of necessary industries, that the few mighty men of wealth may not push all other men to the wall.

That they should look to the suppression of competition between themselves is natural. They had their object lesson in the fate of their employers who, as a rule, have succeeded or failed according as they have co-operated with or combated the great concerns. They think they see that only as they become as united as the operators are united can they successfully stand against them. Further, that it will be better for the laboring man to be forced against his will to join the union, than for him and all to be sunk in the common ruin. They think they see an impending starvation compelling slavery to some master; and that a union of men like himself in needs and aims

will be a far better master than the heartless moneyed lords.

That they should think it right to protect themselves, as now they seek to protect themselves at Homestead, against laborers from elsewhere—should cry Homestead wages for Homestead men—is also not surprising. Many of the most honored statesmen of the land are asserting the righteousness and political wisdom of maintaining the supremacy of the American laborers' claim to protection against the competition of foreign laborers willing or compelled to work for less wage. If they cannot discriminate in their judgment as to the right to compete untrammelled with them between the needy laborers recently landed from the emigrant ships and those yet on the further side of the sea, there are many others who cannot perceive the difference, and these also are honored as statesmen.

These and other considerations should make us chary in our judgment of these lawbreakers. At heart they have no more the spirit and intent of common murderers and marauders than had our forefathers in '76. They think themselves defenders of the rights of the weak against the oppression of the strong.

But what they think and how they have come to think and feel as they do, is not now the pressing matter. It explains their action and extenuates somewhat its character. Upon the whole people is brought now for firm decision and action the question of upholding or abandoning the end for which governments should exist—the securing to every man the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Toward the birth of this freedom of the individual the centuries have groaned in travail. We have hitherto held it as the obligation of American citizenship that we shall conserve it, enduring the ills that may be incident to its firm establishment, until it stands attested to be what our fathers believed it to be and our land's prosperity thus far has proved it to be—the right and fit estate of man. Heavier yokes have been thrown from the necks of the people than this which threatens to be laid on by the despotism of wealth. Until we know that this will surely bear us down ; and that it can be escaped only in the way now adopted by the Homestead men—a way utterly subversive of all

that we have held sacredly to be just and good—it is treason to surrender our ideas or stay the operation of the laws that have sprung from them.

As yet there is no adequate cause to lose our faith in God and the human heart, to fear that what these have evolved as the most precious boon of man cannot stand the test of actual being. The liberty we enjoy is very sweet and wholesome so far. To surrender it to a majority acting with no other restraint than their own wills, and in defiance of the limitations all past experience of man has sanctioned as wise—how craven that were if it be through fear of disaster not yet upon us ; how egregiously foolhardy if it be through hope of a golden age promised yet only in idlers' dreams !

W. M. JONES.

THE COLLEGE MAN IN POLITICS.

BY JEAN LA RUE BURNETT, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, '92.

ON THE 17th of May last there assembled in the city of Ann Arbor, Michigan, the representatives of upwards of thirty American universities and colleges with the object of forming a permanent political organization to be known as the "American Republican College League." The movement was the first of its kind ever inaugurated in this or, I believe, any other country, and was in character most significant. The occasion was one of no ordinary moment and aroused widespread interest outside of the college world. It introduced a new and influential feature in the system of a great political party. That the influence of the movement was by no means local in its nature was evinced by the fact that it received the energetic approbation of the chairman of the National Republican Committee and his associates, who devoted personal attention to furthering the interests of the scheme and who evidently foresaw the advantages which would result from the successful organization of such a league.

The convention which was held on the day mentioned was notable for its enthusiasm, parliamentary methods, and thoroughly political disposition. The proceedings were marred by no puerile actions. They were businesslike, straightforward, and effective. No time was wasted in oratorical display, although several animated discussions took place. The convention went to work with a will and accomplished its mission commendably. A constitution and declaration of principles were adopted, officers were elected, plans for individual and collective work in the approaching campaign were discussed, provisions were made for the next annual convention, and the first assembly

of the interstate college Republican league passed into political annals as a memorable event.

The gathering was significant in a great many respects. Its aspect was pre-eminently prophetic. It demonstrated that the college man is capable of much greater things than is the fashion nowadays to attribute to him, and indicated that he is likely to become an influential factor even in the prosaic sphere of politics. College "man" appears not as fictitious a term as some would like to make it when it is remembered that a great majority of college students are over twenty-one years of age. Fifteen thousand voting citizens graduate from our colleges and universities annually, twelve thousand of whom ally themselves actively with some political party. The college man of the future is destined to be no diminutive figure in politics. Filled with enthusiasm and unlimited activity, he is likely to be the instrument of considerable power. He is beginning to realize this and also that "in union there is strength," as was demonstrated by the organization of the college league, representing as it does forty thousand college Republicans.

This presents the collegian in a novel and creditable rôle. Party leaders realize that they cannot afford to neglect the political capital that lies between the venerable walls of our educational institutions. The Honorable John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, said in his speech on the occasion of the banquet which followed the convention on May 17: "This is a glorious occasion and an illustrious gathering. It marks high tide for the Republican party in the campaign of 1892 which sets the college men of this country at work in their shirt sleeves for the Republican party and the Republican party is sure to win."

College political clubs are comparatively modern institutions. A few years ago the organization of a club for active campaign duty in college would have been regarded as a difficult task. To-day nearly every college and university in the land has its regularly chartered political organizations whose objects are educational as well as otherwise. The membership of these clubs usually comprises a fair proportion of the students in actual attendance. For instance, at the University of Michigan

out of 2,692 students there is a political club numbering over 1,000; at Harvard, out of a total of 2,600 students, a club of 900; at Cornell, among 1,500 students, a club of 203; at Princeton, out of 980 students, a club of over 500; at Amherst, out of 330, a club of 160; at Palo Alto, out of 540 students, a club numbering 135, etc., etc.* No matter to what particular faith these organizations may pay allegiance, it must be admitted that they exercise a large influence on the student body in their respective institutions. I believe authorities state that the Democratic party has the precedence in the establishment of the college political club, having organized the first one at the University of Virginia when the party was yet in its infancy. The club was short-lived, however, and has but recently—if at all—been revived.

Soon after the organization of the American Republican College League charges were made in several prominent newspapers to the effect that the real object of the league was not for legitimate political purposes, but that it aimed at the dislodging of all instructors of political economy in American educational institutions who favor or teach the principles of Free Trade. This conviction presumably arose from an article in the platform adopted, which read as follows:

"3. That, as the present system of teaching political economy in American universities is necessarily more theoretical than practical, and that as the comprehensive knowledge of these matters can only be derived by their being brought practically face to face with every student of economics, our purpose shall be to aid and encourage every effort on the part of young Americans to become masters of the science of government, with special reference to the principles enunciated year after year by the parties claiming the attention of the American public."

These sentiments expressed by the public press were unwarranted and entirely without foundation. As one of the originators and prime movers in the scheme for the organization of the college league, the writer can state that no such idea as that

* The writer desires to correct the statement made by J. Lockwood Dodge in his article in the *North American Review* for June, in which he stated that the largest college political club is at Harvard. The largest college political club is the University of Michigan Republican Club, which numbers over a thousand members.

intimated entered the minds of those who formed the organization.

It is stated that the step taken by the Republican students is soon to be followed by the Democratic students and it is not unlikely that the other political parties will in time emulate their examples. In several states, notably Michigan and Indiana, the college students have organized, or are organizing political leagues which will co-operate with the national associations in their work.

All these facts are significant. They contain quite a little food for reflection. They suggest that the college student is not exerting all his energy in high-pole vaulting, tennis, and football,—and, by the way, the vote of a college man in this free country of ours counts for just as much as that of a Harrison, a Cleveland, or any other American citizen.

JEAN LA RUE BURNETT.

SOME FALLACIES OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

BY EDWIN MEAD.

THERE is no question of the need of a reform movement in American politics. There can be no question that it should be a "People's" movement, to the end that our government shall come to be somewhat nearer to the ideal expressed by Lincoln—"a government of the people, for the people, and by the people." The murmur of discontent among the producers of wealth constantly increases in volume and is a danger signal that the foolish may scorn but which the thoughtful must heed.

Not that we are to deceive ourselves in thinking to legislate out of existence "all the ills to which humanity is heir." Perfected societies are not made, but grow; are not called into being by royal decrees or legislative enactments, but are the result of gradual development.

A reform movement to be effectual must be founded on the basic laws of morality and political economy. We need, above all things, to study the first principles of justice, equity, and of economics; for there is no question that the violations of such laws are the cause of present wrongs in the body politic. In the individual, physical pain surely indicates a sin—a transgression of the unchangeable laws of health, and social distress in a nation just as surely indicates a sin, a political or economic sin—a transgression of the laws of economics or ethics. Without doubt our great *political sin* has been, and is, the *granting of special privileges*; legislating for private interests regardless of its effect on the people in general.

In national, state, or municipal legislation the same great wrong is committed. In national legislation it is in the form of outrageous tariffs, bounties, and land grants enacted at the demand of private interests without consideration as to the public

welfare. State legislation in the shape of laws of inspection grant special privileges to certain trades, professions, or classes while seeming to protect the public; such as the laws of meat inspection, examinations of drug clerks, etc. By our legislative bodies in cities we grant valuable franchises to individuals or corporations, thus making a community pay tribute to a privileged few. When we shall elect aldermen to pass ordinances for the benefit of a city, assemblymen to legislate in the interests of a state, and congressmen who will enact laws for the good of the nation instead of passing acts to further private interests, the great reformation of the age will have been accomplished.

But how does the People's party propose to bring about this much needed reform? They denounce protective tariff laws as class legislation and demand other class legislation, such as the Subtreasury scheme. They complain of the government's loaning to bankers at one per cent, but demand the same thing for the farmers! We are suffering because of the sin of granting special privileges. Shall we find relief by granting more privileges? Shall we be so inconsistent as to denounce special legislation for the benefit of bankers and manufacturers and at the same time demand such legislation for the farmers? Is it in accordance with the dictates of common sense to attempt to reform a drunkard by giving him more alcohol? Shall a nation,—intoxicated by extravagant paternal legislation,—be made sober by more legislation of the same sort? Will justice be attained by practicing more injustice?

The People's party demand the repeal of the privilege granted the national banks of issuing currency. If we are to accept some of the startling declarations of Mr. C. C. Post in the February *Arena*, the national banks surely must have a bonanza as banks of issue. Mr. Post makes the astonishing statement that national banks make a profit of 700 per cent on their investment when they borrow money at one per cent and loan it out at eight per cent. The remarkable calculation by which the difference between one and eight becomes 700 is certainly amazing. Evidently Mr. Post has mistaken the interest for the principal when he speaks of an "investment of one cent real-

izing a profit of seven cents or 700 per cent." The investment must be the amount paid for the bonds; it surely cannot be the interest paid by the banks upon the amount of paper they are allowed to issue. The greatest advantage of obtaining a loan from the government on the bonds purchased is the low rate of interest (one per cent), and what is made by so doing is the difference between one per cent and the rate charged by private concerns.

The actual interest profit to a bank by virtue of being a national bank can be easily calculated. Suppose two banks start in business each with a capital of \$100,000. One a private bank and the other a national bank. The private bank loans out its capital in full (this is a supposed case) at eight per cent, which would be an interest profit of \$8,000. The national bank buys United States bonds with its \$100,000, and at the present price of four per cent would have some \$85,000 worth of the bonds. As their currency issue can be only ninety per cent of the face of the bonds, they will have about \$77,000 to loan. At eight per cent this would be \$6,160 plus four per cent interest on bonds, \$3,420, making \$9,580, less one per cent of issue for cost of same gives a total interest of \$8,810, which is a gain of only \$810, or about one per cent in annual interest profit by being a national bank. This is somewhat different from Mr. Post's figuring, but we may leave it to the men engaged in banking to say which is more nearly correct.

Now this is not an argument in support of the present policy of allowing national banks to be banks of issue. But whatever wrong there is in such policy is not to be made right by such baseless exaggeration as contained in Mr. Post's article. Such a mistake is especially to be regretted as that gentleman's many writings are abundant evidence of his deep sympathy with the cause of the people.

Another demand of the People's party, expressed in many state as well as in national conventions, is "that the amount of money in circulation be speedily increased to \$50 *per capita*." By what means has it been discovered that \$50 *per capita* is the proper amount of money for the business of the country?

What data have they used in their calculation to show that twice the amount of the present circulation is desirable or likely to improve the financial condition of the country? Is there any one who can tell how much money the country requires; any one who has any data *whatever*, for solving such a problem? In fact, is it necessary that the problem should be solved? Ninety per cent of business is transacted without the use of money. The banks of the country settle balances through clearing houses of a hundred million every day without handling a dollar in money. All this is made possible by credit, and credit is made possible by confidence. It has been truly said, "The affairs of life hinge upon confidence," and especially is this true in the world of business. Because the credit system has proved disastrous in retail trade and is being replaced by the cash system, it is not proved thereby that the credit system is altogether wrong. It simply proves that it is not adapted to the retail trade where so many customers are unknown or irresponsible parties; but the immense volume of larger transactions would be utterly impossible without some such system. May it not be *more confidence* that is needed in the industrial world of to-day rather than *more money*?

But it is urged, "we need a large increase in the amount of money that money may be cheap." Is cheapness the first quality of money to be considered? Do we not want *above all things* GOOD money? Should we not judge money by the test of "how good," rather than how expensive or how cheap?

The two chief functions of money are to serve as a medium of exchange and to express value. The money that has the greatest confidence of the people will circulate most freely and will therefore best perform the first function. Money that is most stable in value will best perform the latter function. These are questions of the greatest importance and the question of cheapness must, of necessity, be an after consideration.

But would a large increase in the amount of money give us cheap money; that is, money that could be had at a low rate of interest? No doubt it would give us one sort of cheap money, namely cheap in purchasing power, but does the amount of

money in circulation determine the rate of interest? The amount of money in circulation in the United States or France to-day *per capita* is considerably above that of England, yet no country has a lower rate of interest than England. What then determines the interest rate? Is it not the amount of surplus wealth of a nation? Money is not so much a thing of value as a representative of value. So when we borrow money we get it only to obtain something else and it is this "something else," capital, surplus wealth, or whatever you please, on which we really pay interest. If this surplus wealth is scarce, interest rates must be high; when plentiful, rates decline. Thus we see high interest rates in a new country where surplus wealth has yet to be accumulated and in older countries where many centuries of production have given a large surplus we find rates of interest comparatively low.

As doubling the amount of money would most certainly lessen its purchasing power, would it be equitable or just to try to thus meet obligations in money of one half the purchasing power of that under which debts were contracted? The leaders of the People's party denounce the disclaiming of the greenback issue by the government in refusing to accept them in payment of customs duties and making them unavailable for interest on the public debt and later for the debt itself. Does their plan of repudiation differ in kind or only in degree, in that it would be more extensive and disastrous?

Is it not desirable, above all things, that the currency should not fluctuate in value but should remain, in purchasing power, as nearly as possible a constant quantity?

The champions of the party in power pride themselves on being a party of "constructive legislation." But it is of this same "constructive legislation" that the farmer and wage-earner so bitterly complain, holding (and with much reason) that they have not been considered while this "construction" was in progress; that private interests have controlled legislation because they have had the opportunity while the people were asleep.

We seem to have forgotten that "eternal vigilance is yet the

price of liberty"; to have been laboring under the delusion that the price had been reduced to vigilance once in four years; that because we had abolished human slavery the nature of mankind had changed so that it could be trusted not to take advantage of an opportunity for gain. The awakening of the real import of this "constructive legislation" will cause either the destruction of special privilege or the destruction of human liberty. The legislation of the past thirty years can be likened to a man who builds a house and regards not the natural laws of gravity and of the strength of materials. Legislation has been carried on regardless of natural laws—the laws of economics and the laws of equity and justice. The disastrous consequences of the violation of these laws are as certain as the violation of the laws of health or any other of nature's laws.

It matters not that the effect does not immediately follow the cause; because it is somewhat removed in time it is none the less certain.

Is the People's party desirous of winning distinction in "constructive legislation"? It would so appear from their platform. Is not the great need of the hour, a season of destructive legislation—destructive of the special privilege granted to private interests whereby such interests appropriate, under a system of legalized robbery, a part of the earnings of labor? It was once said of the English Parliament that "the best act it ever passed was an act of repeal." When we remember the many absurd and even barbarous laws that have been stricken from the statute book of England during the past century only, there would seem to be not a little of truth in the above quotation.

There is one clause in the demands of the People's party which they would do well to nail to their mast head—even to make it their entire platform. It contains the principle which should decide all questions of tariff, of finance, of pensions, or other legislative problems, including the labor question, whether of the mechanic or farmer. It constitutes the plummet line by which all acts of legislation should be tested. The business of government (probably the *sole* business) should be to maintain

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among all men the condition of equal freedom expressed in the words *equal and exact justice to all*, or to quote Mr. Jefferson more fully, "Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political, peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."

When the enactments of government shall thus be based on the eternal laws of equal freedom, which implies that none shall be granted special privilege, we may expect to attain the ends desired by the People's party. Then, and *only* then, can the prophecy of Mr. Higginson be fulfilled, that

"Some day, by laws as fixed and fair
As guide the planets in their sweep ;
The children of each outcast heir,
The harvest fruits of Time, shall reap.
Some day, without a trumpet's call
The news shall o'er the world be blown,
The heritage comes back to all,
The myriad monarchs take their own."

EDWIN MEAD.

THE PROBLEM OF NEGRO EDUCATION.

BY JUDGE A. A. GUNDY, OF LOUISIANA.

THERE are seven millions of negroes in the South, more than twice as many people as inhabited the American colonies at the time of the Revolution, more than three times as many people as inhabited Alsace-Lorraine, which more than once unsettled the governments of Europe. If the subject which I shall discuss concerned the happiness, welfare, and preservation of these people alone, it would be a subject of tremendous import, but it concerns not only the negroes, but also the whites of the South, and embraces in its far-reaching scope the liberties, the progress, the civilization, and honor of our entire people.

I speak from the standpoint of one who is proud of the course which the southern states have pursued with regard to negro education and ready to champion that course against all critics, let them be who they may.

I shall treat the subject under three general heads.

1. What the South has done for negro education.
2. What the South ought to do for negro education.
3. What the South will do for negro education.

1. I shall not worry with statistics. One can find rows of figures and tables in books easily accessible to all. I simply wish to state in round numbers that every state in the South during the last twenty years has appropriated and spent millions of dollars for negro education. In all of these states the whites own on the average 19-20 of the property and pay 19-20 of the state taxes for all purposes. The negroes own 1-20 of the property and pay less than that proportion of the taxes. Yet the school funds are impartially distributed between the races according to the enrollment of children of school age. The

principal contribution of the negro to the school funds is his poll tax and in all the states he receives largely more than this. In other words, the southern people, the much abused whites of the South, for they have had absolute control of the state government for the last 15 years, have constantly and cheerfully paid the taxes to keep up the general expenses of the government and also paid, freely and promptly, taxes to help educate the negro children.

In Louisiana the negroes pay less than 1-10 of the taxes and receive more than 1-3 of the school fund. In Mississippi it is the same. In Alabama the negroes pay 1-20 of the taxes and have received more than 2-5 of the school funds collected in the last twenty years. In Georgia the disproportion between the amounts paid and the amounts received by the negroes is still more astounding.

When we remember that some of these school funds, so impartially divided with the negroes, are the interest on township funds and other permanent funds acquired long before the war; when we remember that the negroes cause largely more than their share of the expenses of running the government and remember all the facts surrounding and succeeding their emancipation; how they plunged the white people into a maelstrom of ruin and debt and levied on them a tribute more exacting and more exhausting than ever paid by any other defeated people in ancient or modern times; when we remember the trouble which their freedom gave the South, the bitterness and abuse poured on them by extremists of the North; when we remember all these things and then remember that in their exhausted and crippled condition immediately following the distress and desolation and darkness of reconstruction, the southern whites continued to liberally endow and support schools for the free education of the poor children, I think all will agree that there is no grander spectacle in the annals of history. Don't say that the negroes by their labor enable the landowner to pay taxes. This is an ingenious fallacy. No more rent is charged than should be if there were no taxes. Taxes come out of the land and not out of the labor. This is a

principle of political economy and every one familiar with the business of the South knows that the landowner keeps up and supports the negro laborers, as evidenced by the fact that the largest employers of negroes are surely growing bankrupt. The truth is palpable and cannot be averted. The men who own the property pay the taxes and the negroes who do not own the property enjoy the taxes.

I call the world's attention to this fact. Impoverished, harassed, abused, cursed with all the burdens and blessed with none of the benefits of federal legislation, the white taxpayers and property holders of the South have gone on contributing to the cultivation and upbuilding of a race whose passions and prejudices have been stirred up against them. When was the like ever seen before?

It is not meant to be unjust or unkind to anybody. I am willing to recognize the philanthropy and munificence of Peabody and Slater and other benefactors, and I do not complain of those who love to eulogize those friends of negro education. But for my part, I rather dwell on the philanthropy and beneficence of the southern people themselves, and I cannot place their friendship for the negro race second to any.

Mark Antony, in that wonderful oration which Shakespeare makes him speak to the Romans, when referring to the will of Caesar, says :

“ Let but the commons hear this testament
(Which, pardon me, I do not mean to read)
And they would go and kiss dead Cæsar's wounds,
And dip their napkins in his sacred blood ;
Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And, dying, mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it, as a rich legacy,
Unto their issue.”

And it seems to me that if the negroes of the South would understand how kind, how generous, how charitable the whites have been to them, if they would consider and reflect on the self-sacrifice, the loss, the endurance, and the true nobility of soul involved in the efforts of the whites to educate the negro children under so many provocations and disadvantages—it

seems to me if they would know and appreciate all these things that the negroes would admire and trust, and even adore their white neighbors as their truest and purest friends. I believe they do. Confidence is a plant of slow growth, but it has at last sprung up in the bosom of the negroes. In spite of a thousand drawbacks the negroes again look with confidence, esteem, and affection upon their white fellow-citizens and have forever turned their backs on the radical friends who would convert them into drunken Calibans and diabolical Iagos, who would mold them into credulous and murderous Othellos.

I said I would not be unkind to any one, but I have no patience with the Pecksniffian pharisaism of those who dare to criticise the conduct of the South toward the negro while congratulating themselves on their superior virtue. The negroes of Massachusetts have not advanced socially and intellectually during a hundred years of freedom. In less than one fourth the time the negroes of the South have advanced immensely in every direction. I would gladly conciliate all the help possible from the North to educate and elevate the negro. We need all the help we can get. I devoutly thank the noble men and women, no matter whence they come, who have shown their faith in negro education by their works. But for those who depreciate and misrepresent the views and actions of the South, who refuse to give her credit for her heroic efforts to enlighten an enfranchised race, I have nothing but abysmal contempt and bold defiance.

The South's treatment of the negro is perfection itself compared with the North's treatment not only of the Indians and Chinese, but of the teeming millions of white slaves that throng her marts.

There are thousands of able-bodied men in the city of New York who have had no supper to-day and who will get no breakfast to-morrow. There are no supperless negroes in the South. To-day there are thousands of wretched women in the city of New York with but one garment and that a ragged one. There are no unclad negro women in the South, winter or summer. All over the North there are men and women who do not sleep on a

bed from beginning to end of the year and do not know in the morning where they will find shelter at night. There are no homeless negroes in the South. All over the North paupers, beggars, and tramps are ceaselessly beating the country with their weary feet in a race for bread. There are no negro paupers, no negro tramps or beggars in the South. Let the censors of the South look nearer home. While they are busy searching for the mote that is in our eyes a whole forest of beams sticks out of their sightless moral sockets.

2. While we have cause to congratulate ourselves on what the South has done for negro education, we cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that there is a growing dissatisfaction with the system and a tendency on the part of many to regard the money spent on negro education as wasted or as robbery of the white children. Consequently an increasing number of people are disposed to advocate the withdrawal of support from negro schools except to the extent of the taxes paid by the negroes, which would virtually abolish those schools. This is the alarming tendency which all wise and good citizens wish to counteract.

It is my duty to speak plainly. Love of the South is the lamp by which my feet are guided. I am totally opposed to the South's abridging its aid to negro education. In my judgment an abridgment would be detrimental, and in the long run perhaps fatal, to her material and moral interests. I believe that the South should educate the negro at the public expense, because it makes of him a more useful and valuable citizen. No one can deny that education makes the negro, as it does the whites, more peaceable and orderly, and thereby decreases the criminal expenses of the state. I deny that a reduction of the percentage of illiteracy among the negroes increases the percentage of crime. This is not true in any land under the sun. There are instances well marked, like the dreams that come true, where so-called educated negroes have become the insolent and lawless leaders of riots—but these are exceptions, or rather it will be found in every such instance that they have but a smattering of education, "a little learning," which is not only a dangerous but a poisonous thing when it is not mixed with

moral character. But in the main the best educated negroes are the most law-abiding, the most respectable and respectful, because they perceive and understand the true conditions under which they live. The negro burglars and robbers and assailants of women are without exception most densely and brutishly ignorant. The class of young negroes who are growing up and who are expected to be so dangerous in the future can be saved from a cruel fate only by constant and close teaching in the public schools. It is said that education renders the negro thriftless and worthless as a laborer. This is not true. The assessment rolls of the southern states show that the negroes are acquiring more property in towns and cities and in communities where they are largely in the minority than in places where they constitute nearly the entire population, and it is precisely in those places where their constant contact with the whites accelerates enlightenment that they are most thrifty. It must be so. Educated labor is skilled labor. Skilled labor is money-making labor. It has been said that knowledge is power and again that knowledge is beauty. But I preach the new doctrine, that knowledge is wealth—wealth for the individual, wealth for the world, but more especially wealth for the nation. Education pays. It can be coined free of charge into dollars and cents at every mint in the world.

Skilled labor is what the South most needs to-day. John C. Calhoun said that the South did not want skilled labor in the days of slavery and he opposed the encouragement of manufactories in the South because he said they would require the introduction of educated labor which, in his judgment, was hostile to the institution of slavery. For the same reason the laws of the southern states forbade the teaching of slaves, because education is incompatible with bondage. The result was that in the South the agricultural labor became, and to a considerable extent remains to-day, the most ignorant in the world. But in the glare of battle, by the flash of the musket and cannon, the South saw the necessity of a new industrial policy, and another day dawned on her progress. Since the war our most enlightened people have recognized the imperative duty of estab-

lishing manufactories in the South, and where our people have been most enlightened and progressive this new policy has been most adopted.

In Georgia, where the old labor régime had borne its ripest fruits, whether for good or for evil, the manufacturing policy was earliest welcomed and has flourished most. At its touch old things became new. Poverty flew before its approach and new industries sprang up beneath its tread. And across these worn-out fields that were abandoned fifty years ago, there floated a music sweeter to my southern ears than the wordless songs of Mendelssohn, sweeter than the symphonies of Beethoven, sweeter than the oratorios of Handel—the music of the cotton mills, the music of the future for the South.

To carry this policy to its full fruition is the mission of the highest southern genius and patriotism. Education is the instrumentality through which it must be done. Education alone will convert our thriftless, awkward labor into thrifty, skilled labor, ready for the mine, the factory, the foundry and all the diversified and developed enterprises that accompany them. Ignorant labor is unprofitable labor. It is not overproduction that afflicts the South. It is not false economy nor idleness nor apathy that causes the terrible agricultural depression that prevails. It is the agglomerated ignorance of negro labor that makes it a burden, a drain instead of a resource, a load instead of a gain.

This worthless system of labor binds the South to the juggernaut of borrowed capital. It is the hard condition of imperious necessity that makes us the reluctant victim of grinding monopoly and the ignorance of our labor prevents our escape. We can never hope to become independent in the South industrially, financially, and commercially, until the great body of our laboring population are more intelligent and productive and self-supporting. The ignorance of the blacks makes both them and their employers the worst of slaves to the money power, whose lictors are monopolies and trusts.

In the southern part of this hemisphere, where nature loves to riot in mad excess, there is a man-eating plant of giant size

and monstrous form. Its tentaculated foliage entraps its victim and safely folds him in the embrace of death, sucking the blood and substance from the body and leaving it a dry and shapeless wreck. We have no man-eating plants in this part of the western hemisphere. North America does not produce such monstrous vegetation. But we have an odious institution, a devilish parasitic social growth called the trust, which does the work as well. It, too, is a blood-sucking arrangement and with its horrible monopolistic mouths it devours the life and substance and souls of men and leaves them cold and pallid in its wake.

What shall deliver us from the body of this death? I know not unless it be education, virtuous, patriotic, thorough, universal education.

There are other material and utilitarian reasons why the South should continue to educate the negroes, who form and must for a long time form a large part of the citizenship. But there are higher and more potent considerations that enforce the same postulate. One of these considerations is that it would be unjust to the negroes to deprive them of an opportunity to gain an education as long as it is in our power to give them such an opportunity. No state or nation can afford to do an act of passive or positive injustice. The words of Carlyle are worthy to be held in remembrance by statesmen.

"Justice, justice : woe betides us everywhere when for this reason or for that, we fail to do justice. There is but one thing needful for the world, but that one is indispensable. Justice, justice in the name of heaven ; give us justice."

They imitate and copy the customs and ways of the southern whites with absolute accuracy. They imitate us in the churches and in the ballroom. They imitate us in the school and in the theater, and, alas, also in the saloon. They imitate our habits and our language, our style, our dress—the negro girls are sure not to leave a single ribbon off. I do not blame them for such imitation of their superiors. I applaud their taste and good sense. But does it not impose a fearful responsibility on us to think that the destiny, the civilization, the weal, or the woe of

this entire race depends on us? It does not matter what may be the end of it all, or what is the object or plan which the Creator has in view. It is enough for us to know that we can raise ourselves by raising others. To illustrate this point, I hope I may refer without irreverence to a passage of Scripture.

We are told that when the Son of Man shall come in His glory and call the good to their reward, He will bless them, not for their success as preachers or proselyters, but because they fed Him when hungry, gave Him drink when thirsty, clothed Him when naked, visited Him when sick or in prison, and showed Him hospitality when a stranger, and when the righteous, overwhelmed with a sense of humility and unworthiness, shall disclaim having done such things for the Lord, the King shall answer in these significant words: "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me."

If you will but think of it, there is a world of precious meaning in those words. I may be wrong. I know nothing about the rules of exegesis, but it seems to me that God Almighty acknowledges himself under obligations for an act of kindness to one of the least of his human creatures. Is it not so? Here we find the fountain of the idea of universal brotherhood of men. Here we find that devotion to the amelioration of humanity is the only road to salvation for individuals and for nations.

When I was young, in the heyday of my intellectual fervor, I strove to find out what is the highest good of existence—what is the noblest aim of human life. I searched the fields of literature, I interrogated the innermost recesses of nature; I asked the friendly stars that look down upon us from the marble walks of Heaven and of the great all-seeing orb of day, as he sank to rest, I asked what is the highest good? And they were silent as the flight of time; but as I grew older the answer came, not from the all-seeing sun, not from the deep-eyed stars, not from the multitudinous voices of nature, but from a still small voice whose whispered accents none but the listening ear of conscience can catch, the answer came, "*Man's highest good is the service of*

man." This is the lesson of all civilization. It is the song of the ages. It is the psalm of humanity.

I have been asked as to the limitations that should be fixed to negro education. I think the only limitation should be his capacity and desire to learn. I do not believe, on general principles, in the government's extending aid to higher education except in so far as it is necessary to qualify teachers for the common schools. As long as there is a need of elementary education the government should confine its aid to the common schools. I think the negro capable of comprehending and digesting all that is taught in such schools. I know it is said there is a limit to the negro's capacity to acquire learning and that secondary education is thrown away on him, and as the proof of this it is argued that his race will have to go through long periods of tutelage before it can grasp the ideas of science and advanced civilization. These are weak speculations. It is a matter of observation and experience that the negroes are deficient in powers of abstraction, generalization, and reflection, but what may be their capacity to develop even these high faculties is an unknown problem. The human mind during the vast area of prehistoric times advanced from generation to generation with incredible slowness. It was only after the substitution of metal for instruments of horn and stone that rapid advance began which has been accelerated with incredible speed during the last few hours of racial existence. The human mind, which differs in different races, not in quality, but in degree merely, is like the wheat which lay imprisoned for 3,000 years in the Egyptian sarcophagus, but burst into vitality as soon as exposed to the fructifying sunshine. So with the mind. The speed of its development depends more on environment than on race. What the negroes may attain under the highly favoring conditions of surrounding white intelligence, to what extent and at what rate of speed their mental faculties may develop must be all conjecture. A safe rule is to give them all of the education they will take and improve. So with the question as to what branches should be taught to negroes. I see no reason why they should differ materially from the books taught to

white children. Of course white and negro schools must be and will be always kept separate. It might be well for the special benefit of this race to inculcate certain moral excellencies, such as honesty, truth, cleanliness, etc., but these matters are left properly to the teacher. I am very positive that the southern history which is taught in negro schools should be written from a southern standpoint, and that the true, unvarnished facts about slavery, about the treatment of the negroes before and after the war by the southern whites as compared with the treatment of the negroes by all other people should be impressed upon their minds. They would thus grow up to love and esteem their white fellow-citizens as they have done in the past.

The schools should be taught for longer terms, and the means with which to support them should be increased by increasing the poll tax and by urging the negroes to supplement the public funds by private subscriptions. But the great reform needed in negro education at the South is better teachers for negro schools. There is not a doubt that nine tenths of the negro school-teachers are totally unfit to teach the alphabet. The examinations for teachers are farces, and in barely any case is the law followed. The result is that all over the South ignorant young colored girls are drawing meager salaries for pretending to teach overcrowded schools. The few good colored schools are in the towns, and here the negroes have made phenomenal progress. But the sort of teaching carried on in the rural districts is a wanton waste of money. It would be better, far better and manlier, to stop the colored country schools altogether than to continue paying the people's money for education that is worth nothing. What is the remedy? Obviously, to devote a large portion of the funds now used for common schools to normal colored schools. In fact, it would pay every state in the South to suspend its colored schools for two years and spend all the money now devoted to them in preparing colored teachers for their duty. I do not make this as a suggestion, but as an indication of the greatness of the evil to be eradicated. I call upon every legislature in the South and charge it to take courageous hold of this subject. The only remedy is to prepare colored

teachers for the colored schools, and I admit that colored teachers, when properly educated, are the best in the world for their own race.

You cannot get white teachers for colored schools in the South. There is a public sentiment which demands that the races be kept absolutely distinct and forbids the least approach to equal association. This is the prompting of a divine race instinct and not prejudice. A young lady from my state went out as a missionary and is teaching black children on the west coast of Africa. She has no race prejudice. Another Louisiana young lady is teaching half-blood Indians in South America, but at home she would have shirked from teaching negroes, not from hatred or prejudice, but in obedience to an inflexible and inexorable public opinion which makes and enforces laws as fixed as those of the Medes and Persians.

Say what you will, this public opinion is founded in the deepest philosophy. The races were made distinct by the Creator, and it would be impiety to efface the distinction. The one way to keep the races in the South distinct is to provide separate schools, separate churches, separate social walks, separate customs, and separate coaches, and he who censures these provisions is a traitor to nature and a rebel against divine wisdom. I believe in these race distinctions and separations as I believe firmly in the truth itself, and yet I affirm in the presence of my Maker that I have not a grain of prejudice against the negroes. I think of them with the utmost kindness. I feel nothing but friendship for them. From my boyhood I have found warm hearts beneath black bosoms and I here endorse the verdict of Stanley that the Africans are the kindest and most affectionate people on the face of the earth. I have witnessed many such scenes as that which Stanley describes in his march to the Nyanza.

"We had also," says Stanley, "a Manyumo woman who was a hideous object, but her husband tended and served her with surpassing and devoted tenderness. Death, death everywhere and on every day and in every shape; but love, supreme love, stood like a guardian angel to make death beautiful. Poor, un-

lettered, meek creatures, the humblest of all humanity; yet here unseen and unknown of those who sing of noble sacrifices proving your brotherhood with us amid the sternest realities by lulling your loved ones to rest with the choicest flowers of love."

I can never speak a harsh word of the negro when his character and disposition have not been perverted and poisoned by designing schemers. Whatever may be the solution of the tremendous race problem that confronts the South, I would never have one act done to mar the gentleness and charity with which we have ever treated the negroes. I shall forever cherish the memory of the friendship and tenderness with which my father treated his servants and the affection with which they responded to his treatment. Stonewall Jackson was the brave chevalier of the South. We are apt to think of him mounted on a steaming charger with drawn sword dashing on the enemy. Yet Jackson taught a negro Sunday school at Lexington, and I do not think a grander picture of him could be drawn than one which represents him standing with open book before his little school of pickaninnies. Such was the character of the Napoleon of the confederacy.

I will not attempt to discuss the objections urged against the education of the negro. They live among us and here they will remain forever. The idea of exportation is absurd. Total disfranchisement is chimerical. The argument that white supremacy will be endangered by negro education does not deserve an answer. The claim that their enlightenment will lead to social equality and amalgamation is equally untenable. The more intelligent the negro becomes the better he understands the true relations and divergencies of the races, the less he is inclined to social intermingling with the whites. Education will really emphasize and widen the social gulf between the whites and the blacks, to the great advantage of the state for it is a heterogeneous and not homogeneous people that make a republic strong and progressive.

It is not my purpose nor my province to solve the race problem in all its momentous aspects. It has been my simple and modest duty to make a plea for state aid to negro education

and I want it remembered that I base my plea most of all on the high duty that springs from superiority of the white race. Whatever the effect of education on the negroes, we cannot afford to withhold from them the opportunity to attain their full mental and moral stature. Whatever be the imperfections and the incapacity of the negroes, we dare not be base in our treatment of them.

"It is excellent to have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant."

But it is not my intention to assume the rôle of mentor, still less of censor. As I said before, I am proud of the record the South has made on the subject of negro education. I own that I am a partial witness. I acknowledge that I am an interested observer. I admire the North, I respect the East, I esteem the West. But I love the South, I love her dear familiar fields where I have wandered in boyhood's happy days. I love her bright skies, her murmuring streams, her fair flowers, and her soft delicious atmosphere, whose

"Gentle gales, fanning their odoriferous wings,
Dispense native perfumes, and whisper
Whence they stole those balmy spoils."

I love her institutions, her customs, her ways, her noble men, and all the constellations of her glorious womanhood.

Heroic South! Home of my forefathers, home of my kindred, hope of my children, the temple and treasury of my heart.

March on in the pathway of honor, duty, and truth. Keep thy escutcheon bright as the shield of Launcelot in the tower of Elaine. Teach the world lessons of self-sacrifice, magnanimity, and humanity and show to the ages how sublime and beautiful the lives of men can be made beneath the southern stars.

A. A. GUNDY.

WOMAN'S RIGHT TO SUFFRAGE.*

BY THE REV. ANNA SHAW.

DURING the past few days ceremonies and festival days have been held and festive times have been enjoyed in the old world, as the centennial celebration—the four hundredth celebration of the time when Christopher Columbus set sail across the seas to discover, not a new world, but a new way to what he thought would be the same old world. Four hundred years have passed since that ship sailed across the sea and America was discovered. We have learned to love to call America the land of freedom, the hope of brave men, and if I were a man I would add, of fair women.

The world has come to look to America as the place where human rights are to be vindicated, where the problem of humanity is to be solved. And if it is possible to solve this problem doubtless it will be solved in America. And Victor Hugo, that grand Frenchman whom we women all love to honor, declared that this problem had been solved and answered, that it was the problem of the century of the past; that the problem of the present century in this United States and in the world was not so much the problem of man as it was the problem of woman; and as the problem of man has been solved so would the problem of woman be solved. And as the answer has been, "A man's a man for a' that," so will the answer be that a "woman's a woman for a' that." Then will come the next century with this problem which shall have risen above physical planes and physical comparisons, in which we shall not be asked to solve the problem of sex, but in which the problem to be solved shall be that of brain; and it shall no longer be a man and a woman but a brain and a heart and a life and a soul. The

* Chautauqua Assembly Herald.

problem of the coming century is the problem of souls, a higher problem than any of the past centuries have solved ; and yet we are to-day, we women, at this 400th celebration time, asking if women too are not to be free. We are asking why we human beings shall be justly deprived of any right which any other human being claims as his. We are asking why distinction should be made between people of different sexes, and that this distinction should always be made against the weaker and in favor of the stronger. We are asking why it is after four hundred years that the question of woman's right to be, of woman's right to grow, of woman's right to become, should be a question that should puzzle any man or woman anywhere.

This question was first asked forty-five years ago in this country, and when it was first asked, men said these women were wild. Pastoral letters were written denouncing those who carried this thought to the people and it was declared that women were turning away from God's designed plan of life, and seeking to undo all that the Almighty had done for them. It was declared that women had left the sacred realm of home to enter the fields where God never meant that women should go ; and women were derided, the question was scoffed at, pulpits denounced the women and denounced the subject ; but the women, like the Master, when denounced by press and pulpit did as did He—they went to the common people and the common people heard them gladly.

The question which these women asked was, why should not the right of self-government be extended to the women of this nation as well as to men. They asked the question, and there has never been from that day to this, a single reason given why this has not and ought not to be done. There have been great prejudices, there have been great arguments, there has been a great deal of scorn and a great deal of ridicule, and women have been held up as the laughingstock of the world for making exactly the same statements and asking exactly the same questions as did Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and George Washington. And we honor these men for the magnificent thought they gave to the race when they declared that taxation without representa-

tion is tyranny, when they declared that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, when they declared that under God the people should rule, every man who had a thought of liberty or a love of liberty in his soul cried amen. But when Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott said, if it be true that taxation without representation is tyranny, then to tax the unrepresented women of this country is tyranny, the nation laughed. Then these women said, if under God the people ruled, then why do we not ask the people what rule they would have and what rule they would obey? And you declared that the voice of the people is the voice of God; and these women asked how are you going to know what the voice of God is unless you hear the voice of God's people? And in the voice of the people there is soprano as well as bass, and you will never know what the voice of God is until that soprano and that bass are blended together in perfect harmony, the resultant of which is the voice of God uttered by the people. Now, then, we women said if these things are true and are not glittering generalities, they are as true of woman as they are of man; and when we have been kindly asked to state our grievance, when we have been kindly given opportunity to tell why we think the right of suffrage should be extended to the women of the United States, we say because God created all men equal and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To protect these rights, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—and no man will deny that they are the rights of myself as well as himself—to protect these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. I have no further argument to offer. It is all there. We are governed. We ought, if the laws are just, to give our consent to these laws. If we must obey them, we ought to be asked our will in regard to what they should be. If we must pay our taxes, we ought to be asked how the money which we thus pay shall be expended. If we are to bear the burdens of government, we ought to be asked what these burdens shall be.

There are certain classes in this country, deprived of the right of self-government, and it is undoubtedly true, as I have heard gentlemen speaking on the other side of this case (and women too)—saying that the suffrage is not a right but a privilege. I am not here to argue whether it is a right or a privilege. If it is a right I want my right. If it is a privilege I want my privilege. I do not care which it is. If it is a privilege demanded for cause it is a privilege I demand for the same cause for which every man demands it. If he needs it for his protection I need it for my protection. But it will be said it is not a right, it is a privilege. If it were a right it would be the right of a baby boy as much as of a woman. I confess I heard that argument a great many times, but I never had acquired enough religion to be able to hear it without getting angry. When I hear people compare mature, intelligent women with baby boys, I think the thing has been carried a little too far, and yet that is about the distance to which it is carried. If it is a right of a woman it is a right of the baby boy. I grant that may be true, but I also grant it is the right of the baby boy. Every creature, baby boy or woman, is born with the right to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, and the baby as well as these men has the same inherent rights, and to protect the rights of the baby as well as men governments are instituted. Then, what is the right of a child, shall a child vote? No. Why? Simply because children are incapable of forming correct opinions; and the reason the baby boy is not permitted to use this right which was his the day he was born as much as when twenty-one years of age, is because he is incapable of exercising it for his own good or the general welfare of the people. It might be said because the baby boy could not exercise this right, which is his right, that he shall never have it because it was not his right as a baby. We might as well say also that he is not the heir of his father because he could not inherit his father's estate until twenty-one. Let the father die, and the son, if one day old, is by right and by law as much the heir of the father as the son twenty-one years old; but why does not the son one day old come into the right of using his property and expending it as he

will? One day he will, why not give it to him? Because he has not wisdom enough to expend that property until he is twenty-one years of age. We protect him and his interest until he is twenty-one. But the time comes when the boy outgrows his infancy and enters into that which was his right as much when he was a baby as when he was twenty-one.

Boys who have not come to years of accountability, and have not sufficient intelligence to cast a vote, are not allowed to do so. We never exclude them on account of a lack of intelligence. But we women are born and die and none of us are ever supposed to become wise enough to know enough to cast a vote or make a law for ourselves. Prejudice has stood in our way all down the years and opposed us. Conservatism has blocked the path of progress. Conservatism has, however, done remarkable things for us. At the beginning of our agitation, women were not fitted perfectly to exercise the right of suffrage, they were not fitted to cast ballots wisely.

But while we were waiting to enter our country we were beginning to see that there were other avenues and lines we should fill. We knocked at the doors of our colleges. The doors were beaten down: our young women went in. They said, if you come in we will have to lower the grade of scholarship to the intellectual capabilities of woman. But they did not lower the grade. And to-day Miss Fawcett stands 600 points above the senior wrangler in mathematics in England, and Miss Brown takes the prize in classics from the foremost students of Harvard, through the Annex. It was discovered that we had brains which when cultivated would turn out as good work as the brains of men.

In regard to the opposition upon these questions, I do not care what it may be, or what the thought may be, it comes under one of these four heads: either that the enfranchisement of women is contrary to revealed religion as taught in the Holy Book, in the Scriptures given us by and through our Lord Jesus Christ; that suffrage in the hands of women would interfere with the family and degrade the nature of woman; that suffrage in the hands of women would interfere with and overturn the institu-

tions of the home ; that suffrage in the hands of women would overturn the government. Now, take the argument, of whatever kind it may be, and it will come under one of those heads.

Under the head of religion there are two schools of exegesis, in this country and in the world. There are two classes of theologians. One gives us what is termed the higher criticism, and one what is called the lower criticism of the Bible, especially of the New Testament. One assures us that the New Testament must be taken literally, and that when it makes certain statements in regard to women, those statements are to be accepted to-day exactly as they were uttered by Paul hundreds of years ago. The other set of exegetes says that these things are not to be taken literally, but that they are to be interpreted as we interpret all books published at that time, taking into account the circumstances under which they were uttered, the condition of society, and the needs of the people. These are the two schools, and when we come to woman's relation to the government and the relation of men to women, we find the same difference here. The party who declares that the Bible should be taken literally is especially emphatic that it should be taken literally when it speaks anything about the subjection of women. And there are men to-day who do not believe a single word of that Bible was inspired, except that thought which is in the Bible—that Paul said—wives obey your husbands. And almost every man on earth believes that was uttered through a divine inspiration ; and I presume four ministers out of five believe that this is in the Bible and do not know that it is not there. But they preach it.

Then we hear that women must keep still in the church, and we find women in the choir standing up and squealing at the top of their voices, and loud enough to raise the roof, and we call that singing. The whole thing is so utterly opposed to the gospel that is preached to us, that it is marvelous to me that it could be advocated with any kind of seriousness. I know of only one man who is thoroughly consistent in this matter. He is a clergyman in the South. He will not allow a woman to talk in the church or to teach in the Sunday school because she makes

a loud noise. He would not even allow her to teach in the infant class if there was a male infant in the class. I have the profoundest respect for that man. He is an idiot, but consistent.

I say there are two sides to this whole matter, and I have profound respect for the people who interpret it against women; for according to their nature they are no more responsible for that than for being born with red hair and blue eyes. It is the way their minds are bent. There are many most excellent men who believe that a woman in the pulpit is utterly foreign to the gospel and spirit of the word. Therefore I respect these men if they will be consistent enough to carry it out entirely in their church work. Shall I be blamed for standing with those who put the more liberal construction on the word, and which I believe to be in accord with the teachings of Christ, the whole of which may be covered with the Golden Rule? That is the highest law given by highest authority to human beings. The difficulty with our Christian church to-day is that it preaches Christ but it practices Moses. If we could make our preaching and practice agree and preach and practice Christ and the Golden Rule, to love each other and to love God would be the sum total for all our thought and all our living.

We are told that the highest development of nature, as we contend, is contrary to nature; that woman would be going out of her sphere. Is it not marvelous that woman would go out of her sphere? I have been out of it for about twenty-two years, and I think have been about as comfortable as most women who have been in it. How difficult it is for man to get out of his sphere. Did you ever know of a man getting out of his sphere? I never did in all my life. I used to wonder how it was that woman could get out of her sphere so easily and it was so difficult for a man to get out of his sphere, until I discovered that man hadn't any sphere. I have noticed this, however, that if man don't get out of his sphere, he gets into ours. Our sphere has almost been taken away from us. To-day in this place I saw men who had come into woman's sphere. I saw men waiters at the tables. Men served the food, and I have no doubt that men cooked it. Three fourths of the women were created

for the very purpose of cooking. Now, man has entered that sphere. When I was a girl they paid a dollar and a half a week to a girl for this work. Now, they pay from one thousand to ten thousand dollars a year for a cook, and the cook is a man. When the salary is this latter large sum, then it is man's sphere; but where the low wages are paid, there it is woman's sphere. They are doing all sorts of woman's work, cooks, dish washers, dressmakers, milliners, housekeepers, etc. Immense millinery establishments are in existence where all the assistants are men; and the same with regard to ladies' dressmaking houses. In sleeping cars there are men chambermaids. We have no objection to all this, if you want to come into our sphere. We women believe so much in ourselves that we believe if you have free competition with us that you will be able to live, and we will be able to hold our own. If you only had the same belief in yourselves that we have in ourselves, a belief that you can hold your own when we preach, how much better you would be, and how much easier our time in life. And taking it altogether you can see how much more charitable and large-hearted we are when we say to come into our sphere and take our washtub, cookstove, and everything that you can.

One thing is forgotten, and that is, that before woman is woman she is human. We are always talking about womanhood in women, but back of womanhood is humanhood, and whatever is good and wise and best for humanity in man is good and best and wisest for humanity in woman. Whatever develops the humanity in man develops the humanity in woman. And I believe the time is coming when women will not be forever having pressed before them in their undertakings in life that, rather than their humanity. And we women claim that we have every right divine to the development of our humanity that men have, and that though we are women there can be nothing which shall attach to us as women that can justly interfere with our highest possible development as human. And that our human nature may develop as highly as possible we must be free to grow physically, free to become strong in our muscles. We are called the weaker sex, physically. Brethren, if we could exchange

clothes with you, you would see which was the weaker sex physically. You would all drop dead in less than six months; you could not endure it. We cannot grow. Think of being cramped up in all of one's physical nature, growth, and development. We are told that the young women who are in the gymnasiums of our schools to-day and have been for four years, are an inch and a half taller than are their mothers; that they are an inch and a half larger around the waist than were the young women of ten years ago. This is going on until the time shall come when every girl shall be born with the divine right to grow as large physically in all her organism as God meant that woman should be. Until that time comes we shall never know whether women are the weaker or stronger sex.

Then, I claim also that we women have a right to develop mentally. We shall never know what God meant woman's brain to do, how large and broad and lofty he intended the development of her mind to be, until she shall be free to develop the brain which has been given to her. We cannot know what woman can do until she has had a generation of growth. We cannot tell what she is capable of intellectually until she has had this generation of free growth. You will never know the sublime height to which the soul of womanhood may rise until theological dogmas and theological restrictions shall be removed from the soul of woman, and woman be free to sit before the presence of God, at the feet of Christ, and learn of Him and Him only. We cannot tell what God had in His mind when He created woman until woman has been free a few centuries to get back into the sublime height where the divine image shall be reflected in all of her nature. Then give us the daughters of such mothers, of the sons of such mothers, and we will show you what God meant woman to be. The physician tells us we are weak; that we are frivolous. We are. They tell us we are not able to grasp and comprehend the problems of the race. We are not. Is it necessary that I should state this? We are weak, nobody denies that. We are ignorant, many of us; and are not able to grasp the great problems of state. Just see how you men have been wrestling with

the tariff question and what a tussle you are going to have for the next four months about it, and when these four months are past, you will be right in the midst of the same tussle you are in now. You cannot grasp these great questions in a day, or in a century. But you are grasping them better to-day than any nation ever did before. Why? Simply because the manhood of this country has been free to grasp those questions, free to discuss and comprehend them and decide them. You will never know woman's ability on these questions until she has had free opportunity to comprehend, discuss, and decide them. She can never be thus free until the restrictions of to-day are taken from her.

It is said that it interferes with woman as a woman. I believe that no law which binds me and prevents me from growth and development is in accordance with the divine will, or in accordance with nature; and whatever makes me a dwarf in mind, in my life, and in the development of my being, is foreign to the will of God, foreign to my nature, and therefore, the law which says I cannot develop myself because I am a woman, is utterly contrary to the will of God, and contrary to the highest interest of womanhood.

Interference with the home. I will not admit for a moment that any man or woman has a higher opinion of the home than have I. I will not for a moment admit that there is or ought to be anywhere on earth—anywhere this side of the kingdom of God, a holier place than a home. To my mind, a real home is where love runs and rules, where a man and a woman having found each other out of all the world, have together builded a home, where by the fireside they may sit with their children—the gift of God, and the divine love of man and woman. No one reveres the home more than I do. Nor will I permit any one to say that we women who believe in the enfranchisement of women believe in the destruction of the home, and do not recognize its high interests, needing wifehood and motherhood. We believe it more than any other class of beings in the world. We recognize its need more than any other one class. We believe there is nothing that ought to come between a mother and

her duties owed to her home and her children. That should be always first with the mother. I believe there is nothing in this world that should be allowed to come between a father and his duties to his children and his home. Every woman must have a home before she can do anything there. A house is not a home. A woman may be a very excellent housekeeper but a very poor home maker. She may be a very estimable home maker but a very poor housekeeper. The terms home and house are not by any means synonymous. It may be possible that in order to make a home a woman must leave her house a great deal. It may be quite possible that a woman may do as much outside of the house for her home as she does inside for her home.

I believe in the ballot for women if for nothing but the protection of the home itself. If any one ought to have the right to vote it surely is the mothers of our country. I believe that power and responsibility go together. Woman has the responsibility of rearing her children. Why take from her the power by which she may rear her children?

In order to bring up her children as they ought to be, she must have some way of controlling them after they get out on the street, and the only way for her to do this is to have some control over the street, and the only way she can do this is through the ballot. The men have not done it. What good are her prayers? Do you tell me of the power of a mother's prayer? I believe in a mother's prayer. Believe in the silent influence of the mother. I believe in the hand that rocks the cradle. But I would have a great deal more faith in the full cure of the immoral conditions of this country, if while the mother prayed that her boy be saved, the legalized liquor traffic might be overthrown and gambling dens and dens of vice might be destroyed; if while she prayed she held in her hand the ballot, which Henry Ward Beecher says is the symbol of all civil rights, and therefore of all human rights. . . . When woman has her full rights then the voice of the people shall be the voice of God and a republic shall be born.

ANNA SHAW.

ORGANIZATION OF FARMERS.

BY A. P. YOUNG.

“THE Farmer 's the Chief of the Nation,” is the first line of a popular ballad. If the song writer meant that the farmer is the chief taxpayer, the line is right. Farmers and real estate holders can all testify to that fact, for the truth of it is impressed upon us very frequently, and every tax duplicate that comes along bears witness upon its pages to inequality and unfairness in the distribution of taxation and that the bulk of it rests upon the farmer and the real estate holder. If he meant that the farmer is chief because there is more of him than of those engaged in any other calling, the line is true, the census tables showing that the agriculturists constitute about half the population of our states, or, in other words, this class of our population about equals all the rest combined. If he meant that the farmer is chief by reason of the large place he fills in producing those things which add wealth, prosperity, and happiness to our country, he was certainly right, for from no other source comes so much that is essential to the well-being of all the people. Their comfort, their enjoyment, their very existence, depends largely upon the results of his labors. The farmer feeds the world, yea, and clothes it too. His wheat and corn, his beef and pork, his butter and eggs, cotton and wool, to say nothing of his lesser productions, fill a large measure of the needs of mankind. This being so, why is it he gets such poor pay for all his labor? Why does he work so many weeks, months, and years without gain in proportion to the effort put forth? From a survey of the industrial field it is certain that the farmer earns more money than he gets; that much of the surplus he produces over the needs of existence goes to swell the fortunes of other classes, yet he toils on in the treadmill, strain-

ing every nerve to produce more and more all the time, conscious of the fact that there is less and less left to him each succeeding year.

The farm too upon which valuable improvements have been made and which will produce much more now than when he commenced his career upon it, fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five years ago, if put upon the market, will come far short of bringing the amount originally invested, betterments included. The farmer's methods are different from the methods of manufacturers and men engaged in other industries. He sells his productions for what other men are willing to give, and pays them for what he needs, what they are willing to take. In this state of things lie some of the disadvantages under which he labors. Just as soon as manufacturers get sufficient to supply the demand or go a little beyond it so that competition begins to tell upon the prices to the extent that no profit is left, the fires are drawn, the engines cease to puff, and they wisely wait for a demand. They will not work for nothing. No calamity occurs from stopping production until the surplus is worked off. Let the farmers work upon this method, what calamity would come to them or any other legitimate industry if the farmers were to wait unitedly until the surplus of their productions were worked off?

Self-preservation has been called the first law of nature. Does not self-preservation demand organization among farmers? Combinations have been, and more are being formed, that are detrimental to farmers' interests and destructive to legitimate business. If combination trusts of this kind cannot be regulated or destroyed, they should be met firmly by the organization of those upon whom they would prey. If they are allowed to continue, what will prevent the formation of a syndicate or combination strong enough to control absolutely everything the farmer has to sell or that he enters the market to buy? Organization is one of the necessities of the age. A large number with no leading motive, unprepared and undirected, are unable to cope with a disciplined few, but a multitude organized, drilled, and fully informed as to every point they should strive to gain, become an

irresistible power. The necessity for immediate action is great. Rapid strides are making in the direction of the centralization of capital and the power it gives monopoly, rings, combinations, and trusts, everywhere in all sorts of productions, all arranging for a little more profit, a little more tax for some one else to pay, and as the farming class is the more passive, the load is mostly placed there. The inequalities existing under our tax laws have been brought to the attention of our lawmakers by Governor Pattison in very pointed terms, and Governor Beayer in his last message to the Legislature had this to say: "The real estate of the Commonwealth is taxed in the various cities and counties thereof at rates varying from sixty mills, which is probably the highest, to twelve mills which is probably the lowest. Admitting that the assessment has been made at little more than half the value of the real estate assessed in many locations, it is, nevertheless, true that we are allowing under our present laws the taxation of those least able to bear such a burden at the rate of from six to thirty mills upon every dollar's worth of value, whilst we are allowing millions of corporate property to escape taxation altogether, and imposing upon personal property which yields greater return than real estate, only from one half to one tenth of the burden of taxation borne by the latter. Is it not, therefore, true that our farming population, and the owners of modest homesteads, have a right to complain? Is it not also true that, in our efforts to prevent money from seeking investment outside of the Commonwealth, we are driving men from home?"

Since it is a settled fact that the agricultural classes make up the larger section of society, produce the greater part of the wealth, and have, or should have, the first lien by right on all that is produced from the soil, it is their own fault if they are loaded with unfair burdens. Taxes should be levied strictly in accordance with values of property and ability to pay them. We are told that manufacturing corporations should not be taxed, or, in other words, that a bonus should be given them for pursuing their business in our state. Their apologists and paid attorneys say if you don't do this they can't compete with more favored sections and will move away. No thought is taken

of the farmer. He can bear it. Let him peddle. Go west and grow up with the country, after the sheriff cleans him out here. Handicapped as the farmer is in Pennsylvania, with a soil much of which is infertile and in constant need of amelioration, can it be that the manufacturer, the corporationist, the capitalist, can't continue to have his just and fair share of the taxes paid by the farmer and laborer? Must they continue to build and keep in repair the roads over which these classes take their airings, behind their match teams, build schoolhouses and support schools for the education of their children if they do not think it beneath their dignity to send their offspring to school where the common herd receive instruction? And besides the foregoing the poor and unfortunate are to be cared for from funds to which these fellows contribute but little. It matters not that farmers are driven by these unequal burdens to seek homes elsewhere, manufacturers must be protected not only against foreign competition—pauper labor abroad—but they demand premiums in the way of exemption from a fair share of taxation at home, a taxation that is rapidly increasing mortgages against farms and which will eventually reduce to tenancy many who, under fair conditions, would become freeholders. Has not this unequal tax and tariff business gone on long enough? If we could decide unanimously it has, there are enough of those suffering injustice to turn the rascals out. The tendency of legislation has been, and is, to increase the burdens of taxation on the producing classes, and at the same time to lessen the value of their property. Trusts and monopolies with unlimited possibilities are multiplying and are seeking to perpetuate their privileges and enlarge their powers by rewarding the official classes. The money power has been granted privileges that are absorbing the earnings of the people at a rate which, if allowed to continue, will finally absorb all, and reduce the toilers to serfdom. We, as farmers, must help ourselves, and we will help ourselves most by helping each other, and at the same time lending a hand to our twin brother, the laborer in every other industry. He should stand with us and we with him on all questions of governmental policy.

But there seems to be a disposition not at all commendable on the part of many to wait for some one else to put his shoulder to the wheel and boost the cart, now floundering laboriously along. If all such were to get down off the fence on the right side and give one hearty shove together the grand old vehicle, freighted with blessings for mankind and carrying joy and gladness to many who have grown weary and are almost ready to sink in despair, would move on gloriously.

As a proof of what organization can do for a class, look about and see what it has done and is doing for others. No class, perhaps, is better organized than the lawyers. The prices fixed upon for their services are dictated by their organization, and no one who has anything to do with them will fail to be convinced that the fees prescribed are generous. They have succeeded in diverting certain funds to the purchase of a law library for the use of the fraternity. What would be thought and said if the farmers or tradesmen of a county were to make a push for public funds to purchase tools for their calling? Then again they have boosted each other until they have a monopoly of our legislative bodies. From a classification found in a late paper the Congress just closed had in it three hundred and sixteen lawyers. Look at what department of our government you will, you will find nearly everything filled up and headed by lawyers. It might not be wise to exclude lawyers wholly, but since they form but about one third of one per cent of the population they should not do all the legislating. A few good ones might be useful, almost indispensable, but the surplus should be dispensed with, not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their exactions and extravagance with public funds diminish our earnings fearfully. While upon this part of my subject, and as it fits in so nicely, I cannot forbear quoting the following from a speech in Congress by Representative Jones, of Texas :

"Talk about your law ! You are always quibbling here. You never know any law. There is less law really among a body of lawyers than among any set of men on earth. Look at it if you please. Take your two hundred and ninety-three lawyers in the House, and they will debate in high and low debate and get angry and furious, and after all

after a debate of two and a half days, you cannot find two of them who agree about any single proposition of law to save your lives. See how they are changing here. Why, gentlemen, in all candor and fairness, I would not give the intuitions of an honest rustic's heart in pursuing and attempting to attain the truth for all the fine-spun arguments of all the lawyers of the universe."

As another example of the material benefit of organization take the medical profession. Their organizations have done much, no doubt, to assist individual members in the management of different cases, and in this respect their patients as well as themselves have been benefited. But besides this they are able to get much more now for their services than formerly, and where funds are a little short, as sometimes happens at the closing, they come in among the first. The doctor's claim is a preferred one, difficult though it be to see how or why their services are more important than the services of the nurse or why their medicine should be paid for in full before the bill for bread and other equally essential necessities for the sick man and his family shall have any attention whatever.

But why multiply examples of the benefits of organization, from the newsboy and bootblack up, or down, which—to the bulls and bears of Wall Street, all find it beneficial, or at least all call it to their aid, and it would seem that little can be accomplished without it.

As farmers and citizens we are affected by these associations. It costs us more for professional services and for every article we must buy of other men's production or manipulation because other men have combined for mutual benefit. There is no way to escape from the exactions of associated capital, associated power. We face at every turn prices made up on a basis of cost of production with liberal pay for labor and liberal interest on capital. We seldom hear the cry that "supply and demand regulate prices" when applied to any production except that of the farm. Combinations regulate the amount put upon the market, so that there is seldom too much for the demand. Should an organized and disciplined army, with all the appliances of modern warfare, approach our coast, would it be likely to be repelled by each citizen starting out to meet it in his own

way and with the weapon he might have at hand? To be effective we must come together and be disciplined, must learn to fire in volleys if we would not waste our ammunition. Our legislative and congressional candidates must be chosen as we would choose men to take care of our fortunes, men whom we know and know we can trust. Then we will not have the mortification of learning at the last hour that our legislators have lent their ears to the other fellows, and on the third reading of the bill or between the passage and the signing, the people have been left.

It is now a demonstrated fact that if redress from the injustice under which the industrial classes labor is to be obtained they must lay aside prejudices of race, of creed, of partisan differences, assert their sovereignty, select and elect men for law-makers whose sympathies are with the people and not with the corporations; men who will accept their salary and mileage, and spurn a pass as an honest man would a bribe; men whose interests would lead them to simplify and not complicate the laws. Such a Legislature and Congress would do much in a single session to recover for the people the power now wielded by monopolies.

A. P. YOUNG.

THE BENEFITS OF WAR.

BY ANDREW J. PALM.

A REAR ADMIRAL of the United States Navy was given ten pages in a leading American review at the time of the late Chilian imbroglio to enumerate and extol the benefits of war. Whether the article was not considered worthy of a reply or whether it received general acquiescence, I am not able to say, but it seems to have passed without comment.

It seems anomalous that in this so-called Christian land with its hundred and sixty thousand churches and eighteen million worshipers, an intelligent man, and especially a praying man, could be found to descant on the benefits of bloody war, and attempt to establish his position by quoting from Jesus of Nazareth, the very essence of whose teaching was peace and good will toward all men.

It would perhaps be impossible to find so many inconsistent statements, so many contradictory assertions in a like number of pages in any prominent magazine of recent date as occur in this effort to show the beneficial characteristics of war.

For example, he says: "War is certainly a great evil and abhorrent to every right-minded person." Again, he calls it a scourge, the malady of nations, etc., and yet strange as it may seem, he says: "The truth is that war is an ordinance of God," and stranger still he declares that he joins with the church in praying deliverance from it. That an ordinance of God should be abhorrent to every right-minded person may be theologically correct from a military standpoint, but logically it is simply ridiculous nonsense. The idea, too, of asking God to repeal His well-established ordinances would hardly be undertaken by any but a military man whose highest ideal of God is a big

lieutenant general, strutting about in gold and feathers on a salary of \$13,500 a year.

By the way, is it not about time well-meaning people would refrain from charging such calamities as war upon a loving and merciful God? What need have we for a devil if such scourges do not belong to his department; and why not attribute war directly to his agency, if any other cause of it is needed except the accursed war spirit in man, fostered and kept alive by military chieftains who have glory and riches heaped upon them by a foolish people whose self-interest, if not their humanity, should lead them to abhor the very name of war and all the horrors and barbarities which it suggests.

When we consider man as an eminently selfish being it is not so surprising that he who lives by war should defend the horrible business as best he can, though to do so he is forced to argue that the race to which he belongs is still plodding along in the slough of barbarism with no hope of reaching that plane of goodness and intelligence where millions upon millions of treasure will not be spent annually in diabolical inventions and preparations to destroy life and property.

Every man stands ready to defend his own business no matter how useless, dangerous, or wicked. The whisky dealer is loaded with arguments scriptural, sanitary, and economic to defend his calling against the constant encroachments of the increasing light of public opinion. The gambler has plausible excuses to offer showing that his nefarious business should be permitted under legal sanction. Duelling still finds defenders among those whose ideas of manhood are more sensitive than sensible and so peculiar that an offense against their alleged honor can be wiped out only by pretending to shoot at the offender and allowing him the blessed privilege of shooting at the offended. Hence it is not strange that military men think, or at least try to think and make others believe that they are a necessity and war a benefit. Because forsooth! if not a necessity why should they be paid, and if not paid wherewithal could they be dressed in fine linen and fare sumptuously every day? In what other occupation would they receive so much for doing so little, and above all

what could compensate for having the war-struck thousands gazing upon their brass buttons and tinsel trimmings in open-mouthed admiration?

The rear admiral in giving the alleged benefits of war neglected to mention the most essential one. Perhaps modesty forbade that he should speak of personal benefits. He might have stated that rear admirals, after being educated at public expense are paid \$6,000 a year until they reach the age of 62 and \$4,500 a year after that as long as they live; and though the good are said to die young, rear admirals seem to be very reluctant to pay the last claim of mother Nature against humanity; for, according to the navy register of 1888, there were fifty of these gentlemen on the retired list, though six in actual service have managed to preserve the peace and safety of the country and keep us from being gobbled up by little Chili.

He who expatiates on the benefits of war should not fail to speak of the beneficial effects of the large salaries paid to military officers, for this is in fact the only benefit that leads men to make the destruction of human life a business, and keeps the war spirit alive. The question, how to abolish war, is easily answered. Let all governments simply reduce the pay of their army and navy officers until those whose business it is to direct the killing of human beings get no more money or honor than those who oversee the slaughter of hogs and steers, and war will stop so suddenly that it would die from the effects of the shock. Nobody would then be found clamoring for war, for money makes war makers.

So long as governments professing to be civilized pay a subordinate military officer annually during life more than they pay United States senators and judges of courts per year during term of actual service, we may expect those who do not think but merely draw inferences to come to the conclusion that war must be both beneficial and honorable, and we shall find even professing Christians not only willing but anxious to have their sons brought up to the "trade of war"; for, as the admiral says: "That man is honored and enriched who contrives means

of destroying the greatest number of human beings in the shortest time,"—a sad reflection for civilization.

Our author further says: "To be unprepared for war is wicked and invites aggression." The statement is contradicted both by reason and experience. The fellow who is electioneering for a "licking" is sure sooner or later to get it, while the quiet, sensible Quaker goes along unmolested and unmolested. Because he courts no attack he expects none and is comparatively in no danger of any. He carries as a protection the consciousness of true manhood, which scorns the moral cowardice that leads a man to carry deadly weapons with which to resent expected violence. The bully is not likely to interfere with a self-respecting man of high character, but turns his attention to those of his own kind, who carry a revolver and slung shot, who are willing to bandy epithets and bristle up with a show of fight with little or no provocation. So with nations: the one that pays least attention to preparing for war is least likely to be called to defend itself by war, just as certainly as the Moravian is less likely to be driven to self-defense than the blustering bravado who goes about with a chip on his shoulder and a poniard in his sleeve.

The standing armies of the world are the greatest menace to its peace, for when men are trained in the schools of war and taught to use the devilish implements of warfare it is but natural that they should want to put their knowledge into practice.

The position taken by those who pretend to apologize for war is similar to that assumed by the conscientious, but not too conscientious saloon keeper who says:

"I despise the business of making drunkards; it is not at all congenial to my better feelings, but somebody will sell whisky and so long as that is the case I may as well share the profit as any one else."

This species of reasoning might be applied to stealing and many other offenses, but it is an especially favorite style of argument among apologists for war. Of course, military men don't like war because our author says it is abhorrent to every right-minded person, and to say that any one delights in war

would be impeaching his good sense, *but* while they despise war somebody else *might* want to fight and hence it wouldn't do to disappoint them.

The United States doesn't believe in war. Oh, no; she is a Christian nation and her people are wise and good. There are churches and schools and teachers and preachers in every hamlet, *but* England, another Christian nation, *might* want to fight and so we take the advice of the military gentlemen with the big salaries and spend \$60,000,000 every year to be ready to accommodate England if she should ask us to fight. England doesn't believe in war. Oh, no; her military men, ministers, statesmen, and good people all declare that England has too much civilization to engage in the atrocities of war, *but* Germany, another highly civilized nation, might want to kill off a half million of her men and spend a few billion dollars just for fun, and if so, it would be unkind in England not to be able to assist in the duel. Germany is opposed to war. Her people are right-minded, and war is abhorrent to all such people, *but* Russia might want to have a season of carnage and horror, and so Germany pays over \$500,000 every day in the year on Russia's account; and so it goes entirely round the civilized world. When one thinks of it seriously he is convinced that man is a savage by nature and a fool by development. Under the plea of necessity this crime of crimes, this school of all vices, is held before the people in such a light as to blind them to its enormity and make them believe it is a necessity. Camille Flammarion well says :

"If the son of a family should conduct himself as do the governments of the most civilized nations of Europe, he would be declared an outlaw and be condemned to the galleys or the scaffold, as the judge might determine; certainly no man would think him in possession of his reasoning powers."

Behind all gigantic evils may be found lurking some selfish power that labors unceasingly to conceal the true nature of the wrong from the public understanding and keep the iniquity alive for its own selfish purposes. Behind slavery stood a slaveholding aristocracy interested in keeping human beings in bondage for the profit and convenience of their owners, and de-

fending it against the attacks of its enemies, as do the advocates of war, by quoting Scripture in its support. Behind the scourge of intemperance stands the rum power, composed of those who every year reap their millions from the profits of the fiery liquid that the people permit them to sell to their weak and deluded victims. Behind the war monster stand the honored and well-paid military leaders, appealing to the devilish passions of men, arousing their fears by holding forth imaginary dangers, making them suspicious of every nation but their own, and maintaining childish notions of patriotism and honor in order to keep the war spirit alive.

War, according to the rear admiral, purges a nation of its humors but as nobody seems to know exactly what the word "humors" means at the present day, and as the admiral has not told us, we are left to conjecture what humors are and how war purges them out. Perhaps he agrees with Jeffrey, who says :

"War, my lord,
Is of eternal use to human kind,
For, ever and anon, when we have passed
A few dull years in peace and propagation,
The world is overstocked with fools and wants
A pestilence at least, if not a hero."

It can hardly be possible that destroying valuable property, laying waste whole sections of country, creating an army of cripples to be dependent on public charity either as pensioners or paupers, piling up a national debt of billions of dollars, together with all the other forms of waste and demoralization that result from war can be excused under the plea that it is "purging a nation of its humors."

Again, he says that war is sent for the spreading of civilization. Civilization can only spread as wisdom and goodness increase, but wisdom's ways "are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace." The admiral is inclined to be generous, however, and does not claim that all the increase in civilization is due to war, but is willing to divide the honor with Christianity. He says that Christianity is an indispensable factor, but that the sword has ever preceded the banner of the cross and that

Christianity has often had to fight its way through the instrumentality of the sword. Perhaps the duty of defending Christianity from the charge of so unholy an alliance should be left to its ministers, but if the admiral be correct our government should take a few of our useless war hulks, fit them out with missionaries, Bibles, and soldiers in proper proportions, and send them to the benighted regions of earth to preach the gospel of love and charity. This would be in line of the admiral's doctrine, but would reflect about as much credit on religion as the slave trader named "Jesus," that in the reign of Elizabeth carried slaves from Sierra Leone to St. Domingo, or the one named "Jehovah," that landed 700 sick slaves at Ponta Negra.

There was a time when Christianity to her shame and to the regret of every true Christian in the world attempted to enlarge her dominions by the aid of the sword and the fagot, but it is simply astounding to find any one, even a military man, defending such means of spreading the gospel of the meek and lowly Nazarene.

The admiral says :

"With the United States as the dominant power of the western world lies the obligation of contributing her share to the further extension of civilization, to the spreading of the gospel, and carrying to the less favored nations the most enlightened views of civil government."

Are we to understand that the most enlightened views of civil government approve of war as an ordinance of God and one which as our admiral says, "should be sedulously cultivated by the few qualified to embark in it and constantly practiced by the entire body set apart for that purpose? If this be the teaching of the highest civilization, those "less favored" nations should shun it as they would a deadly pestilence, and thank their stars that with all their ignorance they still lack the worst vices of civilization.

The admiral declares that arbitration is admirably adapted to a certain class of international questions, but there is another class for which it is totally inadmissible. It is to be regretted that he did not name at least one question so difficult and so important that it could be adjusted only on the barbarian princi-

ple that might makes right ; and he would have conferred a favor had he mentioned a single case where international arbitration has failed when given a trial. It cannot fail.

It is the only plan that commends itself to civilized nations, of settling difficulties that cannot be amicably adjusted by the powers interested in the dispute. Through it all international differences can be settled as justly and as definitely as all differences between individuals and associations are now settled in our courts of justice. War always fails at least for one side and generally for both, and any intelligent man must admit that international disputes would better end with arbitration, even if not always satisfactory, than to end in blood, treasure, and demoralization.

According to high military authority, "in order to be just, war must be necessarily undertaken either to repel an injury or to obtain a righteous demand." The question then at once arises, what are such injuries and righteous demands as justify war ? Who is to decide ? It would seem preposterous to let a man decide his own suit, and yet this is exactly the principle on which the court of war proceeds. The interested parties each claims the right to decide its own cause, fix the award, and then maul, maim, and mangle to enforce the verdict.

A judge of our courts who is personally interested in the result of a trial very properly calls another to take his place on the bench, on the ground that his personal interest disqualifies him from being such a court as justice demands. The man who is known to be interested in the result of a verdict is very sensibly prohibited from sitting on the jury that is to render the verdict, and even the sworn testimony of the interested witness is taken with due allowance, but war governments proceed on the principle that the interested parties must be court, jury, and witness, decide the law and make the verdict. It doesn't require a logician to understand that no such plan of procedure commends itself even to a heathen nation, much less to one that claims to be illumined by the torch of Christianity.

Take the case of the Alabama claims that came very near precipitating a war between the United States and Great Britain.

We demanded one hundred millions of dollars partly as damages and partly as a salve for our wounded honor. England denied the justice of the claim and flatly refused to pay. Now what is to be done? Let loose the dogs of war? Clearly neither side was altogether right nor either entirely wrong, but prejudice and hate and self-interest made both incompetent to look at the matter reasonably and justly. But how is it to be settled? That alleged honor peculiar to military men, duelists, and war governments would not permit any back down on our part, and England was just as foolish as we, and so the two great nations, like two great overgrown bullies with much courage and little sense, were about ready to fight over this claim—as much of a trifle considering the disputants, as a yarn ball would be between two schoolboys. Either side was willing to spend twenty times the amount of the claim, slaughter a half million men at the bloody court of war rather than yield its position. If war had resulted, after a sufficient show of their bulldog kind of courage, they would have stopped the fighting and settled the case in friendly conference after all.

The celebrated “Jones County, Iowa, calf case,” in which men spent over \$15,000 in litigation over calves worth \$15 and bankrupted everybody connected with it except the lawyers, is a good example of fighting for satisfaction, and well illustrates the kind of courage, honor, and wisdom that leads men and nations to invoke greater evils to take the place of the less.

When the case between this country and England had about reached the war point some sensible person suggested arbitration, and though both countries kept men-of-war to settle just such questions, their representatives were sensible enough to ignore the arguments of brute force and submit to peaceable arbitration. Under the peculiar views of national honor held by the people of England she could not have paid the claim without a feeling of humiliation, and Uncle Sam could not have withdrawn the demand without a similar feeling; but when both sides submitted to unbiassed arbiters, England would have paid every dollar, or the United States would have relinquished the entire claim, if the commission had so decided, and neither would

have felt any humiliation. We took less than one sixth of the claim, when offered by the Geneva commission and were satisfied; but if offered by England we would have spurned treble the amount. Who will say that arbitration as a method of settling international troubles is not as far above war as the human is above the brute?

A small man has the same moral and legal rights as a large one. So with small nations: their rights are just as sacred and as numerous as those of the greatest empire on earth, but how can small nations compel respect for their rights so long as war is recognized as the arbiter to settle international quarrels? Suppose a difficulty should arise between big Russia and little Greece. Russia would make her demand and no matter how unjust, what could Greece do but accept? True, Greece, inspired with the same sort of spirit that animates the larger countries, imagines that she must be prepared to fight all the world, and burdens her people by keeping a standing army of 25,000 men and a navy of 50 vessels, and in case of a dispute she would bristle up to Russia as ridiculously as a bantam cock to a bald eagle; but against Russia's standing army of 900,000 men and navy of 400 vessels, Greece would be safer if she didn't have a gun or a soldier in the kingdom.

Arbitration is all very good, but nations will not consent to it is the assertion with which the argument in its favor is met. It was my intention to discuss this point as well as others that I have not mentioned, but no space remains. Suffice it to say that if President Harrison will appoint a universal peace commission of a half dozen of the ablest men in the United States, in less than three years and at less cost than it takes to run a single war vessel during the time, they can arrange a treaty under which all civilized nations on the globe will agree to settle their international differences by arbitration. Nations agree on rules and regulations of war. Is it possible that with proper effort they cannot agree on rules and regulations to keep peace?

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THE BASIS OF WAGES.

BY THE REV. J. D. SANDS.

IN CONSIDERING the question of wages according to the limitations of the subject the writer would have it distinctly understood at the outset that he is not in any way connected with either of the contending parties representing labor and capital ; he claims, therefore, to be able to view the matter without prejudice, so far as interest and sympathy are concerned. He disavows any sympathy with those who are continually crying out against the rich because they are rich and for no other reason. He is not one of those who believe that a rich man is forever prohibited from an entrance into the realms of bliss by reason of the great sin of being rich. He is not a labor agitator and never was ; not an advocate of labor organizations ; nor a capitalist, or member of any capitalistic combinations. Willing to recognize any and all beneficial results flowing out from such institutions and deprecating the evil, it is for him as a minister of the gospel of Christ to view the whole matter from that standpoint and hence it is impossible to descend to the level of a partisan in interest on either side.

One of the principles of the gospel as enunciated in the language of the master himself, "He that is not against us is on our part," compels him to the recognition of any good which may have resulted from the attempts of man to solve the problem of labor and capital in their relationships, yet he must not be expected to adopt or champion any measure unprovided for in the gospel. He claims for it that its provisions are sufficient—

sufficient for the solution of every problem which vexes men's souls—for the righting of every wrong. The gospel is intensely practical, addressing itself as it does to every phase and condition of human life and human want. When it comes to a question of the regulation of wages, therefore, we shall not find it lacking.

Let it be understood then that this paper is written under the influence of such inspiration, without prejudice against either class, the rich or the poor, the employer or the employee.

It would be nothing short of a failure to do justice to the subject, if the fact that there is such a possibility as a *false basis of wages* were overlooked. By this is meant a wrong principle in fixing the compensation which a man should receive for his labor. It can hardly be questioned that this false basis is the one dominant in our country among both classes. Of course it is not meant that there are none among the employers of the country and none among the employees who are controlled by any higher principle of justice and right, but inasmuch as this is perhaps the most natural because attended in many respects with the least difficulty in arriving at the amount of compensation for labor it has been adopted by the great majority.

This false basis was, a few weeks ago, tersely expressed by the secretary of a corporation which claims to be "the largest iron manufacturing firm in the world"—the Carnegie Iron and Steel Manufacturing Company, Limited. The statement as it appeared in an interview published in one of the Pittsburg dailies in connection with the account of the strike at Homestead, the location of one of the company's largest establishments, is as follows :

Reporter : "What will be your basis of wages now?"

Secretary : "Well, a man's work is worth just what he can get for it ; if there is a piece of work which only one man can do, of course he will get high wages, but if a hundred can do it just as well, he will not get any more than any other man is willing to do it for."

Now if this language means anything, it means that this firm proposes to regulate wages not by the skill of the laborer, not by the value of the service rendered, but by the great law of supply and demand. "A man's work is worth just what he

can get for it." This sounds the keynote of the false basis of wages, which is no doubt the controlling, dominant principle governing both the majority of the employers and the majority of the employees of the whole country, and possibly of the whole civilized world to-day. And this is the evil thing which lies at the bottom of the contention between these two great parties which is agitating the country from one end to the other.

A few considerations will serve to show the fallacy of this principle as a basis for the regulation of wages.

1. The practical application of it is capable of very great wrong and injustice. Let this be the motto of the workmen of the country and let all their energies be exerted to the complete application of this idea and it need not be a matter of surprise to find labor combinations which have as their supreme object the establishment of the very highest possible rates of wages, regardless of merit or skill or anything else. And the only thing that can stand in the way of oppression and ruin to the whole country is the limit which may be fixed for these combinations by a higher power. Suppose an organization that would take in all the workmen of the country—and such a supposition is not an absurdity—men of every trade and vocation, as was contemplated in the organization of the Knights of Labor. Let this organization in the exercise of arbitrary power fix the scale of wages just as it pleases, having no other thought in mind but that already expressed, "A man's work is worth just what he can get for it." This scale might run as follows: Carpenters, \$25 per day; blacksmiths, \$30; laborers, \$12.50, etc., etc., thus through the whole catalogue of workmen. What on earth is there to keep them from getting these exorbitant rates? A combination has been formed which controls the entire labor market. The dominating principle of this combination is that a workman is justly entitled to all he can get; hence there could be no way of resisting the injustice short of the suspension of all business. This is not an exaggerated estimate of the possibility in this direction. It is simply the statement of what is possible should the workmen succeed in combining into one the numberless organizations throughout the country at the present

time. It is the tracing out the results of this one organization in the direction indicated by almost every organization of the kind in the country. For taking exceptions to this as a basis of wages the writer was charged by a hired letter writer in a Pittsburg paper with promulgating socialistic dogmas but it is not hard to see wherein may be found the seeds of Socialism. Socialism aims to equalize opportunities regardless of capabilities. "A man's work is worth just what he can get for it," leads directly along the highway to Socialism. Too many labor combinations aim to equalize men regardless of any difference there may be between them in point of qualification.

But it is just as true that the practical application of this principle on the part of the employer is capable of very great injustice and wrong. It is a principle which may be made to serve the evil purposes of both parties. Suppose a combination of the employers of the country. They have the money and money is like knowledge, only on many occasions a great deal more efficient in the accomplishment of great purposes, it is power. The employer by reason of his cash is able to hold out for an indefinite time in case of a strike or lockout. It keeps up a man's courage wonderfully and strengthens him for holding out well when his stomach is kept well filled. But to assist this capitalistic combination we will suppose a time when labor is plentiful. Men are scrambling to get something to do to enable them to get their daily bread. Workmen are divided against each other in their desperation. Advantage is taken of such a condition of affairs and wages reduced. Men resist but they are confronted by this condition of affairs so that there is nothing left but submission or starvation. That workmen have failed in almost every attempt to maintain wages, is not because they have always been wrong, but rather because they are the weaker party. Money is strong. It puts bread in the mouth even though the large manufacturing establishment may be idle. Starvation is a most terrible foe. It brings the man to terms when the musket and the bayonet have failed.

Now such a combination controlled by this principle need consider no other motive. It is not a matter of profit or loss. Only

a case of supply and demand, and if the present supply is not sufficient to perpetuate the great wrong it is not a difficult matter to increase it. Only the Atlantic rolls between this country and an almost exhaustless supply of the cheapest kind of the commodity. A few years ago this might have been regarded as a considerable barrier, but in these days of rapid transit, when this great ocean highway can be measured in less than one week, transportation companies are almost willing to ship it as so much ballast. The statement is *not* overdrawn. It only presents the exact possibilities of the principle; and hence it is not a difficult task to understand that a principle capable of such wrongs in its legitimate enforcement is in itself a very bad standard. Had it not been, the United States government could have no reasonable grounds for the enactment of the law prohibiting the transportation of labor contracted for on the other side of the ocean.

2. This basis of wages is founded on a wrong assumption. "A man's work is worth just what he can get for it" assumes that labor is a commodity and therefore something the price of which must be regulated by supply and demand. And this assumption proceeds on the principle that the law of supply and demand is the only law by which the price of commodities must be regulated. Recognizing the full force of the fact that supply and demand must have much to do with the regulation of the price of commodities, yet that it should be the supreme law in this is a matter that will bear serious question.

When apples are plentiful they are necessarily cheap. When scarce, the price is correspondingly high. This is the law of supply and demand, conditioned on the demand in the one case being the same as in the other. Yet there is such a thing as injustice in the legitimate working of this law with respect to the price of commodities. It is only two or three years since a speculator by the name of Hutchinson succeeded in creating a *flurry* all over the country by gaining control of the wheat market, and in the space of two days forcing an advance in the price of breadstuffs of 40 per cent. This was accomplished by the recognition of the working out of the law of supply and

demand, yet working-men whose wages averaged perhaps less than \$1.50 per day were compelled to meet this advance just the same as the millionaire, and this without any corresponding increase in wages.

It may be argued from this incident, which is but one of the thousands that have occurred and are occurring and of the tens of thousands possible, that there must be something else recognized besides the law of supply and demand in regulating the price of commodities. If one man controlled by an all-absorbing selfishness can cause suffering to thousands and millions throughout a great nation and do so in harmony with the recognized business principle of the country, that principle is certainly not a very safe one. The law of supply and demand has afforded abundant opportunity for the gambler. Many a man by it has made himself possessor of thousands and millions while not rendering a fair equivalent for a single dollar.

A man has a right to a fair profit on his investment. He has no moral right to an extortionate rate. Some commonwealths in some directions at least have recognized the falsity of determining the worth of an article by the law of supply and demand. Take for example the price of money. The commonwealth of Pennsylvania has a statute fixing the maximum interest at 6 per cent; and this to protect its citizens in their necessity from the usurer. The United States government has made recognition of the very same thing by the enactment of the protective tariff laws. By these our government virtually says that the law of supply and demand is capable of being used to the injury of its people in fixing the price of commodities. Right here is afforded the opportunity for the defense of this governmental policy on grounds far higher than mere business necessity. Regarding it in this way it assumes a moral aspect which cannot be readily overlooked. It does seem, however, that the insisting on the application of this law in the regulation of wages comes in very bad grace from those who have received so much benefit from these regulating and restraining enactments.

But if it were admitted that the law of supply and demand is absolutely correct in fixing the price of commodities it should

have no place in fixing the price of labor. It is a false assumption which catalogues labor with commodities. A commodity is the production of labor and capital. The word "labor" is used first because it must take the precedence. Capital is nothing without labor. Inanimate, worthless: labor it must have to make it productive. A man may be worth millions and yet starve. When Adam opened his eyes upon the finished work of creation he saw spread out before him an immense capital—the face of the whole earth, yet the command was, *Work*. Without work there could be no production. Even if he had been satisfied with the wild fruit of the earth there must be labor in gathering and preparing it for his use. Labor, therefore, instead of being a commodity creates commodities. It stands alone and all other things must be made subservient to it. Look at the situation in this way. The capitalist himself is a laborer. He is possessed of so much capital with which he embarks in business. He furnishes his own labor; does his own work. But as his business increases he calls to his assistance another, and after a little another, and so on until he becomes a large employer. What is the difference between the owner as laborer and the persons whom he has employed? The business may have grown to such an extent that all his time is occupied in directing it, yet he is a laborer and colaborer still with the others and the only difference between them is that he is the possessor of the capital and these others are assisting him in furnishing the labor. The capitalist as laborer never thinks of placing his labor in the market of commodities.

3. The law of supply and demand as a basis of wages has as its legitimate object human degradation. It is not difficult to trace out in direct line from this human slavery. "Just what he can get." If he happens to be strong and well able to cope with his antagonist he may get on very well. Recent years have shown that capital is stronger than labor, because more skillfully handled. In two at least and possibly more than two battles out of every three in this "unholy war" that is being waged between labor and capital, labor has been the unsuccessful contestant. This goes to show that by reason of something labor is the

weaker of the two. And on the basis under consideration labor must continue to lose unless it attracts to itself strength hitherto unknown. In the case of the African who was held in bondage in our country until within a quarter of a century it was the case of the weaker enslaved by the stronger. Had he been able to take care of himself that condition could never have existed. It was strength against weakness. It does not require a philosopher to point out the fact that the two conditions are on the same line. The law of supply and demand did not work out the black man's liberty, nor will it give victory to the white man.

No one will question the statement that it is degrading to men to place them in the same category with horses and pigs: and this is what is done when labor is placed in the list of commodities. There is much talk in these days of elevating the race, of reaching the masses, and a thousand expressions of like import. To this end many agencies have been set to work, yet this manner of dealing with men, and this way of regarding them as laid down in the law of supply and demand does more to degrade and unhumanize than all these agencies can ever be able to counteract.

Now, these three considerations which have been presented; viz., its capacity to work wrong and injustice, its false assumption that labor is a commodity, and the degrading tendency of the law of supply and demand when used to regulate the price of labor, certainly lead to the conviction that the dominating principle expressed in the words, "A man's work is worth just what he can get for it," is a false basis for the regulation of wages.

It is worth while now to turn to the consideration of what may be regarded as the true basis of wages which is expressed perfectly in the language of the Divine Master, "The laborer is worthy of his hire." In arriving at the true meaning of this language taking in its scope and breadth it will be necessary to regard it in the light of the circumstances which gave occasion for the use of it as well as to attempt to trace out the meaning of the word "*hire*." And this will give a more perfect idea than relying on the definitions of standard authorities. Webster defines the

word as follows: the reward or recompense paid for personal service. But in the definition of the verb he implies that this may be contracted for or stipulated beforehand, thus indicating that "*hire*" stands for the amount stipulated for personal service. This is no doubt the popular usage of the term; but it is hardly in harmony with the Scriptural usage of the same word. The occasion on which the Lord Jesus made use of it was at the time of the appointment of the seventy missionaries who were to go out "two by two" into every city. He gave them explicit instructions as to their deportment. Among other things he told them not to refuse whatever might be offered them, for this was not to be regarded as charity—"the laborer is worthy of his *hire*." Yet there was no bargain as to what they were to receive; no arrangement beforehand, in fact they knew not who would give or who would withhold. Thus the Savior denominates that which they are to receive from the unknown employers *hire*. Now it can hardly be questioned that the clear teaching of this Scripture quotation involves the idea expressed by the word *earnings*. The laborer is worthy of his earnings. And this is clearly in complete harmony with those principles of justice which allot to every man his desert. The laborer *deserves* his earnings. It is only necessary to remark further that the original significance and usage of the word confirms the conclusion already arrived at. And this fixes beyond further question or dispute the true basis of wages: whatever a man in any capacity earns, that he is entitled to; no more and no less.

Such a basis removes human labor from the list of commodities. It forbids the speaking of it as something that is bought or sold, just as horses are bought or sold. It is a very poor argument which assumes the idea proper merely because the expression, "the laborer sells his labor," is familiar by reason of the frequency of its repetition. Many and frequent repetitions are still a long distance from proving the truth of the saying. There is a wide difference between buying and selling and that which is expressed by the word *hiring*. To buy gives the purchaser absolute possession of that which he purchases—to hire gives nothing of the kind. A person may buy the use of a horse for a day,

or week, or month. This gives him the absolute right to the use of the horse for the time specified, of course subject to whatever limitations may have been agreed upon. A horse according to this interpretation is not hired; the use of him is bought. The hiring of a man does not imply that the use of the man has been bought, or that the man has sold the use of himself for a certain time. If labor were a commodity such would be the proper expression, but inasmuch as it does not belong to the list of commodities the word "*hire*" is used.

The relationship between the employer and the employee as to the true basis of wages may be more forcibly illustrated by reference to a condition simpler than many of the present conditions afford. By the division of labor and the remarkable growth of labor-employing institutions it has been rendered difficult to distinguish in many matters pertaining to this relationship. But the illustration may be based on a past condition. Let it be based upon the agriculturist and his *hired* help. A man owns a piece of ground. He has farming implements and horses. Here is capital. He says to his neighbor, "Here are the ground, the implements, and the seed, now you go in there, cultivate the soil and when the harvest comes you shall receive your *hire* or wages." A certain proportion may be agreed upon but the amount is dependent upon the harvest, which is to be the recompense of labor—the earnings.

According to the present constitution of affairs in the industrial world this has been changed. Now the capitalist assumes the responsibility and risk and advances the wages of the laborer. In other words, he advances to the laborer that which is estimated as the amount of his earnings, this being none the less a share of the production because the employer advances it. The employer takes the risk of getting back a complete return for what he has already advanced to the laborer. It is a very easy matter from this to understand the cause of the error which forms the false basis of wages already considered. If the earnings of the laborer are paid to him before the product of his labor has reached the market, how is the exact amount to be arrived at? It would seem impossible to form a correct estimate

and hence the easiest way out of the difficulty is to regulate the price of labor just as commodities are regulated—according to the provisions of the law of supply and demand.

Now such a basis of wages gives to each man his proper dignity among his fellows. All men are equal. No man has a right to assume to himself a superiority because he is a capitalist. It is on the principle that all are in possession of certain capabilities that this equality rests; and this principle maintains to every man that individuality which should under no circumstances be sacrificed. It affords a clear field for every man to make the most and best of his powers. The tendency of unionism on the one hand is to discourage this by placing all men of each class on an equality as to the amount of wages, while the supply and demand theory of the employer on the other hand has the very same effect by bringing multitudes into competition and taking advantage of men's necessity.

If it has been shown that the idea conveyed by the word *earnings* should form the true basis of wages there yet remains another consideration before this paper may be deemed complete, and this may best be presented in answer to the question, How shall the amount of the earnings of the laborer under this rule be known? or to put the question in another form, What are the most equitable means of arriving at the proper amount of wages each laborer should receive according to the principle, "the laborer is worthy of his hire"?

It must be confessed that this involves a matter not unattended with serious difficulty. There was a time in the history of society when it was not a question to give rise to serious thought. In those times of simple habits of business and labor the deepest problem in mathematics which it involved was the measuring and counting the number of bushels of grain. Out of this however by the division of labor has grown a wonderfully complex system. An article may pass through more than a hundred hands before it reaches the door of the consumer, while some establishments through which it must find its way are the employers of more than a thousand laborers. To follow the wanderings of a single steel rail from the ore mine until it finds

itself a part of the great railroad would be a difficult task in itself. It would be interesting as well as necessary to note how many men are engaged in the manufacture of one shoe. This certainly would demand very close and intricate calculation that there be anything like exactness in approximating the amount which each man should receive as his earnings. Take for example any of the large railroad corporations of the country, employing as it does hundreds and thousands of men in the carrying on of its business. These men engaged in the work of transportation are laborers who are earners just the same as the mechanic or agriculturist, and their earnings should be as definitely fixed. Beginning with the preparation of the soil in the production of a bushel of wheat: the sowing of the seed and gathering in the harvest; its preparation for the table and transportation to the consumer, what part of that bushel of wheat has been earned by the engineer who drives the engine that hauls it to market? by the conductor? by the brakeman?

The difficulty which presents itself just here, no doubt has given rise to the system of employment which is now almost universally practiced: the payment to the workmen of a certain stipulated price, the employer assuming all the risk and requiring faithful service on the part of the employee; and out of this the other custom of regulating that price not by actual or estimated earning, but by the application of the law of supply and demand.

With these difficulties to confront, it should not be counted a thing surprising if the suggestions may not be sufficient to meet the requirements of every case or the full requirement in any case.

In attempting to arrive at the answer to the question the following division of the production of labor and capital should be kept in mind, namely, expenses, wages, and profits. Expenses should include everything necessary to keep the plant in the condition in which capital placed it at the beginning and such outlay as may have been necessary in the furnishing of material. Profit includes that part to which the employer is entitled by virtue of invested capital, and should include a fair percentage

on his investment, together with an additional percentage on account of the responsibility and risk he assumes, that which remains should be regarded as wages or earnings. However, it is not meant in this division and definition that the employer and capitalist should receive his share of the production before the laborer has received his *earnings*. There is serious objection to such a theory. It would be nothing short of a division of profits, making the laborer who is without responsibility the one chiefly benefited.

According to this principle to attempt to fix the wages of the laborer before the service has been rendered and the production of that labor known, is clearly an impossibility. There may be certain rules by which the production may be estimated and in many cases these estimates may approach very nearly to perfection, as, for example, in the case of the bricklayer; a certain number of bricks handled in one day may be handled the next, and thus a fair estimate of one day's work may be based upon another. But the intricacies of business generally render this impossible.

There is, however, a way of solving this difficulty which suggests itself as fair and seems to meet with favor among those who have considered the plan. It has been for some years past, practiced with very satisfactory results by the firm of Porter, Bell & Co., locomotive builders, of Pittsburg, Pa. This firm has a fixed standard of wages for each class of men employed; so much to machinists, so much to carpenters, and so much to general laborers, etc. Each man receives his wages in accordance with this standard monthly or semi-monthly. Then at the end of the year a division is made of that portion allotted to earnings of labor to each man according to the wages he has received. For example, if the earnings as shown by the business of the year, amount to a certain sum and the amount at the end of the year not yet paid out is equal to 10 per cent of the whole earnings, then the machinist whose salary according to the standard of wages already fixed has amounted to \$950 will be entitled to an additional 10 per cent, or \$95. The laborer who has earned \$500 will receive \$50 additional.

This system may meet with some objections, but taking it all in all it seems to afford the best opportunity for a fair and impartial distribution of earnings to the laborer. Each man stands on his own merits, and each man is inspired to do the best he can to make the earnings of the concern as large as possible. Thus does each laborer, without becoming a partner, and thereby a capitalist, become a party in interest.

Other plans might be suggested, yet after all the responsibility of this distribution rests with the employer. The Scriptural law on the subject is plain, "The laborer is worthy of his hire." Every man who undertakes the responsibility of conducting a business in which laborers are employed must be willing to meet the responsibility of honestly and fairly distributing to them their earnings.

When men are satisfied to do this and are content with a fair profit on their investment, then may we expect to see the difficulties between labor and capital, in a large measure at least, settled.

J. D. SANDS.

AN INQUIRY CONCERNING OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.

BY THEODORE S. WOOLSEY, OF YALE UNIVERSITY.

THE number of controversies with foreign powers which have arisen of late, must have impressed every student in the department of foreign relations. Upon putting together the facts involved in several of these "difficulties," and comparing their causes, the question has presented itself, whether one main cause has not led to all of them, and if so, whether this does not indicate a change of foreign policy.

This policy was originally outlined by Washington in his farewell address, in that noble passage beginning, "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all." It was believed to consist in the avoidance of encroachments upon, as well as of entanglements with, other states. Long ago we reached the position of indifference to foreign influences which Washington aimed at. Too often have we failed of the good faith and justice which he inculcated. But the peculiar advantages of our position are the same, our duties are the same, now as then. If there appears a change in our foreign policy we have a right to question it; we may still test it by the spirit of our early diplomacy.

Ever since the recognition of our independence by Great Britain our fishery relations with her colonies have been in an unsettled condition, modified by temporary arrangements built upon the basis of the treaty of 1818. At several periods in our history we have had to complain of high-handed treatment of our fishermen and of the illegal seizure of their smacks, by the provincial authorities. Nor have our fishermen been without fault, in fishing within forbidden waters, occasionally in entering upon a forbidden traffic. But now the tables are turned. Since 1885 United States ships have seized some and warned away

many more of the British Columbian sealers for operating in the waters of Behring Sea. The controversy resulting, as yet unsettled, is the first on our list to claim attention.

The habits of the fur seals and the methods of capture are as follows: During the winter season the seals are widely scattered in the Pacific Ocean. In April they travel northward and repair to certain breeding islands lying in the Behring Sea. One group of these islands belongs to Russia, another to the United States. It has been the practice of our government to farm out its seal fishery to a company, under conditions of rental, tax per skin, and limitation of slaughter. This company's employees protect the seals in these Pribyloff Islands from depredation. After the females have landed they keep near shore with their young. The bachelors of a certain age are quietly driven inland and there killed. After some months when the bearing and breeding processes, thus rendered undisturbed, are completed the seals all put to sea again. It is in the spring and early summer when the seals are on their way to the rookeries, in the open sea, traversing the passages between the fringe of Aleutian Islands which mark off the Behring Sea from the Pacific, or cruising the coast, that latterly they have been intercepted by what we term the seal poachers. These men, belonging to the United States as well as to British Columbia, by their indiscriminate killing of females as well as of males, and losing many as they must through the sinking of the carcasses, have seriously diminished the source of supply.

Now it is of considerable importance to both Great Britain and the United States that this sealing industry should be preserved, for the skins are cured and dressed in London while the direct revenue is paid to this country. A close season and a regulated slaughter are probably essential to preserve this interesting animal from extinction. The real question then is whether such regulation shall be brought about through diplomatic agreement, or whether we can establish it through force as a matter of right. Over our own sealers, and over foreign sealers in our own coast sea, we undoubtedly have jurisdiction. But have we lawful jurisdiction over the operations of foreigners many

miles from land where most of our captures have been made?

Such jurisdiction cannot arise from our ownership of the seals, for they are wild animals uninclosed, and can be owned by nobody.

It cannot arise from the contention that their slaughter by foreigners is *contra bonos mores*, for that is a meaningless phrase upon which no rights of capture can be founded.

Nor, once again, can it arise from the assertion that the Behring Sea is a *mare clausum*, and not a part of the high sea, since that assertion cannot be substantiated in fact. The Behring Sea is too vast to be under the control of any one nation. The territory of the United States borders less than half of it. Russia gave up a similar claim. It is inconsistent with the spirit of modern politics. If we have exclusive jurisdiction over the Behring Sea then it must spring from our ownership of adjacent land and from that alone. For it must always be kept in mind that jurisdiction is not a thing separate and complete in itself, but only an incident to the possession of certain territory. Our question therefore presents itself thus: Has the United States through its possession of Alaska acquired exclusive jurisdiction over the Behring Sea? Here it must first be remarked that the presumption is against us. The vast exclusive claims to jurisdiction over broad stretches of sea, once in vogue, have become obsolete. Portugal and Spain no longer assert peculiar rights in great tracts of ocean with a papal bull as a warrant. England no longer compels foreign ships to lower their topsails to her in the narrow seas. American fishermen may fish as freely as Canadians in the Gulf of St. Lawrence if they keep off shore. Even the waters of the Bay of Fundy, after tedious dispute with Great Britain, are agreed to form part of the high seas.

But the Alaska purchase was made from Russia and it seems to be from Russia that we derive the rights of jurisdiction to which we lay claim. As expressed in its diplomatic correspondence, our government asserts that Russia had controlled the fisheries of those waters from their discovery until 1867; that until 1886 they had been in undisturbed possession of the United

States; that thereby an exclusive right had been acquired in them. Our exclusive jurisdiction being thus derived from Russia we must prove that she owned and exercised it and that the Alaska purchase treaty conveyed it.

It is a fact that Russia once claimed exclusive rights over the coasts and waters of the Behring Sea from the straits to the 54th degree of north latitude. But neither Great Britain nor the United States would submit to such pretensions. Chancellor Kent and John Quincy Adams denied and opposed the claim. The result of our diplomatic protests is seen in the treaty of 1824 between Russia and the United States. "It is agreed that in any part of the Great Ocean, commonly called the Pacific Ocean or South Sea, the respective citizens . . . shall be neither disturbed nor restrained, either in navigation or in fishing, or in the power of resorting to the coasts" at unsettled points for trading. In 1825 a similar treaty was made by Russia with Great Britain. Both treaties were to last ten years. It is not practicable to argue that the Behring Sea was not a portion of the Pacific Ocean in the view of these treaties. The Behring Sea is a body of water, three times as large as the Gulf of Mexico, separated from the Pacific by a string of one hundred and fifty islands, mostly mere islets, in a line measuring perhaps 2,500 miles, with spaces as wide as 200 miles between them, a separation only in name. The claim of our government that Russia had exercised undisturbed exclusive sovereignty over the Behring Sea until 1867, is upset therefore by two treaties and by our own diplomatic history. Moreover, as Lord Salisbury has urged, the fact of non-use of a right, even if proved, does not imply abandonment of that right.

Again, by Art. I. of the Convention for the cession of Alaska, was surrendered "all the territory and dominion now possessed by his said majesty on the continent of America and in the adjacent islands, the same being contained within the geographical limits herein set forth." Lines are drawn across the ocean "within which the territories and dominion conveyed are contained," but no mention is made of jurisdiction over a great stretch of sea as a thing granted. No jurisdiction was or could

be granted, except what attached to the land ceded, and that passed as a thing of course. Whatever rights we have in Behring Sea away from land, exist *only* by virtue of ownership of that land, and are not distinguishable from similar rights attaching to governmental possession of land elsewhere.

Russia based her claim to exclusive jurisdiction over these waters, upon her ownership of *all* the territory inclosing them. Her claim was successfully resisted. We now own less than half the coast that Russia did, and yet are now found setting up the same claim.

Are not these principles clear?

The Behring Sea is part of the high seas, and sealing, beyond the three-mile limit in it, can be prevented only by an exercise of sovereignty over it. Such right of sovereignty we denied to Russia. Such right we now claim, as derived from Russia. Such right, if Russia possessed it, could only be an incident to the ownership of the coasts, and could not exist and be conveyed independently. There is no evidence of an attempt to convey it independently. Its territorial right in a portion of the coast bordering the Behring Sea, does not give this country exclusive jurisdiction over the said sea for a certain purpose, or for any purpose. Our fishery disputes with Canada, the precedents in our own history, maritime law, common sense, all discredit the idea. It is a great and an undue stretch of the jurisdiction of the United States, to capture twelve ships and warn off a great many more for engaging in a species of fishery, many miles from land.

THE BARRUNDIA AFFAIR.

Barrundia, formerly minister of war in Guatemala, had been exiled in 1885 and resided in Mexico. Taking up weapons against his native state, he was disarmed by the Mexican authorities and conducted to Acapulco, there being requested to leave the country whose neutrality he had violated. He accordingly took passage on the Pacific Mail Steamer *Acapulco* for Salvador. She touched at Guatemalan ports but Barrundia felt secure under the United States flag. At the first port, Champico, the Guatemalan authorities demanded Barrundia's sur-

render, but the captain of the *Acapulco* refused to allow any officers on board.

The Guatemalan government then requested the American minister, Mr. Mizner, to direct Capt. Pitts of the *Acapulco* to surrender his passenger, charging him with sedition, treason, and conspiracy against the government. Mr. Mizner asked for and received assurances of a fair trial and no death penalty, in Barrundia's behalf, as Guatemala was then under military law.

The *Acapulco* came into port at San José Aug. 27, 1890. Commander Reiter of the *Ranger* boarded her and was asked by Pitts to protect his passenger. He replied that he could not act without authority from the governor of the port. Pitts then wired Mr. Mizner who answered that the *Acapulco* was within the jurisdiction of Guatemala, and that the authorities had a right to arrest any one charged with offenses against the laws of their country. To the Guatemalan minister of foreign affairs, he made a similar reply, that the United States could not object to the exercise of local jurisdiction over the *Acapulco* while in Guatemalan waters; and then reminded him of his promise. Col. Torielle then boarded the *Acapulco* with a few soldiers, and demanded Barrundia. Pitts again appealed to the officers in the American man-of-war, who replied that the matter was out of their jurisdiction. The arrest was then attempted. Barrundia drew pistols, fired at Col. Torielle, and in a scuffle was shot by the Guatemalan soldiers. Mr. Mizner protested against the shooting as in violation of the promise made him.

Shortly after, Barrundia's daughter shot at Mizner in the legation, charging him with being the cause of her father's death. There is nothing very unusual in this petty tragedy. Nothing is clearer than that a merchant ship within the waters of a foreign state is under that state's jurisdiction. One of our men-of-war could have furnished Barrundia an asylum had he reached it, but surely it is not the business of our navy to exert itself actively in rescuing political exiles from the laws of their offended states. Asylum when it ceases to be passive, is rescue, a very different matter.

Both Commander Reiter and Mr. Mizner then, judged by the

rules and precedents of international law, acted with absolute propriety. Suppose the *Trent* with Mason and Slidell on board, had sailed into New York harbor, would the right of their seizure have been questioned by any power on earth? And yet—and this is the point of this whole relation—their action proved so unacceptable to their government that the one was recalled and the other removed from his command with a reprimand. The secretary of the navy wrote to him: "It was your plain duty to proceed at once to meet the steamer before she cast anchor in the port, to warn the captain of the danger and to offer to his passenger, should he desire it, an asylum on board your ship." Having learned the facts, "it is impossible to suppose that you would have failed to offer the fugitive an asylum. Such an act could have violated no rights of the territorial government, for no rights over the person of the passenger could have yet vested: while it would have maintained the implied promise of protection which the United States makes to all who in good faith embark under its flag. By remaining inactive you neglected your obvious duties, and placed your government in the position of renouncing those who had sheltered themselves under its flag." Here, as in the Behring Sea affair, we notice a marked extension of the jurisdiction claimed by the United States. It announces to its naval officers the duty of protecting all political refugees sailing under its merchant flag, even when within the waters of the country to which those refugees belong, by strategy if not by force—the duty of bringing asylum to them, instead of permitting them to seek it. This was destined to bear fruit.

THE ITATA CASE.

In Chile in 1890 and early in 1891, Balmaceda, by his arbitrary and unconstitutional conduct, had driven a portion of the country into rebellion, but the Congressionalists had no ammunition. Arms and gunpowder they therefore must buy. This the *Itata*, a merchant steamer, tried to do at the Californian port of San Diego. She was hospitably received at San Diego, spent some time there quietly, then coaled and was about to put to sea. At this point it was reported that a smaller boat, presumably

loaded with materials of war destined for the *Itata*, was waiting for her off an island out at sea. The *Itata* was accordingly seized on the charge of attempted breach of the neutrality laws, and a deputy United States marshal put in charge. Unwilling to be thus balked of his object her captain put to sea without his clearance papers and with the deputy on board. The latter was landed at the entrance of the bay. The *Itata* met her tender, shipped its cargo, and sailed for Chile. Thereupon began that sensational chase by the new cruiser *Charleston*, which ended, not in the capture intended, but in the surrender of the *Itata* by the Congressional leaders after she had eluded her pursuer. When we apply the recognized law to this seizure, chase, and surrender, we are struck by the unusual zeal of our government. Hitherto it has been considered lawful for our merchants to sell arms to all the world at peace or at war. Fitting out an armed expedition is illegal, but this was in no sense such. It was a purely commercial transaction. Balmaceda had his rights of capture of these contraband articles, but it has never before been the policy of this government to assist others in enforcing their war rights of capture for breach of blockade or for carrying contraband. It is true that the fact of transshipment of arms outside the three-mile limit does not alter the nature of the transaction, but the transaction was not a guilty one and there was no reason for such concealment. In leaving without clearance and in carrying off a deputy marshal (said by the way to be merely a private detective and not an officer of the government), the *Itata* may have technically violated our revenue laws, but that was the worst with which she could be charged, and that was the result of an improper seizure. And how must one characterize the chase of the *Itata* over thousands of miles of open sea? Pursuit hot and continuous by a revenue cutter for breach of revenue laws, has been known, extending to the high seas. But the *Charleston* started from San Francisco, five hundred miles away, and scoured the ocean for its prey with the intention of capturing her even if it led to a collision with a Congressional cruiser in Mexican waters. Such a pursuit, with such an object, appears to be absolutely novel. A state at peace has no jurisdiction

over the ships of other nationalities on the high seas except on suspicion of piracy.

Such a stretch of jurisdiction on the part of the most powerful state on this continent must necessarily appear an alarming matter to all its neighbors. The *Itata* was brought back to San Diego, lay there awaiting trial for several months and then the case against her was dismissed as well as that against the tender *Robert and Minnie*. They had committed no breach of our laws in the judgment of our courts.

This *Itata* matter naturally created a sentiment among the Congressionalists hostile to this country. Her surrender, dictated by the desire of that party to stand well with the government at Washington, and by their lack of a political status, left a sore spot which their sudden success did not lessen. Obtaining ammunition from a European source the Congressionalists at last were enabled to take the field and Balmaceda and his party chiefs were defeated. In view of the wish of the United States to advance its political and commercial influence in Chile this failure of our minister resident and of our admiral to "pick the winner" was most unlucky. The poor Balmacedists fled, fearing the vengeance which their cruelties had provoked and some naturally sought asylum at the United States embassy. At the cost of much discomfort this was accorded by Mr. Eagan, as it had been accorded to the Congressional fugitives when Balmaceda was supreme.

Now this right of asylum in the South American republics is one that is governed by a usage rather different from that in vogue on the European continent. The legations are permitted to shelter political fugitives almost universally, and Chile in this instance did not attempt to question Mr. Eagan's privilege. At the same time the correspondence of our various secretaries of state shows that though recognizing this difference of usage they do so with reluctance, believe it should be construed strictly, and deem it inconsistent with true equality of states.

Thus, in the printed personal instructions to diplomatic agents, 1885, we find that "this government does not sanction the usage and enjoins upon its representatives in such countries the avoidance of all pretexts for its exercise."

Mr. Frelinghuysen to Mr. Langston, in Haiti, 1883, uses the same words.

Mr. Fish to Mr. Preston, in Haiti, 1875, argues at some length against the frequent recourse to asylum in the legation "especially in the governments to the south of us," since "such a practice obviously tends to the encouragement of offenses for which asylum may be desired."

Mr. Fish to Mr. Cushing in Spain, 1875, characterizes the practice as an annoyance and embarrassment to the ministers whose legations are thus used and to their governments, and as a wrong to the government and people where it is practiced; to be mischievous in its tendencies and to tend to political disorder.

Mr. Seward in 1868, expresses himself thus: "The right of a foreign legation to afford an asylum to political refugees is not recognized by the law of nations as applicable to civilized or constitutionally organized states." The chronic revolutionary condition of many of the South American nations has caused the usage to be recognized. "We have, however, constantly employed our influence for several years to meliorate and improve the political situation in these republics, with an earnest desire to relinquish the right of asylum there. In the year 1867 we formally renounced that right in the republic of Peru."

Mr. Webster in 1851, to Mr. Peyton, in Chile, writes: "Acquiescence by the government of Chile on former occasions in the exercise of the hospitality of asylum in its larger sense may preclude that government from objecting to the continued granting such hospitality to the same extent. At the same time, if that government makes objection to the granting of that hospitality to a particular political refugee the minister of the United States, in whose house such refugee is sheltered, should advise him that this shelter can no longer be afforded."

Mr. Clayton to Mr. McCanley, 1849, states that "though the privileges of asylum in South America are more liberally dispensed than in the leading European states they should be in all cases carefully guarded."

Mr. Calhoun in 1844, is the only secretary of state to take the

opposite tone: "The right of diplomatic asylum in revolutionary times and in revolutionary countries should be indulgently construed."

Taking this almost uniform policy as our test we find that the asylum extended the Balmacedists by Mr. Eagan, acting under instructions from Washington, was excessive, in that it was granted to so large a number, in that its duration was unlimited, and particularly in that a safe conduct out of the country was insisted upon and finally obtained as a corollary to the right of asylum. While the controversy over this matter was in progress many seamen of the United States steamer *Baltimore*, on shore-leave in Valparaiso, were assaulted by what looked like an organized mob and two were killed. This deplorable affair caused great excitement and something like a war spirit was aroused in this country. Arrests were made of persons suspected of the violence, and the Chilean government, hardly established yet, expressed its regret though not very feelingly. The slow criminal process in Valparaiso dragged along and several of the suspects finally received light sentences. Meanwhile the *Baltimore* returned to San Francisco, where an examination of witnesses of this affray was conducted by the judge advocate of the navy. This of course was *ex parte*, the Chilean government having no counsel present. According to the evidence there adduced the riot was probably caused by race feeling, but the first blow was struck by an American seaman, and the men had visited several saloons though "perfectly sober." Our seamen ashore in Valparaiso are not under the jurisdiction of the United States. Chilean law and procedure alone are applicable to them. It is only when we have reason to believe that gross injustice has been done that we have a claim to review their findings. In the New Orleans lynching we insisted that the Italian government should await the action and decision of our courts. Why did we not owe the same respect to the Chilean judge? And was not the unwillingness of the Executive to show this, its appeal from Chilean jurisdiction, in taking fresh *ex parte* evidence and basing action upon it, an attempt to escape from the consequences and rights of that jurisdiction and to set up our own in place of it,

in other words a fresh example of the enlarged view of our rights of sovereignty to which we are fast accustoming our people and in which we are training our navy? Looked at from this point of view, it will be seen that all these instances related show one and the same tendency, an attempt on the part of this government to stretch its claims of jurisdiction unduly. Now what does this mean and what will it involve? It means in the first place a departure from the old and safe policy of the fathers. It means courting rather than avoiding foreign entanglements. It means one collision after another, each with its sulphurous war cloud about it. It means the violation of former precedents, setting up new ones in their stead which may prove awkward, even dangerous. It will encourage aggressions upon weak neighbors. It will make this country hated and distrusted by its natural friends. It will weaken its commercial position on this continent, throwing trade into other channels than our own. Years must pass before Chile can forget the bitter experiences of the past twelve months and open her arms to our trade freely. International trade is largely based on sentiment. And again, what will this new policy, if persisted in, involve? If we assume an advanced position we must be prepared to maintain it. We shall need a larger army; a navy of the first rank; an increase of taxation to pay for these; a reversal of our military and naval policy to maintain them.

We should have then, also, a much larger admixture of foreign influences and foreign questions in our domestic politics. A presidential campaign might be decided, not by the belief of a party as to questions of currency or the tariff or the civil service, but by its spirited foreign policy. Would this be likely to give us better government?

Can we afford to turn aside from the problem which is ever before us, how a great free people can best work out its own salvation, can purify the ballot, can make capital safe and labor contented, maintain the law and keep corruption under, develop its resources and promote general prosperity?

The tendency which has been emphasized, to stretch the jurisdiction of this country beyond the law and the usage, is not one

which will stand still. It must be checked at once or grow greater. Every instance of it will raise a controversy. Every controversy will bring us nearer to the necessity of striving to be the dominant influence in the domestic politics of every American state. Can one imagine this country embarked upon such a sea of adventure, without dread? The Monroe doctrine, a doctrine of non-interference on the part of European states in this continent, would be changed into a license to interfere on our own part. Place the burden of responsibilities, involved in such a position, upon our government, contrast with this the heavy cost, the empty glory, the nature of the return, a harvest of dislike, distrust, commercial jealousy and discrimination; what has the political headship of this continent to offer in compensation!

Are not those words of Washington, uttered then with reference to European powers and European influence, still applicable, not objectively, for we have outgrown the possibility of fear, but subjectively:

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible."

Let us look to it that we do not reverse this wise counsel.

THEODORE S. WOOLSEY.

TRADE AND THE TARIFF.

BY S. GROSS HORWITZ, MEMBER OF BALTIMORE BAR.

IT WOULD be very difficult if not quite impossible to put forth any new arguments on the subject of trade and the tariff. The tariff has been treated by an innumerable host of writers belonging to the different political parties and it would be strange indeed if by this time the realm of illustration and argument had not been so completely ransacked as to leave only tawdry and unprofitable material to the person who attempts to furnish any new ideas concerning it.

Magazines have devoted pages and the newspapers untold columns to its consideration during a number of years past, and there is, doubtless, scarcely a politician in the country with ability sufficient to repeat a few lines to an audience who has not contributed his share to the general discussion. Notwithstanding this it is very certain that the problems involved in Free Trade and Protection are even now not understood by more than a handful of people. The subject, therefore, is in a measure still new and no writer who is capable of aiding in the work of simplifying and making more intelligible its principles can have any reason to apologize for asking that he be accorded a brief hearing.

For some time past we have been convinced that the difficulty experienced in comprehending economic questions lies not so much in their inherent complexity as in the manner in which they are usually treated. Writers for the most part seem to take for granted that all men understand the elementary laws governing wealth and exchange, and, in examining such questions as the tariff, plunge immediately into the middle of their subject without having first prepared the minds of their readers by an explanation of the fundamental doctrines on which their propositions rest.

In the examination to which we are about to subject the question in hand, we shall attempt to avoid this defect. While we do not flatter ourselves with the hope that we shall be able to advance any new ideas illustrative of the effect of high imposts on a nation's resources, we do believe that it is possible so to arrange the material already at hand as to divest it of much of its complexity and to impart to it clearness and simplicity. One thing is certain, that, unless this can be done, the general public will never be brought to understand the true nature of the absorbing issues which now divide the country.

We have sometimes heard it said that the problems involved in Free Trade and Protection are of a character so complex that they will not permit of an exact solution by the application to them of any amount of reasoning; that the arguments in favor of a high tariff have an equal weight with those against it, and that the truth can be arrived at only by a direct test to show what the condition would be under a prolonged experience of Free Trade.

The extravagance of this notion must be obvious to every one accustomed to philosophical thought. It is true that there can be no test of the relative merits of two systems more decisive than that furnished by an actual trial of each. It is also true that we are not likely, when dealing with mere abstractions, such, for example, as the degree of contentment and happiness which a people would enjoy under an order of things different from that which at a given time prevails, to arrive at a just conclusion by any method of reasoning *a priori*; for we cannot be absolutely certain of our premises.

But it is not true that, when reasoning about things which are material and tangible and from premises mathematically certain, we cannot arrive at as exact a conclusion by reasoning *a priori* as by a system of practical tests.

In examining the tariff we start, as we think we shall be able to show, from premises of a very certain nature and consisting of matters capable of exact ascertainment.

It is therefore quite possible, we believe, so to present the case that it shall be intelligible in all its parts to any mind willing

to give it even the indifferent consideration of a hasty examination. As to our own ability to perform the task that is quite a different matter.

We do not propose to enter into an examination of statistics or to press into service long and uninteresting tables contrasting our present condition with that of a previous day. This laborious task has already been performed by numerous writers whose works have never been read through or, having been read, are now completely forgotten. We conceive that the simplest method of treatment will be, first, to give a brief outline of the condition of a people with regard to wealth and trade when considered in connection with their personal skill and the fertility of the soil they occupy. A knowledge of the principles governing a nation's wealth and prosperity will thereby be obtained and the mind will then be prepared to understand, in an exact way, the effect produced by taxes and imposts upon a nation's resources.

But here it may be well to make a few observations upon the nature of wealth. In brief, all wealth consists of exchangeable possessions. It is great or small, according to the quantity and exchangeable value of such possessions. The greater the quantity of exchangeable commodities which a man owns over and above what is necessary to procure for him the requirements of life the richer he will be. Nearly all men engaged in production find their labor rewarded by a return greatly in excess of what is necessary to procure for them, by exchange, their own immediate requirements, and it is the finding a market for this surplus that creates trade, commerce, exchange, or by whatever name it may be called. As one man depends on another in order to exchange his surplus product, so does one nation depend on another; for no one man can, in the most reasonable way, produce all the requirements of life, neither can any one nation. As one man is richer than another according as he possesses a greater and more valuable surplus of belongings, so is one nation richer than another according as it possesses a larger and more valuable surplus of commodities.

High tariff advocates claiming that by extravagant imposts

the riches of the country will be increased over the riches of other countries, and riches being simply another term for surplus of possessions, our purpose in the subsequent pages will be to inquire how a high tariff affects that surplus.

But let us first, in pursuance of our original plan, propose two or three hypothetical cases illustrative of the condition of a people with regard to wealth when considered in connection with their personal skill and the fertility of their soil.

In the first place, let it be supposed that the people of a given country are superior in skill and capacity to the people of all other countries, but that the productiveness of their soil, even with the application to it of their superior management, is no greater than that of the soil elsewhere. It will doubtless appear obvious that such a people would do well to confine themselves to the manufactures, provided there was a demand for their product and that their skill and capacity enabled them to produce such extensive returns that their wares, when transported to other countries, would, even after deducting the cost of transportation, represent in the ports to which they were consigned an amount of labor greater than was necessary to produce them at home. For we have shown that all wealth consists of a surplus of exchangeable possessions over and above one's necessities, and that it is great or small according to the quantity and the exchangeable value of that surplus. In the case under examination, if the people directed their attention to the cultivation of the soil they could produce no greater surplus than that produced by people elsewhere. But, by confining themselves to the manufactures they would be enabled, by their superior skill, to exceed the output of manufacturers in other countries. Their surplus or, in other words, their exchangeable material would be greater and, accordingly, they would be richer than their foreign competitors.

But suppose the people of a given locality have no such superior capacity as that assumed in the last case. Let it be supposed on the contrary, that in skill and energy they do not exceed their fellows in other quarters but that they do enjoy an advantage in occupying a region where the fertility of nature is

such that a given amount of labor is rewarded with far greater returns than are to be derived from the application of a similar amount of labor elsewhere. In such event would it, on the same reasoning, be well for the people to direct their attention exclusively to the cultivation of the soil? And here a very material consideration must be taken into the account. The valuation placed upon labor, in the several branches of human employment, is various. Of two men engaged, one in the manufacture of watches and the other in the tilling of the soil, the product of the former will have a higher exchangeable value than the product of the latter. The reason for this is obvious. It requires skill and experience to make watches but any person possessed of common bodily strength, and of the rudest intelligence, can exercise most of the duties of the husbandman. There are many more persons who are available for the latter employment than for the former, and, accordingly, such persons as are fitted for the former can demand a higher compensation than such as are fitted simply for the latter. Having these matters in view, would it be wise for the members of such a community as the one we are now considering, to confine themselves to the employments of the soil? We have assumed that they possess the same average degree of skill and capacity as the people of other countries. The answer to the question will, therefore, depend upon the degree of the fertility of the soil they occupy. If it be sufficiently fertile to enable them to produce a store which, after transportation, will be larger than that which can be produced elsewhere, by the same expense of labor, then, undoubtedly, they would be better off than those who are engaged in the *same pursuits* in other quarters. But would they be better off than those engaged in the manufactures? If their excess of production, measured by the standards of other countries, were such that it represented an amount of labor greater than could be procured by the difference between the rate paid in the agricultural employments and the rate paid in the industries, at the place of destination, then, assuredly, they would do well to confine themselves to the pursuits of the soil, provided, of course, their production were not in excess of the demand of the work.

One more hypothetical case we will propose, before taking leave of the brief survey which we have here undertaken, of the doctrine governing wealth in connection with production.

If the people of a given country were so fortunate as to occupy a soil more fertile than the soil of any other country, and if, at the same time, they possessed a higher degree of skill and capacity than any other people then, as is obvious, they must be richer than any other people in whatever employments they may engage.

Taking a general survey of this country we find the people engaged in all branches of human employment and in the production and manufacture of nearly all the commodities of life. Seeing this, and holding in mind the fact that it should be the object of every community to occupy itself with those employments in which it is likely most highly to improve its wealth, we might infer, from what has now been said, that the people here are more skillful and the soil more fruitful than in other countries. But we know such not to be the case without referring to statistics. We know that our operatives are not superior to all other operatives, for we are willing, in some instances, to pay a higher price for the product of the foreign manufacturer than for the product of the domestic manufacturer, in the conviction that the former is more perfect than the latter. Nor is this superiority of quality offset by a greater capacity of our own workmen for production. For we know that in a given time the foreign manufacturer can, with the same advantages in the way of appliances, produce as great a return as the domestic manufacturer. But, on the other hand, we know that, with regard to one of the elements referred to, namely, the fertility of the soil, we do enjoy an advantage over other countries; for we know that we transport vast quantities of wheat and other cereals to foreign ports, and that the price procured therefor is sufficiently great to enable the laborer in the field to demand a wage-rate here, in some instances, from two to three times in excess of that which prevails in other countries.

But, though possessing a superiority over other nations in the production of certain things, and, in the production of other

things, holding sometimes a position of equality and sometimes a position of inferiority, we nevertheless find that we are largely engaged in those occupations in which our position is the latter.

Furthermore, we discover that even in such occupations, being for the most part the industrial, the operative here obtains a higher rate of wages than is paid abroad; and the reason for this, as is obvious, is that the domestic manufacturer is enabled to charge an increased and fictitious value for his productions by reason of the high prices which must be demanded for all similar foreign manufactures imported into this country, on account of an almost restrictive tariff.

But what state of things do we find to prevail in those occupations in which we enjoy a natural advantage over the foreigner, and which no tariff protects. The occupations referred to will, for the most part, be found to be the natural employments, by which we mean all those employments in any way connected with the soil. We discover that the laborer in these branches is enabled to produce here, for a given amount of labor, a return often many times greater than that which rewards a similar amount of labor applied to foreign soil. We further discover that this immense advantage given by nature, enables the domestic agriculturist to produce a vast surplus product which finds its market abroad. The American farmer, and the miner, and the cotton grower, and the oil driller, producing, therefore, a much larger return for their labor than the foreigner, should, as they sell their product at the same rate as that at which the foreigner sells his, receive a much larger compensation. Such, indeed, we find to be the case, and such being the case we might rightfully infer that in this country laborers in the occupations of which we are now speaking are richer than foreign laborers.

But the foreign laborer receives a sum sufficient to enable him to subsist, and the laborer here, receiving a larger sum, should be in a position of comparative opulence. Is he so? Do we not on the contrary discover that in many instances he is scarcely better off than his foreign competitor? Do we not find that instead of possessing wealth he is often largely in debt? Do we

not find that many times he is obliged to quit these very occupations which apparently should be lucrative, to take up with some other branch of employment? Why is this thus? Why is it that poverty reigns among a class whose occupations are so highly favored by nature? We do not have to go far for the explanation. Though the American farmer and the laborer in the field received twice or thrice the return for their product that the foreigner receives for his, they must pay a vastly increased price for nearly all the necessities of life. The English farmer receives fifty cents a day for his labor and he purchases his coat for four dollars and his hat for fifty cents. The American farmer receives a dollar a day for his labor but he must pay about seven dollars for his coat and a dollar for his hat. Nor is this all, for as will later be seen, by the tariff the market of the American laborer is narrowed and in many instances he can find no advantage in employing all his time, as in such event he would simply succeed in piling up commodities for which he could find no means of profitable disposition.

We thus see that the domestic *manufacturer* is enabled to exchange, or, in other words, to sell his product at an immoderately high valuation because the tariff renders it impossible that people here should procure the product of the foreign manufacturer at the prices which prevail abroad. But the laborer in the natural fields that are unprotected can charge no such fictitious valuation. The advantage which nature gives to him in his employment enables him to produce a vast surplus of commodities, a market for which he must find abroad. He there is obliged to sell at the same rate as the foreigner, but notwithstanding this his great excess of production would seem sufficient to place him in a far better pecuniary condition than the foreigner. But when he returns home he finds that he can scarcely be in any better situation than his competitor abroad, because he must give up to the domestic manufacturer and to others who do not have to compete with the foreigner, all his advantage. It is true that the manufacturer must, when he wants an article of manufacture not of his own production, pay an increased price for it just as must the laborer in the field. But

unlike the latter he has the advantage of getting that increased price back by being able to charge a price for his own wares equally inflated as that which he has been obliged to pay for the wares of others.

Thus is it obvious that one of the first effects of the tariff is to take from him to whom it justly belongs, to take from the laborer in the field and the miner the advantage which nature has here offered to those engaged in the natural employments, and to bestow it on others.

But this is not all. The mischief, for such we must call it, does not stop here. It has a more far-reaching effect than simply to take from one class of labor the profits to which it is justly entitled and to give those profits to other classes. The mere injustice of this might, to some, seem not sufficient to justify an alteration in our system which would perhaps destroy many of our manufactures. And, indeed, were there no more potent reason for abolishing import duties than the moral one suggested, it might, with great plausibility, be argued that considerations of expediency and of governmental policy far outweigh the injustice which the existing system occasions; that it would be unwise in the extreme for a nation designedly to place itself in a position of dependence on other nations for many of the necessities of life, when the only advantage to be derived thereby would be to take the profits from one kind of labor and to give them to another; that in reality no direct injury or injustice is occasioned by existing arrangements, for, as no system of caste prevails here, every man has the right of choosing his own occupation. In such a contention there might, we have said, be much force were there nothing more. But unfortunately only a portion of the question has been viewed.

There can, as we conceive, be no better way of setting forth the true effect of the tariff on our national wealth and prosperity aside from the considerations just suggested, than to examine some of the arguments put forth by high tariff advocates.

"How is it," they inquire, "that the farmer and the miner and the raiser of herds are enabled to procure abroad a return for their products many times greater than that obtained by the

foreign producer? To say that nature is more prolific here than elsewhere, or that the American can produce for a given amount of labor a greater return than the farmer abroad, is of no avail. Such may well be admitted. But in the absence of the tariff would the farmer or the miner be enabled to procure a return for his product in excess of that obtained by the foreigner? If the tariff be taken away what follows? Forthwith the employment of hundreds of thousands of people, operatives in factories, will be taken away. But these people must live. If they cannot make their living in factories they must make it in the field; and if this vast host be suddenly turned into the field, what will become of the prices of agricultural products? The surplus production would be unparalleled. It would be overwhelming. But it would have to be sold, and the producer could no longer fix a reasonable price. Instead of demanding a dollar a bushel for his wheat in the foreign market, as he does now he would have to take eighty, seventy, or perhaps sixty cents.

"What then would be his condition and where would be the wealth which the existing system is denounced for enabling the manufacturer to gobble up? Without the tariff we could have no factories. But these we *must* have. They take from the natural occupations a surplus labor which would be fatal to them. They enable the farmer to keep up his prices by keeping within certain limits the volume of the annual production. The foreigner therefore pays the tax. The tariff, by keeping the fields free from surplus labor by offering to that labor other employment, keeps up the prices of commodities and therefore enables the farmer to charge the foreigner more for his product than he could otherwise charge. Where then, is the injustice of giving to the manufacturer some reward out of the profit which he has thus enabled the farmer to make by abstaining from farming himself?"

Such is the nature of the arguments which have been used by the advocates of high import duties. At first view they may seem plausible, but they are fraught with fatal defects which a brief examination will disclose.

If the abolition of the tariff would throw thousands of people into the unprotected employments as we are assured it would, does this in any wise prove what it has been assumed to prove, that the condition of the operative in the natural employments would be worse than it is now? Let us see. The production of cotton and of wheat and of all kinds of natural commodities would be largely increased, it is true. But would that injure the producer of those commodities? In order to answer this question something more must be held in mind than the mere thought that by the abolition of the tariff a vast accession of labor to the field of agriculture would follow, and that a fall in prices would ensue. It must be remembered that by the abolition of the tariff all the necessaries of life would forthwith become cheaper. It must be remembered that the American could then procure all articles of manufacture at prices scarcely in excess of those paid abroad. It must be remembered that the cost of living would then be diminished and that accordingly the producer here could sell his products at a smaller price without experiencing any inconvenience. But above all it must be remembered that in many of those occupations in which we compete with the foreigner the foreigner is now receiving what have been termed starvation wages, and that did we reduce our prices as with the abolition of the tariff it is inevitable we should do, it would no longer be possible for the foreigner to compete with us in the productions of the soil. He would be driven from the field, and as the American had been obliged to turn his attention to the natural employments so he would have to find his occupation in the factory. But if the accession of the vast number of American manufacturers to the natural employments would occasion a fall in the prices of natural products, the accession to the domain of manufacture of the vast number of laborers who are engaged in the natural employments abroad, would of necessity cause a fall in the prices of manufactures, and the cost of living to the American would be cheaper than ever before. At the same time the product of the American engaged in the natural employments would in all those instances in which it is now greater, continue to be greater than the value of what the

foreigner could produce in an equal time. This must be so unless our production of the natural commodities should be so greatly enhanced that even after we had driven all competitors from the field, it could not be absorbed by the combined demand of the world. And we say it must be so because, as we hope will now appear obvious, it is the profits of the natural employments alone which have enriched this country and built up the fortunes of its millionaires. And though we discover few farmer millionaires, that signifies nothing, as the rightful profits of those engaged in the natural occupations are, by means of the tariff, wrested from their hands and turned over to others.

We have then arrived at a point which enables us to see that if the country can boast as many men with fortunes as it does under existing conditions, which conditions are of a character which enables hundreds of thousands of persons engaged in wasteful employments, or in other words, in manufactures, to obtain riches by wresting them from the hands of those engaged in the natural occupations, how much richer the country would be if these riches were left to those to whom they belong, and if such as are now engaged in the manufactures were obliged to join themselves to the real wealth producers.

What then becomes of the argument that the foreigner pays the tax? It is true that the tariff renders it impossible that the American who sends his merchandise abroad should sell there below a certain price. But it is also true that there are no articles of such exclusively American production that there is no competition to be met with in them in foreign markets. By the tariff keeping up our prices in the articles we send abroad we keep up the prices of the world in a great variety of commodities, and in that way enable hundreds of thousands of foreigners to engage in employments which, but for those increased prices, would be open to ourselves alone. And why open to ourselves alone? Plainly because the immense return with which nature here rewards a given amount of labor would enable the American to sell his product at a price which would defy competition and yet which would enable him still to reap a vast profit.

It is unnecessary, we think, to say more. By the tariff two great effects are produced on the country :

1. The profits which of right belong to one class of labor are absorbed by another, thereby effectually impoverishing the farmer and diminishing the aggregate wealth of the country, by sustaining the latter class in employments which could never raise us above foreign nations in opulence.

2. That large class of persons who must depend on foreign markets to dispose of their surplus product are unable fairly to compete with the foreigner on account of the undue margin of profit which they must demand for their commodities in order that they may thrive in a country where legislation prohibits them from purchasing the necessities and conveniences of life at the same prices as prevail among those with whom they must contend.

As the country expands and the number of those engaged in production becomes larger and larger, our condition, if the tariff be not repealed, must become constantly more and more embarrassed. The unnatural prices which the producer now finds it necessary to demand for his merchandise, narrow his market and will continue to result in the piling up of stores, increasing yearly in magnitude, which can be disposed of only at prices ruinous to those to whom they belong.

But we have good confidence in the intuitive sense of the people. If they refuse now to be convinced of the injury which they are inflicting on themselves by adhering to a belief in the beneficent effect of a high tariff, it will only require time to dispel the illusion. Their growing burdens will teach them that all is not well and they will hasten to break away from their self-imposed shackles. They will perhaps then understand no more of the tariff than they do now. But they will discover that it is hurtful to them and they will do away with it as dyspeptics discard injurious aliment from their diet, without knowing why it hurts them.

S. GROSS HORWITZ.

HOW TO REBUILD OUR MERCHANT MARINE.

BY THEODORE COX.

THAT the policy pursued by our government toward American shipping in the foreign trade has led to the decline and fall of that once grand structure is pretty generally admitted. For, while our merchant marine has been crumbling away into nothingness those of the other great powers of the earth have prospered and grown strong. Therefore, when endeavoring to discover how we may best accomplish the much-to-be-desired result of again placing our flag upon the ocean, we first, very naturally, turn to the history of our country and, after learning what attitude our government has occupied upon this subject, compare it with the means taken by the various foreign governments successfully to build up their merchant navies.

At one time 75 per cent of our tonnage in the foreign trade was carried in American ships, while now 87 per cent is carried in foreign vessels. Then our ocean commerce gave employment to American labor while now foreign capital levies upon our countrymen an annual tribute of \$150,000,000 for freight and fares. In 1825 Daniel Webster spoke as follows :

"We have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored ; navies which take no law from superior force."

Speaking upon the same subject in 1827 the London *Times* said :

"It is not our habit to sound the tocsin on light occasions but we conceive it to be impossible to view the existing state of things in this country without more than apprehension and alarm. Twelve years of peace, and what is the situation of Great Britain ? The shipping interest, the cradle of our navy, is half ruined. Our commercial monopoly exists no longer ; we have closed the Western Indies against America from feelings of commercial rivalry. Its active seamen have already engrossed an important branch of our carrying trade to the East Indies.

Her starred flag is now conspicuous on every sea and will soon defy our thunder."

Compare this with the following extract from the *American Economist* of April 29, 1892:

"We note that not a single American ship has sailed with grain or flour to Europe from San Francisco since the 25th of December last. In the meantime sixty British ships, six German, four Italian and one Norwegian vessels, in all seventy-one sails, have cleared in this trade from that port."

What a contrast! Our country, possessed of vast forests, an unlimited supply of iron, and all the materials used in the construction of great navies, finds itself in such a pitiful position through the failure of the government to extend to it, in the words of Andrew Jackson, "adequate and fair Protection."

During the early days of our country's history this was not the case, and that vast merchant navy, which carried our flag into every sea, was built upon Protection as a corner stone. The second act passed by the First Congress, July 4, 1789, imposed a discriminating duty of more than 100 per cent on Asiatic trade, principally on teas brought in foreign bottoms. The third act passed by the same Congress, July 20, 1789, imposed the following discriminating tonnage duties upon foreign vessels entering our ports:

American vessels, per ton	6 cents.
American built vessels belonging to foreigners, per ton . . .	30 cents.
All other vessels, per ton	50 cents.

The same Congress prohibited any but American vessels flying the American flag. Under such fostering care and protection our shipping steadily prospered. But the Free Trade tariff of 1846 brought down ruin upon our iron and steel industries, and from this date the decline and fall of our merchant marine can be traced. Congress aided on the work of destruction by not only refusing to aid our shipping from the ruinous competition of the enormously subsidized foreign lines but even going so far as to allow heavy taxes and burdensome laws to crush our merchant navy. American vessels were taxed by state laws 700 per cent above any other ships in the world. They were forced to pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on their total value, whether lying idle at the

dock or earning, while the British ship paid but 1 per cent upon its *dividend*, and nothing when not working. On account of the difference in the American and English modes of measurement an American ship of 2,000 tons was charged the same tonnage as a British vessel of 3,000 tons. Great Britain's tonnage was 700 times greater than ours, yet it paid only one third the amount for consul fees paid by American vessels in the foreign trade. Can any one wonder that our shipping was stifled?

England has been our tireless foe upon the ocean and has strained every muscle to accomplish the ruin of our merchant marine, but she could never have accomplished her ends if our shipping had been properly protected. The truth of this is well illustrated in the unhappy fate of the magnificent Collins line of steamers. The subsidies to the Cunard line were enormously increased and the preamble to the bill granting their increase expressly stated that the reason for the increase was the competition of the American ships. In 1870 when it looked as if our government had become aroused and it granted a small subsidy to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, England immediately increased her subsidies to more than \$6,000,000 a year and kept it up till we again relapsed, when she gradually reduced the amount.

Then again, we have a good illustration of England's methods in crushing our shipping in the line recently established between Vancouver, Japan, and China, to which the British government pays annually \$425,000, or ten per cent upon \$4,250,000—about what the vessels cost. Speaking of this line Secretary Whitney said it was "a notable illustration of the generosity and courage with which England pushes her shipping interests." Thus we see one of the foes, from whose greed our shipping needs adequate Protection—the commercial warfare of Great Britain, which she is willing to carry to the verge of actual war, as was demonstrated during the Rebellion.

But shipbuilding and the sailing of ships are governed by the same conditions as our other great industries. We have the materials at hand wherewith to build the grandest navy that ever rode the ocean, just as we have the natural resources of the

greatest manufacturing nation on earth. But there is one thing which enters into the construction of every ship that floats more than all others, and this thing can be bought in foreign nations at one half the price demanded for it in this country. It is labor. So long as our shipbuilders are forced to pay their employees two or three times as much for their work as the same class of laborers receive in other countries, our ships are bound to cost more than the foreign article. But through Protection this increased cost can be reduced to a minimum and is amply covered by the superiority of the American article. But in the running of a ship it is quite different. Here the high wages which we are forced to pay are a clear gain to the British competitor which cannot be made good without Protection, at least till our merchant marine has grown to maturity. John Roach chartered some British steamers at one time, to run on his line between this country and Brazil. He paid to his English captains \$125 a month, while to his American captains he had to pay \$200 a month. The pay on the British vessels to the remaining officers was as follows: First officer, \$48.40; second officer, \$33.86. On the American ships it was: First officer, \$70; * second officer, \$50. And, as Mr. Roach said, these ships "were running in the same trade, carrying the same merchandise."

The following table was prepared by Captain Samuel Harding in 1870 for the information of the Treasury Department. It shows the comparative cost of operating an American and British ship of 1,000 tons and the same number of hands, exclusive of insurance and repairs:

Victualing American ship,	- - - - -	\$ 5,832
Wages on American ship,	- - - - -	10,140
Internal revenue tax,	- - - - -	540
Total,	- - - - -	\$16,512
Victualing English ship,	- - - - -	\$ 4,374
Wages on English ship,	- - - - -	7,200
Total,	- - - - -	\$11,574
Difference in favor of English ship,	- - - - -	\$4,938

The cost of operating an American steamer of 3,000 tons was, for labor alone, \$61,788; on an English ship of the same size it

was \$36,640, a difference in favor of the Englishman of about 70 per cent. Thus we see that even if both were left to themselves the American shipowner would be greatly handicapped, but when we add to this the immense subsidies granted on the part of Great Britain, and the utter neglect on that of our government the result was inevitable. But though England has done more for the protection of her merchant navy than any other nation on earth, she is by no means alone in her protective policy. The other European nations found themselves in many respects in the same position that the United States occupies to-day, with England's vast fleets of merchantmen, and a lavish government behind it, to combat.

France commenced the Protection policy as early as the time of Napoleon III., and she soon found that it needed desperate measures to compete with a country like Great Britain. The French parliament passed the mercantile marine act in 1881, which provided that a bounty be paid to shipbuilders of \$11.58 a ton for iron vessels, \$3.86 a ton for large wooden ships, \$1.93 a ton for small wooden vessels, and \$7.72 a ton for mixed craft—part iron and part wood. It also provided that \$2.32 per 100 kilograms be paid for engines, steam pumps, etc., and 29 cents per gross ton for every 1,000 miles covered, which should be increased 15 per cent to all vessels built in France if constructed upon plans approved by the Navy Department. Speaking of this act the French minister for agriculture and commerce said that after it should become law "no more shipbuilding materials will be imported into France," although the act does not require that native materials be used. "Thus," he continues, "our home industrial establishment will get the benefit of these orders, and I am glad of this for my country's sake." The amount paid by France under these headings in 1888 and 1889 was about \$1,650,000, and the annual expenditure from 1881 to 1886 was about \$3,500,000.

Germany's policy is outlined by Prince Bismarck as follows :

"The merchant service is the handmaid of all other industries, of agriculture, of commerce. On the day that the freight trade is given over to

foreigners a mortal blow will be dealt to all the industries of the country."

Following out this policy Germany has adopted a Protective tariff and pays to one line nearly \$1,000,000 a year. It is scarcely necessary to add that this line has supplanted an unsubsidized American line which formerly ran between New York and Bremen. The German government also entered into a contract with the North German Lloyd Steamship Company for fifteen years, agreeing to pay that concern \$1,047,619 a year on condition that it maintained three steamship lines, to Eastern Asiatic ports, to Australia, and to Alexandria. That this policy has proved a success is shown by the fact that in 1890 further action in the same direction was taken by the Germans.

Italy, although on the verge of bankruptcy, realizing how indispensable is a merchant marine to a nation's welfare, pays an annual subsidy of \$1,570,000.

Spain gives a bounty of \$6 on the tonnage built in that country. It is said that her annual subsidies for the transporting of ocean mails alone exceeds \$1,000,000. How this works is shown in the following words of Mr. W. H. T. Hughes :

"I am running a line of ships to Havana against Spanish ships that get a subsidy of \$5,000 a trip from the Spanish government. I have just been able to hold my own, meet interest on bonds, and keep ships in good order, and unless our line is recognized under the present postal subsidy bill, we may have to go out of business."

It seems all the more incomprehensible that our government should have so long and so persistently excluded our merchant marine from the benefits of Protection when we remember that it is the only industry that has been so neglected. Our manufacturers and our farmers have been amply protected from foreign pauper labor and foreign monopoly. Our government has spent millions upon millions of dollars in subsidizing the great railway lines, and our coast and lake traffic has flourished under Protection's benign influence; but while all others have received the constant and fostering care of the federal government, our merchant navy has been left out in the cold to wilt and to die, when it could easily have been preserved an ornament and a guard to our great republic.

THEODORE COX.

PARTY RULE IN THE UNITED STATES.*

BY ALBERT STICKNEY.

IN THE minds of the men of 1787 who framed the Constitution of the United States, one idea stood out more strongly than any other. The intention was that this government should be, as the phrase is, a government by the people, that—

1. The people should choose their own rulers.
2. The people's offices should be used only in the people's service.

The result has been a government by party.

1. Party has chosen the people's rulers.
2. The people's offices have been used in the service of party.

As it seems to me, few men are in the habit of thinking how far these two statements are true, how thoroughly the interests of the people have been sacrificed by our public servants to the needs of the party. It is a point worthy our careful consideration.

Party did not at once get its full growth. Nor did the system of party rule at once bring its full fruits. Able men wished to serve the people under the government; and the people wished and had their services. It took many years for party politics to drive our best men from public life, where they wished to be. But the system began its work early. The abuses began as soon as parties got their existence. In the earliest days of party history, party men acted on true party principles. They used the people's offices to pay for party services. They used official power for party ends.

In theory and in law, the people elect their rulers. In fact,

* "A True Republic."

these rulers are not elected by the people, but are appointed by the party leaders. The real working of the government is controlled, not by the officials whom the people nominally elect, but by the party managers who really appoint those officials. These party managers hold, as such, no position known to the law; they have no duties or responsibilities under law. Usually they hold some official position for the purpose of drawing a salary from the people. But the real power they have, not from their official position, but because they control the party policy, and, above all, the party nominations. And they hold their real power in the state, not for any short term of years, but without any limit whatever as to time, simply until tyranny becomes unbearable, and we have a peaceful revolution at the polls.

When our Constitution of 1787 was formed, the American people intended to use wisely the lessons they had from English history and from all history. They had learned that irresponsible power in a hereditary monarch certainly made a tyranny. They said, therefore, we will have no hereditary king, and no tyranny by any man or set of men. They established, as they thought, a true republic—a government of the people, by the people, for the people. They established, as a matter of fact, a powerful oligarchy, a tyranny of the people, by party, for party. They kept, as they thought, the real control of the government. They kept, as a matter of fact, nothing but a right of peaceful revolution. Elsewhere tyranny and revolution both violate the law; with us they both follow it. Often, before our time, revolution has resulted only in a change of tyrants; with us it is still the same. We rebel against the tyranny of one party; we simply place ourselves under the rule of the other party; and then again go through the same cycle of tyranny and revolt.

The Constitution of the United States had been formed "to secure the blessings of liberty" to the people of the United States in the year 1787, and their posterity after them. . . . We have had the election of our rulers taken from us by party oligarchies. We have had the money of the people stolen and their lives wasted by the officers who should have guarded us

from harm. We have had our courts of justice used, not to protect the life, liberty, and property, but to rob honest men, and open prison doors for convicted thieves.

But, it is sometimes said, the real cause of the present condition of our public affairs is the fact that we no longer have the same class of men in public life as in years gone by. Where are the Websters, the Calhouns, the Clays, in our national government of to-day, it may be asked? It is said we suffer from our own apathy; we have in our hands the remedy against these wrongs—we must choose a better class of men for our public officers. But why is it that we no longer have the same class of men as of old in public place? How does it happen that our public men are no longer as able or upright as they were in former years? For, without imagining all the glory to have passed from the earth, it will be generally admitted that there has been a falling off in the character of the men in our public service.

This is only another effect of party rule. No man can now hold office under our government for any long time unless he will sacrifice the interests of the people to the interests of party. The party leaders wish pliant men who will serve party, and not honest men who will serve only the people. They will not have in official position men whom they cannot control and use. The men they cannot control and use they drive from public life. The men who stay in public life are compelled to yield and submit to party. They cannot resist the immense party pressure which surrounds them. We have notably three Presidents—Mr. Lincoln, General Grant, and Mr. Hayes—each of whom, as most men will agree, took office with the purpose of always serving the people without regard to the interests of party. They all at last gave themselves more or less completely to the control of the party men. So long as they tried to do their simple duty to the people, they found themselves in the midst of enemies, without friends. They had to surrender. To resist would take strength more than human.

But is there any way out of this party tyranny? May it not be that this party tyranny is a necessary incident of republican

institutions in any form, that it is an evil which we must submit to, and bear as well as we can? May it not be, even, that party has its good points, its advantages? To answer these questions, we must consider what are the causes which bring party into existence, the nature of party, and its uses.

All men will admit that party rule, as we have had it in this country, has been attended with great evils and abuses. But most men think that these evils are merely accidents of the time, that in some way party government can be kept and these evils can be removed, that these evils are far outweighed by the good results which party brings, and that party, with all its evils, is a machinery without which free government cannot exist. I believe this to be a mistake; that these evils which we have had are not mere accidents, but that they are of the very essence of party; that we cannot rid ourselves of these evils unless we rid ourselves of party; that what men call the good results of party we should still get if we had no parties; that party, instead of being a machinery necessary to the existence of free government, is its most dangerous foe; and that in order to get anything which really deserves the name of republican government, we must destroy party altogether.

Our public servants, who depended for keeping their offices on carrying elections, in the same way gave their best efforts to carrying elections. Whether they wished it or not, our public servants were driven by this point in our system of government to make this work of carrying elections their regular profession. In that profession they gained great skill. In that work they were sure to have more skill than the ordinary citizens, who gave their time and thought to other things. The professional must always beat the amateur. These party organizations became vast and powerful. The leaders of these parties controlled party action. It came to be the fact (almost without exception), that no man could be chosen to an office without a party nomination, and no man could have a party nomination against the will of the party leaders. And the party leaders would give party nominations to no man who did not do party service. The natural and certain result was, that party leaders, for party pur-

poses, controlled the elections of public servants, and the action of public servants after they were elected.

So it has always been in English Parliamentary history. Each party has been, at one time or another, on both sides of every important question of government policy. Principles and measures have had little to do with the action of parties in England, except that there, as here, the party leaders have used the great questions of the day as battle cries in the struggle for place. Many great men and honest men in England have been party men. They have, too, done great service to the English people. But they have done that good service always in spite of party and party influences.

We have in this country developed not only parties but enormous party machinery for the mere purpose of carrying elections—a machinery that is intricate, costly, powerful and tyrannical. The man in public place in these days in this country must be, not a statesman, but a man of skill and capacity in manipulating this election machinery.

It is said that parties are combinations of citizens for the purpose of carrying measures. I maintain, on the contrary, that these combinations, which we call parties, never can be anything but combinations of office-holders, or office-seekers, to carry elections. And with the men who manage these parties, however upright may be their intentions, the end which is first, in point of time, is to get office for themselves; to this end they must have the support of other party men; to this end they must give their support to other party men. The party organization naturally and certainly becomes an organization of men who combine and work together to secure their own election to the different places under government. It becomes, try to disguise it as we may, a system of trading in office.

In the affairs, too, of great nations, or even of a single city, there are, not one or two, but very many, weighty questions of public policy. As a matter of fact, the men composing these large parties cannot all agree on more than one or two of those main questions. Nor do they profess to. And as to those one or two main questions they agree, not on actual measures to be

carried, but only on what they are pleased to term general principles. There is, however, one point on which the party leaders can agree—their candidates for office; and here they do agree. On all other points they must differ, and they do differ. They do indeed, before each election, say something about “principles”; they make a “platform,” as they term it—a collection of “sounding and glittering generalities,” so vague as to mean nothing, by which they think they can catch votes. This word “platform” truly describes the thing for which it is the name. It is something to be put under foot.

Whatever may be the theory of political parties as they should be, wherever there are many offices and many elections, the natural and certain result is that these party organizations, as a fact, are used for the purpose of carrying elections and not measures. Parties do not elect men to put into action certain principles; they use principles as battle cries to elect certain men. That is not only the working of party rule, it is the theory of party rule as it actually exists. Any other statement is only the theory of party rule as men wish it might be.

We have seen so much of parties and party contests that we have almost come to look on them as an end in themselves. But what is always the real end to be reached in public affairs? As we should all agree, it is *action* of some kind. In order to have that action wise we need calm thought and discussion before we decide what that action shall be, and united effort after our action is decided. We need at every stage, not strife between two factions but harmony of all men. We must have the *working together* of all men's minds to get the wisest thought, of all men's wills to get the strongest action. And how does this machinery of party tend to help or hinder us in getting these results, wise thought and strong action, from both the people and their public servants?

Parties and party contests make it an impossible thing to get from the people their calm wise thought and action. One party seizes one side of the question, the other party takes the other side, or, oftener, each party takes different sides in different sections of the country. What the party men labor for is not to find out

the best thing to be done by the men of all parties, but to catch votes for their own party. And their whole effort is to make men follow party and work for party success, instead of using their minds and their judgments. In party contests men do not think over measures; they fight for candidates. We have always strife, not deliberation.

So it is as to the action and thought of the people themselves. But how is it as to the action of our public servants? It is our right to have our senators and representatives sit down together and give us the best possible results of their combined wisdom. When once they enter our legislative halls they have no right to know that there is such a thing as party in existence. They are bound to think only what are the best measures for the people's interest, and to give us those measures. That is not what they do. Every measure is made a "party question." If the administration party, as it is called, brings forward a wise measure the opposition party, if it dare, opposes it for fear their enemies may gain votes through having done the people good service. These party men may be able men; they may be men of honest intentions. They are driven by the pressure of this vast party machinery to serve party and not the people, whether they wish it or not; for on party they depend for their future.

So much as to whether party and party machinery helps or hinders us in getting from the people and their servants wise action. But when measures are once decided and taken, surely no one can claim that party strife as to those measures should go on unceasingly. But it never ends. No question is ever at rest. In private affairs, when men have once made a decision, they act. The decision may or may not be wise. Of that they cannot be certain. But when the decision is once made, they do something—they put their decision to a trial; and if, upon trial, they find they have made a mistake then they try something else. In public affairs we should do the same. When a course of action is once determined on, then all men should agree, in putting it to the test of experience. If the course of action is not wise, time will so prove; and then we can try other measures. And so we should do, were it not for party.

But it is in time of war when a people should be united, when they must show an unbroken front to their enemies, that the greatest evils from party have ever come. In every time of danger that the people of the United States have yet had, party has nearly ruined us. Party men, whatever may have been their intentions, have in practice not heeded the needs of the people, have looked at party ends, have brought war on us when it suited their purposes, and, when war has come, have done much to bring on us defeat and destruction.

In the only two important wars we have had, the War of 1812 and the war of the Rebellion, when all men should have united against the common enemy, we have been nearly ruined by party strife. The calm opinion of to-day is that the War of 1812 was entirely needless, that it was begun on no sufficient reason, that it was carried on with disgraceful inefficiency, and that it brought no substantial results. That the war ever came, or that it was carried on as it was, was due to the violence of party contest. One party dragged us into war for party reasons. The other party, after war had come, did its utmost to cripple the administration and make the war a ruinous failure for party reasons. The war of the Rebellion came. As to whether it would have come had it not been for party strife, many men differ. But after the war once came as to the disastrous effects of party strife men cannot differ. Again, as in the War of 1812, when the nation was in the greatest danger, when we needed, of all things, that all loyal men should sink their differences of opinion on other matters and fight together for mere existence, we had nearly half the men at the North arrayed in opposition to the government, doing all they could, whatever may have been their purpose, to aid the public enemy and destroy the nation.

In short, at all times, in war and peace, the need of the people is agreement—on something to be done. The need of parties and party men is always strife over what they call "principles."

We have in this country every four years a convulsion of the whole nation. The entire business of the community stands still at an immense money loss. If the men of a new party come into power they may adopt a totally new system of levying revenue;

they may bring in a new tariff; they may overthrow the existing currency, or issue a quantity of irredeemable paper money. The commercial and banking operations of the whole country may be thrown into utter confusion. Prosperity may be changed to ruin, for large numbers of our citizens, according to the particular measures that demagogues think will carry them into office. The mere machinery and labor of a presidential election cost immense sums of money. This money is paid in one shape or another by the people and out of the people's purse. Why should the people pay this immense tax every four years, have their public servants at all times doing duty to the party instead of the state, and be subjected to this immense business loss and this enormous upheaval of the whole social fabric? We may, indeed, live through it. The people's liberties may not be permanently destroyed by it. We may be prosperous in spite of it. But why should we have it?

The English system of government and our own system are both bad. We have a revolution once in four years. They have one whenever the ministry are beaten in the House of Commons. I do not yet feel certain which system is the worse.

We come, then, to the next point. Is it a necessary thing to have this party strife in order to keep alive the interest of the people in public affairs? One of the most frequent complaints of the day is that our people, and especially the educated men, do *not* take an interest in public affairs. And the complaint is in a measure well founded. Men do not take a healthy interest in the affairs of our government. And why is it so? Simply this: the ordinary citizen knows that he has no power, that the party men can and will manage our government affairs very nearly as they choose. But before party machinery and party power became so fully developed men did take the deepest interest in all the affairs of the nation. All men in the country, but the educated men more than any others, think and read and talk of public affairs more now than ever before. As a class, the educated men are more eager than any others to go into public life. Nothing else has for them such fascinations. But they cannot get there. They are kept out by the party leaders. They

try again and again and they fail. What has at times seemed the indifference of elegant leisure is in fact the despair of repeated defeat.

Is it a possible thing that men of any class should lose their interest in the public affairs of their own country, of their own time? This government and these laws, we live under them. They make or mar men's fortunes and the fortunes of their children. Men who read and think at all read and think of the affairs of every people and of every age. Wherever we go, in a railway train or in the farmhouses, we hear all men discussing matters of European politics. Are we suddenly to lose all interest in the affairs only of our own country and the making of our own laws? On the contrary, remove these party oligarchies and the best men in the country would again come into public life. Remove these party contests and we should have, instead of this feverish upheaval once in four years over a mere struggle for office, a steady, healthy interest in questions of public policy. When men found that they really had some power in the affairs of state they would try to use it. Men in any country have never, under any circumstances, been able to lose their interest in the affairs of their own government. We are not now to have such a miracle for the first time in the world's history. To say that we must have these party contests in order to keep up the interest of the people in public affairs is to say that a man must have a fever once in four years to keep warm.

Are these party combinations then necessary to preserve free government? All the republics in history have been destroyed by party—by these organizations of men who have made a profession of carrying elections. The tyranny of kings has been often overthrown by one people or another in the history of nations. The tyranny of party is the most dangerous enemy freedom can have. No people has ever yet conquered it. These single royal tyrants with only one life are puny things; but this immense monster party, which is immortal, has the people's own strength.

But if these were the only evils resulting from party combinations we might be comparatively at ease. We have not yet the

worst point. It is this necessity of carrying elections, under which we put all our public servants, which is the root of all the corruption of our public men. We bind them hand and foot in the chains of party slavery. And we do more: we compel them to serve the powerful interests in the land which control votes. Our public servants, on questions of revenue, on all matters of legislation, where we have a right to their honest judgment and honest action, do not give us their honest judgment and honest action. They are driven to look at the next election. They say they work for their party. They give it too good a name. They shape their official action in such a way as to gain the support at the next election of the rich and powerful men and corporations. Disguise it as we may they sell their official action for votes; and the next step downward, the selling of official action for money, is one that is easily and often taken. But that is not often the first step.

Some men have been in the habit of thinking that the corruption which we have had among members of Congress and of state legislatures was some special fruit of some special feature of republican institutions. This is a mistake. Whenever, under any system of government, it is necessary for public officers to catch votes for elections they will catch the votes. The votes will be bought and paid for in money or office or official action, as the case may be, whether it be under a monarchy or a republic.

This thing that we call party is the poison which makes a healthy national life an impossible thing. These great party combinations, instead of being combinations of citizens to carry wise measures in the interest of the people, are only combinations of politicians to carry elections in their own interest. Parties, so far from being necessary to carry measures, to keep alive the interest of the people in public affairs and thus to preserve free government, are the most powerful hindrances to efficient action, keep alive endless and needless strife, are hotbeds of corruption, and are the most dangerous enemies that free government can have.

This party oligarchy under which we now suffer is not the creation of any one set of men. The present party leaders are

not responsible for its existence; they are not to be blamed for it. It is the natural legitimate fruit of our government system. It is not from choice that our public men sacrifice the interests of the people for those of party. They form these immense and powerful combinations only because our system of government drives them to it. They must carry these elections or they will lose their places.

The people of the United States have a new and great problem to solve. That they will solve it I make no doubt. The immense growth of party which we have had in this country is something new in history. I do not think its evils have been duly weighed; nor do I think its causes have been carefully studied. Party and party rule, as they now exist with us, are, as I believe, great evils—evils which naturally and certainly result from certain features in our political system.

In private life we find in every profession and employment many men who do their work as well as they know how. We have at times such men in public life; but, as a rule, our public men do their work, not as well as they know how, but only as well as the interests of party will allow them. Many of those men have good intentions but they are bound in the chains of party. Party controls the selection of our public servants; it controls their actions. I believe all this can be changed. There is somewhere a remedy for this state of things. That remedy can be found. And if the remedy can be found it will be used. I have unbounded faith in the honesty and sound sense of the people.

ALBERT STICKNEY.

A BRITISH VIEW OF THE TARIFF QUESTION.

BY LAWRENCE IRWELL, OF TORONTO, CANADA.

THE approaching presidential election, at which the tariff question will constitute the chief issue, emboldens me to draw attention to several features which have, as far as I am aware, escaped general notice.

From 1838 to 1846 Great Britain underwent an agitation in reference to fiscal policy of a character similar to that through which the United States is now passing, the only essential difference being that in the United Kingdom the taxation of imported food produced a state of starvation and general misery such as, happily, is inconceivable in the United States with its enormous tracts of grazing and grain producing lands.

The outcome of the agitation in Britain has been that the policy of protective duties upon imports has been abandoned, all goods being admitted free, except such as are taxed for revenue purposes. When, however, the Englishman uses the term "Free Trade" he does not imply an entire absence of duties upon imports, but refers to the non-existence of *protective* tariffs. The government of Great Britain, for purposes of revenue, imposes import taxes upon such luxuries as wines and spirits, the makers of similar or identical articles produced in the country being required to contribute, through the inland revenue, the same amount of tax as is paid upon the imported goods. In this manner the serious financial problem of how to raise a revenue by indirect taxation, but without protective duties, is solved. It is hardly necessary to state that in the end the consumer pays the duty whether he purchases home-produced or imported luxuries.

In international trade those who buy must sell, and those who sell must buy; in other words, trade must be reciprocal. If,

therefore, the United States imports manufactured goods, the countries exporting those goods must take payment in whatever the republic may have to dispose of. Likewise, if the American farmer sends his food to foreign countries he is compelled to take in payment from those countries whatever they can best spare. The explanation of this is that the actual supply of gold is limited; very few countries produce it, and the only method by which this precious metal can be obtained is in exchange for goods. But as the inhabitants of the United States require manufactured articles it suits them best to import these commodities direct from the nations who manufacture them. Hence, the Free Trader's maxim, "Look after the imports and the exports will take care of themselves."

Among Protectionists an impression prevails that import tariffs are paid by the producer and not by the consumer. Major McKinley, speaking at Chicago on June 9, last, is reported to have said :

"We propose to raise our revenue for public expenses by taxing the products of other nations rather than taxing the products of our own. The Democratic party believes in direct taxation—that is in taxing themselves—but we do not believe in that principle so long as we can find anybody else to tax."

With this admirable sentiment everybody—Free Trader or Protectionist—will agree. A most desirable method of raising a revenue would indeed be that of collecting it from the producers of other nations, but unfortunately natural laws prevent the accomplishment of so satisfactory a scheme, a tax upon any commodity, imported because it is required, being simply so much added to the cost of the commodity. The only instance in which the producer pays an import tariff is when he exports to a country an article of which that country already possesses a sufficiency or a superabundance.

The policy of raising a revenue by protective duties may have the advantage—if it is to be considered one—that nobody knows exactly how much he is paying in taxes, while with a direct tax the actual amount is disclosed whenever the collector calls for the money; yet against this supposed desideratum must be

placed the fact that by the latter process the electors can see at a glance whether their government is exercising economy or not; by the former method, having no definite means of ascertaining what sum they each contribute to the national exchequer they are apathetic as to the financial policy of the administration.

Another theory to which Protectionists all the world over are much attached is that the policy of protective tariffs produces high wages. This is, in reality, a mistake, although it may be difficult to convince our opponents of their error.

The rate of wages is fixed by supply and demand; where labor is plentiful wages are low, where scarce the opposite is the case. The government of the United States has no power to protect American wheat from competition, because the price is arranged by the supply and demand in the British market, yet the agricultural laborer in the republic receives considerably higher wages than his cousin in England, for the obvious reason that, while there are twenty laborers to the square mile in the former country there are fifteen times that number in the latter. Again, New South Wales is practically a free trading country, wages being quite as high as in the Protectionist sister colony, Victoria, and much higher than in the mother country. Why is this? Simply because labor is plentiful in Great Britain and comparatively scarce in the Australian colonies, Protection having no influence whatever upon the question.

In the United States a desire appears to exist that the exports should exceed the imports. This means that more produce and merchandise should be sent out than is brought in. For the year ending June 30, 1891, there was an excess of exports of about forty million dollars, but this is not necessarily a sign of prosperity, as the advocates of a high tariff seem to believe.

The United States sends the greater part of its produce abroad in foreign ships, and the payment to the vessel owners for services rendered is made by export of goods. Further, many European countries have capital invested in the land of the stars and stripes, the amount belonging to British capitalists being very large. The interest upon these investments is paid at least twice a year and is remitted in the form of exports of raw mate-

rials and food supplies. It is, therefore, evident that before asserting that the United States has "a balance of trade in her favor" our Protectionist friends would do well to deduct from the total exports the amount of the two above-mentioned items, as well as the profits made by foreign firms having branch establishments in the states. When this has been done it will then be found that the amount of the imports is exactly the same as that of the exports, a balance of trade either "in favor of" or "against" a country being an impossibility.

One object of import duties is to benefit manufacturers, and this it sometimes does at the expense of such industries as are not protected and of the community of purchasers generally. The McKinley act is sometimes referred to as a scientific method of Protection because it abstains from levying duties upon such articles as cannot be produced in the country. The real effect of this policy is to enable the home manufacturer to obtain, within a certain limit fixed by the amount of the duty, his own price for goods which would cost the purchaser less, provided foreign competition existed, and as a consequence the consumers—the bulk of the population—would be able to buy a superior article at a price now paid for an inferior one. The manufacturer's excessive profits would, of course, be lessened, if he were not protected, and the number of millionaires would cease to increase. But the majority of the inhabitants would be greatly benefited by their ability to buy in the cheapest market. The most ardent admirers of the system of import duties do not assert that their fiscal policy cheapens the cost of any necessity of life; surely it follows from this admission that the wage-earners gain nothing by a protective tariff, unless it increases the rate of wages, a supposition which I have already shown to be fallacious.

In manufacturing competition is the very essence of success. The wonderful natural resources of the United States are such that they ought now to be outstripping all competitors in the markets of the world. With a population nearly double that of Great Britain, equal in ingenuity and skill to any other race, with coal and iron, in fact almost all minerals, upon the spot and with a practically inexhaustible supply of food in the country,

the republic ought to have captured the trade of all civilized nations in manufactured goods. Protection, however, has so dwarfed the industries of this magnificent half continent that the exports of manufactures from the whole of the states of the Union do not exceed one hundred and seventy million dollars per annum, while those of the United Kingdom are over six times that amount. The British isles have only an area of 121,000 square miles, and they have to send some three thousand miles for raw material to manufacture and for food for the artisans; they then send back the manufactured goods to the nations from whom they purchased the raw produce, and even excessive tariffs do not exclude the high class goods, which are bought more largely by the people of the United States than by the inhabitants of any other country. Where free competition exists the American republic is not in the contest with Britain in the sale of manufactures, and but for her export, principally in English ships, of raw produce and food, she would be comparatively unknown as a trading nation.

The advocates of a protective tariff profess to believe that their policy restricts imports and fosters exports. In order to demonstrate the failure of their attempts in these directions, I appeal to the United States trade returns for the years ending June, 1881, and June, 1891. I also give the imports to and exports from Great Britain in the same years for the purpose of showing that during the depression through which the commercial world has been passing the Free Trade United Kingdom has suffered far less than the Protectionist republic.

	UNITED STATES.		UNITED KINGDOM.	
	Imports.	Exports. (Bullion and specie excluded.)	Imports.	Exports.
1881.	\$642,664,000	\$902,377,000	£397,022,000	£297,082,000
			\$1,985,110,000	\$1,485,410,000
1891.	\$844,916,000	\$884,480,000	£435,691,000	£309,069,000
			\$2,178,455,000	\$1,545,345,000

What do these figures prove? That the high tariff system of the United States has failed in what it was intended to accomplish; that while the exports have decreased the imports have increased. In Great Britain, however, a marked expansion in both imports and exports has taken place, a state of things

which is attributable to her policy of free ports and to no other cause.

The truth is, unfortunately we cannot make it sufficiently clear to our high tariff friends, that legislation cannot by any possible process assist trade; all it can do is to abstain from obstructing the natural channels of commerce by placing obstacles in the form of tariffs in their way.

What has Protection done for the benefit of other countries? Italy may well be cited as an example of the injurious effects of a high tariff. From 1878 to 1886 her foreign trade showed a slow but regular increase. In 1887 additional taxation of imports was resorted to, with the result that her trade at once began to decrease, as the following figures conclusively prove. The amounts are given in lira, one lira being equal to nineteen cents:

	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.
Imports.	1,458,243,899	1,604,947,273	1,174,601,582	1,391,154,246	1,319,638,433
Exports.	1,028,231,726	1,002,136,762	891,934,539	950,645,760	895,945,253

Compare Free Trade New South Wales with Protectionist Victoria, both colonies having populations of one million one hundred thousand.

	Victoria.	EXPORTS.	New South Wales.
1887.	£11,351,000		£18,521,000
1888.	13,853,000		20,920,000
1889.	12,734,000		23,294,000
1890.	13,266,000		22,045,000

Looking nearer home we find Canada as a specimen of the baneful effects of protective tariffs. Her population has not increased more than six hundred thousand in ten years, her total foreign trade—\$230,000,000 in 1883—had decreased to \$217,000,000 last year, her net debt has advanced from \$155,000,000 in 1881 to \$237,000,000 in 1891, with nothing to show for it beyond a trans-continental railway, the necessity for which must certainly be regarded as problematical.

Protection in the United States, as elsewhere, has frequently injured the very persons it was intended to assist—the manufacturers. It has made them rely upon the false support of an

artificial law, instead of upon their own brains and ingenuity, the exclusion of competition having to a very large extent deadened industry and skill.

We are all consumers, and in some sense we are all producers. Regarded as consumers, it is not denied that Protection injures us, but it is not so generally recognized that we suffer equally as producers from the effects of a high tariff policy. The Protectionist party alleges that the benefit derived by the manufacturers and the persons they employ amply compensates for the mischief done to the consumer. This is only another way of saying that weak industries are kept alive by the exclusion of foreign competition, and that the people produce whatever is produced both badly and scantily, instead of what can be produced abundantly and well.

But this is not all. If one manufacture is to be protected, to be logical all must be. Keep out foreign paper, and foreign books must be kept out—the real object of Protection is not the raising of the revenue, but the exclusion of the goods—keep out foreign iron and all manufactures of iron must be excluded, and thus the Protectionists have arrived at a state of things when everybody is injured except the particular producer who has such natural advantages that he has no foreign rival. To him Protection brings no benefit, while he is the victim of all other protected industries. Were he left to enjoy his natural advantages, he would do more for himself and his country than anybody else. The high tariff policy has made everything dear to all consumers; and all producers are restricted in production. If any gain by this process, it is the few at the expense of the many. The aggregate gain must be small compared with the loss, the worst feature being that the producers are prevented from making the most of their labor and skill.

Protection and plunder are indeed brothers who march hand in hand; to abolish the one means to destroy the other, and I verily believe that the day is not far distant when the people of the Great Republic will rise as one man to inaugurate great reforms in the fiscal policy of their country.

LAWRENCE IRWELL.

THE COLLEGE MAN IN POLITICS.

BY F. B. DEBERVILL.

ONE of the chief values of a college education is that it enables its possessor to discriminate between the real and the ideal ; between the visionary and the practical.

The history of the world has time and time again demonstrated to us that the men who could formulate a theory were not the men whose practical leadership it was always safe to follow.

Some men endowed with the highest order of intellect have been sponsors for social and economic schemes, which when the attempt was made to carry them out resulted in most lamentable failures, so it is altogether probable that a professor in political economy, however scholarly, however earnest in his search for truth, may be led so far in the pursuit of his pet ideas that he loses sight entirely of the multitude of circumstances and conditions which enter in to modify and prevent the successful application of his theory.

The duty of the college man is to study carefully the theoretical side as he finds it in the text-book and at the same time to look out on the broad world and see what human experience has shown the practical to be.

Now in regard to the tariff question, upon which the two great parties in this country are at present divided, considering the whole world as one nation it is undoubtedly true that the sum total of the world's production would be greater if there were no restrictions for retarding exchange ; if every nation confined itself to the production of only those articles which it could produce with the least application of capital and labor ; but the day has not and never will come when nation will deal with nation on this ideal ethereal principle. The day will never come when international commercial competition will cease to be one of the

most fiercely acting powers which moves civilization. For this condition being as it is and the probabilities being so strong that it will always continue the same, would it not be the height of folly for any nation to give up all its advantages to its competitors, close its eyes to its surrounding, and follow out this chimerical delusion?

Suppose the United States should follow out to its logical conclusion this Free Trade idea of producing only that for which it is best fitted. In that case by reason of its broad and fertile fields it would devote all of its energy to agriculture; instead of the myriad spindles raising their busy hum in our numberless large towns and cities we should hear only the click of the hay-maker's scythe and the lowing of the homeward-bound herd.

No doubt it would be an inestimable boon for England to have us confine ourselves strictly to agriculture, thereby not only allowing her to purchase her food supplies at a lower figure but also giving her full control of the best market christendom ever looked upon. Are we, as American citizens, proud of our heritage and anxious for our future, willing to sacrifice our own interest to Great Britain for the sake of proving our devotion to a Utopian theory?

Even economic professors are obliged to admit that there can be such a thing as a wide difference between national and cosmic wealth. This being the case, are we willing to allow the great advantages which nature has placed in our hands to fall into the lap of greedy foreign powers? No person will deny that it is better for a nation to have a diversity of industries. Thorough trial has proved that there is no means known to man so effective in producing this result as the imposition of a protective tariff.

Look at the condition of the country at the various stages of its existence, when it has been governed by the Free Trade party, and compare the number of industries started and increased in those periods with those begun and increased under the various Protective eras. We shall invariably find that the balance is overwhelming in favor of the Protective epoch. It stands to reason that nothing can so stimulate and diversify home industries as the exclusion of foreign products.

No one can deny that since the Morrill tariff went into effect this country has been blessed with a marvelous material growth. A gigantic war debt has been nearly liquidated; multitudinous industries have sprung up on every hand; the laborer has received good pay, and general contentment and prosperity have prevailed throughout the nation.

Our friends who look at this from the other side, tell us we would have had the same thing without any tariff, but how do they know it? They certainly cannot prove it by citing examples; for every instance of revenue tariff in this country has proved a deplorable failure.

Is he a wise man who, leaving a business where a competence is assured, dives into untried fields of speculation, the results of which no man can foresee?

It has been said and reiterated that the tariff was a tax; that not only the price of an imported article was increased by the exact amount of duty imposed but that the prices of all domestic commodities of the same kind are likewise increased.

Now to refute that unwarranted statement column after column of statistics can be adduced showing that in this country the same dutiable articles are selling to-day at precisely the same price they are sold for in foreign countries. The American consumer, therefore, gets his goods at as low a figure, if not lower, than he would if there was no duty on such articles. The American manufacturer finds a wide and ready market for his product, thereby enabling him to increase the amount of labor employed. At the same time a small amount of nearly all of these articles is imported, but not enough to have any appreciable effect on the home manufacturer by computation. They are imported because foreigners, rather than not sell their goods at all, consent to sacrifice as much of their profit as the amount of the duty, thereby paying a part of our taxes for the privilege of entering our markets.

Another powerful argument, and one that would alone, if not supplemented by so many others, warrant the continuation of the Protective system, is that it is the great bulwark for maintaining national independence.

There is no nation but what is liable to become engaged in war. There never has been a nation nor a century which has not seen the full measure of it, and we have no reason other than the hopes of a few arbitration dreamers that we shall not have our share of it in the future. We came very near having a war with Italy last year and were threatened with one this year with Chile. It would be an infinite source of pride and security to all patriotic citizens if we could have a powerful navy to sustain us in our present Behring Sea controversy.

We maintain, comparatively, no standing army; we have a navy only in name, and in what condition would we be to act on either the offensive or defensive if we were dependent upon Europe for all or even a great part of our supplies? As it is to-day our defensive economic policy has developed our industries to such an extent and in such a variety that we can paddle our own canoe irrespective of the friendship or animosity of the whole world.

Where formerly every rail that could be laid in railroad construction came from England, to-day we lead the world in the production of steel rails; where formerly every yard of cloth, and every utensil in common use, came from across the water, to-day our own manufacturers and skilled artisans produce them at home.

Our fertile prairies not only amply feed us but furnish us with a large surplus for export. Our export trade within the last year was the largest that this country ever enjoyed, representing over \$1,000,000,000 worth of goods. We have yet to find the Free Trader who can instance an article the price of which has been increased one iota since the provisions of the McKinley tariff went into effect.

Inasmuch as the Republican party stands irrevocably pledged to this beneficent system of protecting home industries, which has been tried and never found wanting in the crucial test of experience, the young men of the country and especially the young college men are strongly attached to it, and are eager to stand in the front rank of that conquering army which holds aloft as its banner Protection to American industries; which

looks back upon a history of a quarter of a century of successful administration and progress ; which points with its beckoning wand to the future where the victories of its past shall be renewed ; where its age shall carry to full consummation the grand principles which in youth it conceived ; namely, *Protection, honest money* and an *honest ballot*.

F. B. DEBERVILL.

THE GREAT ISSUE.

BY EX-GOVERNOR JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

IF THERE is one thing above all others which is hard to overcome in a battle for moral reform it is ignorance and prejudice. I speak from personal experience, for I have had them both, and no one better than myself understands how to sympathize cordially with a brother who is broken out all over with the same disease. This ignorance and prejudice is no new thing. It is as old as humanity itself. We have always had it with us, and it is more than likely that it will always remain with us. It was ignorance and prejudice that stoned Stephen, that imprisoned Paul, that burned the martyrs at the stake, that released Barabbas and crucified Christ. Nothing more and nothing less than the ignorance and prejudice of the people.

It was ignorance and prejudice which, only a little over a quarter of a century ago, here in our own beloved land, placed a family upon the auction block and sold them as we would sell hogs and cattle to-day, to whoever would make the highest bid and pay the cash. The mother was sent to the cotton fields of Mississippi, the daughter as a housemaid to New Orleans, and the father to the rice fields of South Carolina. These people had committed no crime against God or man. Their only offense was that they were black.

I am going to lay down a platform upon which I shall build my argument. I think that there is no Democrat, Republican, People's Party man, Prohibitionist or Mugwump, who will claim that I am unfair when I say that, in view of the fact that the Democratic and Republican parties have had control of this nation for at least a generation past, meantime having had the power to make and unmake constitutions and laws—in other words, to do whatsoever they pleased—it is but fair now to say

that these two old parties are entitled to the credit for all that is good in civil government to-day. I do not think that any Democrat or Republican can object to that. Surely they cannot say it is not liberal. On the other hand, giving them credit for all that is good, it is equally fair and just to charge these two old parties with all that is bad in civil government to-day.

THE LIQUOR QUESTION.

I propose to discuss what I deem to be the greatest political question that has ever been before the world for settlement at the ballot box, and that is the movement for the suppression of the manufacture, importation, and sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes.

I say it is the greatest question, because it wastes more of the people's earnings, because it destroys more homes, more immortal souls, than any other one evil; because it does more to corrupt our politics, destroy the manhood upon which the life of the nation depends; because it makes moral cowards out of otherwise good men; because to-day it is a public highway robber, respecting no law either of God or man. Its hand is against everybody and everything that will not bow to its behest.

In 1863, when, under Democratic and Republican rule, our government went into partnership with the liquor traffic, the amount of intoxicating liquors consumed equaled but two gallons and fifty-nine one-hundredths *per capita* of the population. From that time until 1891, under the fostering care of these two old parties, the consumption continued to grow until it equals fifteen gallons and fifty-seven one-hundredths for each man, woman, and child in the United States. The question I propound is this, how long will it take our people to get rid of this home- and soul-destroying evil at this rate? In 1888 our Republican brethren placed in their platform the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality.

The Democratic party never placed a plank of that kind in its platform. There is one thing that may be said of it, the

Democratic party never pretended to be a temperance party. It never pretended to be a party of moral ideas, or any other ideas for that matter, except to get the offices; but our Republican brethren have posed before the people as a party of moral ideas. Now I want to follow that resolution with another. I find it in the following Associated Press dispatch :

ST. JOSEPH, MO., March 19, 1892.

The St. Joseph saloon keepers to-day founded an organization, the aim and object of which is declared to be for the "promotion of temperance and morality."

Is it not strange how these two organizations, the Republican party of the nation, and the St. Joseph saloon keepers, so cordially blend their sympathies, aims, and objects?

On this platform of cordial sympathy was elected Benjamin Harrison, an elder in the Presbyterian church, of whom it is said, he engages in family prayers; and thank the Lord for that. In response to an invitation of ex-President Cleveland, he became a guest at the White House for two or three days prior to the day of his inauguration. When the procession started from the White House conveying our Christian president to the capitol building where he delivered his inaugural address, there were found in that procession one thousand saloon keepers. How many slave drivers marched in the inaugural procession that followed Abraham Lincoln to the capitol building? Not one. Why? Because they were not in sympathy with Mr. Lincoln and his party. May God hasten the day when the moral sentiment of this country will be strong enough to place in the White House a man so pronounced against the liquor traffic, that not a single distiller, brewer, saloon keeper, or Kansas jointist, will be found marching in his inaugural procession. At the close of the first year of this cordial sympathy administration, we found in this nation 171,369 retail liquor houses. At the close of the second year, being 1890, the number had grown to 196,710. At the close of the third year under this "cordial sympathy" influence, the number had continued to grow until it reached 240,797. In other words we find that we have the worst rum-ruled administration that has ever cursed this nation. We find to-day in the

face of this platform of "cordial sympathy," which "catnip tea" captured hundreds of thousands of church deacons, that the liquor traffic has grown more rapidly than during any other three years of the nation's history.

Our government is in partnership with this business. It runs every distillery just as much as it runs the post office. Its officer carries the distillery key. He unlocks the building in the morning and locks it up at night. The owner cannot lawfully take a dram of his own poison without first paying tribute to Uncle Sam. There is not a "jointist" to-day in Kansas who does not hold the permit of the general government to carry on his business. The government says: "I hold out to you my hands; give me twenty-five dollars, and put the shackles on me and I will remain shackled, and you can go on in this infernal business of destroying homes and manhood, and at the end of a year you must pay again." Every silver dollar to-day has on it, "In God we trust." Just imagine the picture of a Kansas "jointist" going to a government official and by counting out twenty-five dollars getting permission to carry on this business. Uncle Sam takes in these dollars with "In God we trust" on them and they call it statesmanship, and all who oppose it "fanatics and cranks."

It was refusing to take such papers as Horace Greeley's *Tribune* that kept the people in ignorance for generations of the slavery question, not because they wanted to be bad but because they gave themselves no chance to do better. Fifty years ago not one family in fifty in this country took an Abolition paper. There is not one Democratic or Republican family in twenty-five in the state of Kansas to-day that takes an out and out Prohibition paper.

By reason of this ignorance and prejudice slavery was perpetuated for hundreds of years, and yet, when we got our eyes open and crushed slavery, the government at once went into partnership with a tenfold worse evil than ever slavery was. That is the liquor traffic. Slavery fed its victim, it clothed him, it furnished him a shelter, it did not destroy his hope in immortality; for the poor slave, with his back scarred and bleeding,

could lie down in the swamps and jungles of the South and die and his soul go to the God who gave it. The fact that he was black, the fact that he was in bonds, did not stand as a stumbling-block between him and his God. - But the government liquor traffic to-day, perpetuated under Democratic and Republican rule, robs us of clothing, robs us of shelter, robs us of bread, robs the nation of its manhood, the mother of her boy, and, worse than all, it robs its victim of all hope in immortality, for the Bible tells us that "No drunkard can inherit the kingdom of God," and yet we find preachers, we find church people, posing before the world as followers of Christ who by their ballots are perpetuating parties under whose rule this damnable evil exists and flourishes to-day.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE—AID TO BREWERS.

A pamphlet has recently been gotten out by the Department of State in relation to "Malt and Beer in Spanish America." We should naturally think that such a pamphlet emanated from the brewers. But let us see what it says:

"Report of the consuls of the United States in answer to a circular letter from the Department of State, in relation to malt and beer in Spanish America. Published at the public printing office, Washington, D. C."

(Preachers, teachers, bummers, saloon keepers, tramps, and thugs all chip in to foot the bills for this document.) "All requests for these reports should be addressed to the secretary of state." Let me quote the circular letter that preceded this disgraceful document:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 15, 1889. }

To the Consular Officers of the United States in Mexico, Central and South America, and the West Indies:

GENTLEMEN: Some of the leading malsters and brewers in the United States have requested the department to procure information relative to the malt and beer trade in your respective districts.

The information desired covers such points as the following:

1. The imports of malt, and whence imported; duties charged thereon, cost of same per bushel, whether imported or locally prepared, etc.
2. The imports of beer, and whence imported; in bottles or wood, and duties charged thereon; kinds of beer most suitable for local con-

sumption; details concerning prices, wholesale and retail, of foreign and domestic beer, etc.

3. How imported malt and beer are placed on the market, etc.

The motive of this circular being the enlargement of American trade, you will not confine yourselves to the above interrogations, which are to a large degree suggestive only, but will give as much information as possible concerning every phase of the malt and beer business, so that the malsters and brewers of the United States may fully understand the requirements necessary to successful trade in each district.

All foreign weights, measures, and money should be stated in American equivalents.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM F. WHARTON,
Assistant Secretary.

Warren P. Sutton, one of these consuls, says: "If the duties were reduced one half we could easily send in a million dollars' worth of our beer." He becomes a Democrat and demands a reduction of duties on beer, and adds: "Even as it is we are gaining slowly but steadily."

And yet we call this a Christian government. It never was a Christian government. It was not a Christian government when we sold the black family into slavery. It has never been a Christian government since, and it never will be a Christian government so long as the flag of our country floats its protecting folds over a single legalized grog shop. For a generation past the Christian people have appealed to Congress to give us a commission to investigate the destructive influences of the liquor traffic upon the welfare, peace, and prosperity of the homes of this nation, and Congress has always refused this request. Now, when a few of the brewers appeal to the Department of State, consuls are at once set to work as drummers to promote the beer business. For generations we have sent missionaries down into that semi-civilized country to preach the gospel of Christ to the people and we are just waking up to a realization that the government under which we live is promoting a business to destroy the very souls that our missionaries are trying to save. It is the most disgraceful and damnable record that the government has ever made.

CHURCH MEMBERS' COMPLICITY.

But many say, "Thank the Lord, I am not responsible. I be-

long to the church ; I'm a *Christian* and never voted for the liquor traffic in my life." Let us see whether they did or not. In a Republican form of government law is simply the crystallized will of the voters. We don't go to Topeka to find the government of the state, nor to Washington to find the government of the United States. We only find the agents of the government at these points. Our government is divided into about twelve million parts. Each part is represented by a voter and each voter is answerable to God, his home, and his country for the use he makes of his ballot. To legalize the saloons we commence at the polls with a whisky ballot. And it makes no difference whether it is cast by a preacher, teacher, layman, or thug ; if it is in favor of a whisky candidate, or rum-ruled party, it is a whisky ballot. Now this whisky ballot being cast for a whisky party gives us the whisky law and the whisky law gives us the whisky saloon. Behind the pulpit stands a man with a white necktie, voting for a saloon party. The man with the white necktie represents the church. He has just come from the family altar. His wife and children joined him in repeating the Lord's prayer. "Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven," with 240,797 Democratic and Republican liquor bars in the land ! Four tickets are given to this man, a Democratic, Republican, Prohibition, and People's Party ticket. He at once casts the People's Party ticket aside, declaring that it is made up of a lot of "sore-headed cranks, demagogues, and rattle-brained fools." He looks seriously at the Prohibition ticket, says it is right and he would like to vote it but he don't want to "throw his vote away." Just like Peter, who, nearly two thousand years ago, at the election in Jerusalem between Barabbas, the robber, and Christ, the Savior of men, knew that Christ was all right, but when he saw the crowd all flocking to Barabbas denied the Savior lest he might offend the majority who stood by Barabbas ; so he next takes a Democratic ticket, which has a rooster at its head, and then a Republican ticket which is ornamented with an eagle. The placing of an eagle on one ticket and a rooster on the other is done to enable old party men

to distinguish a Democratic from a Republican ticket. Any person possessed of sufficient sense to tell a rooster from an eagle is thus enabled to know which of the two old parties he votes for. At last he selects an old party ticket. Just then steps up to the polls the man wearing the white apron; he is from the saloon. He did not ask that the kingdom be established on Earth as in Heaven, for he knew that if such a prayer was answered his saloon would have to go. This much may be said in his favor, he has not acted the hypocrite. He promptly throws the People's Party ticket aside with the remark that "we already have two whisky parties and have no use for a third." He has no use for a Prohibition ticket and therefore selects the same kind of ticket chosen by the man with the white necktie. They are placed in the ballot box, and when the sworn judges come to count them they are utterly unable to distinguish the ticket cast by the man from the saloon from that cast by the minister. That kind of voting is doing more to destroy the power of the church than could be accomplished by a thousand Ingersolls.

WASTE OF MONEY AND MANHOOD.

Over the counters of these 240,796 Democratic and Republican liquor houses was expended in 1891 the sum of one billion, five hundred and seven millions of dollars. All wasted over the liquor counters in a single year. What a legacy to leave to an enlightened and civilized people! And yet in the face of this outrageous system, these two old parties ask a Christian man for his ballot. This expenditure over the liquor counters would more than pay off the national debt in a single year. It is equal to the assessed valuation of all the taxable wealth of five states like Kansas. It would build 1,507,000 comfortable homes for the many homeless families. What would that mean? More axes for our men to go out in the timber and cut down the trees, more cross-cut saws, more men to handle them, and saw these trees up into saw logs, more oxen, more log wagons, more log chains, more ox drivers to haul these logs to the mill, and more saw mills, and more men to run them, more teamsters to haul this lumber after it is cut up for building purposes, more railways to carry it into the different sections of the country, more

carpenters and more brick and stone masons, more lath makers, more shingle makers, more painters, more paper hangers. This one evil blotted out, and the money passed over its counters turned into legitimate channels, would set the hammer and saw going in every town and hamlet in this land, thus doing more than any other one thing to settle the labor question. To-day we find two men hunting one job; that is what makes wages low. Blot out the liquor traffic, and there will be two jobs hunting for one man, and that is what makes wages high.

NO ISSUE BETWEEN THE OLD PARTIES.

There is absolutely to-day no issue between the old parties, except a scramble for the offices. Ask a Democrat, "How do you feel about prohibition in Kansas?" and he will reply, "I am for resubmission." "And how do you feel, Mr. Republican?" "O, we are against resubmission red hot; we are for constitutional convention." The Democrats submit only part, and the Republicans want to submit all. Ask a Democrat, "How do you stand on the whisky question?" and he will reply, "We are for a well-regulated, judicious license system"; and ask a Republican, and he will say, "We are for a license system, well regulated and judicious." You ask a Republican how Democrats stand on the tariff, and he will reply, "They are for Free Trade." "And how do you stand, Mr. Republican?" "O, we are for reciprocity." You see Democratic Free Trade means a fair exchange of commodities between the United States and Canada, while Republican reciprocity means a fair exchange of commodities between Canada and the United States. Ask a Democrat, "How do you stand on the tariff?" and he will reply, "We are for tariff reform"; and how do you stand, Mr. Republican? and the answer comes, "We are for reform of the tariff."

For thirty years, whenever these two old parties said anything about the tariff, they have claimed to be some kind of tariff reformers. It is amusing to see an old Democrat traveling over the state and talking about "war tariff," when if he would go to the records he would find that the Republican war tariff from 1861 to 1865 averaged but 34 per cent, while the Democratic

Mills bill, twenty-five years after the war was over, was 42 per cent, or 8 per cent higher than the Republican war tariff. The Mills bill was 42 per cent, and the Republican law of '83 was 47 per cent. Only five cents between them. Imagine the statesmanship that makes a national issue over five cents on the tariff, and calls prohibition a "side issue." I am not speaking of the tariff to bind any political organization, I simply draw my own conclusions upon the matter. I belong to no political party. I train with the Prohibition party because it shapes its platform of principles in accordance with my conscience. Never, God helping me, will I wear the collar of any political organization. Party slavery has been the curse of this country.

TARIFF SYSTEM WRONG IN PRINCIPLE.

I take the position that the whole tariff system is wrong in principle. It levies its burdens on what we consume, instead of upon what we possess, thus making the day laborer contribute as much to support the government as we impose upon a millionaire. Any system that does that is robbery. They say it protects labor, including the farmer; but tariff never protected any farmer or laboring man in the land.

In Indiana, a year or two ago, I was discussing this question. I said the tariff never protected any man's muscle, and at the close of my address a young man came up to me and said, "You are right; twenty 'Hoosier' boys were discharged from the railway service this afternoon." I said, "What were you doing?" "We were section hands." "How much did you get a day?" "Ninety cents." "And why were you discharged?" "To make room for some black Italians who worked cheaper." Where did the Protection come in for these boys? To-morrow morning a blacksmith goes into his shop and takes up the hoof of a ten-dollar pony that has a thirty-dollar tariff on it, under the McKinley bill. So you see it is "protected." He picks up a horseshoe, that is protected, picks up a hammer, and that is protected, picks up a horseshoe nail, and that is protected. He proceeds with the protected hammer to drive the protected nail through that protected shoe, into that protected pony's hoof, and everything in that transaction is protected but the blacksmith's

muscle. We have Free Trade in that all over the land. And why? Because we can bring in shiploads of blacksmith's muscle without paying any tariff.

A farmer has five boys. One is nine; another is twelve; and another fifteen, and a fourth eighteen, and a fifth twenty-one years of age. He wants them to carry 500 pounds. If he is a kind and just father, he will divide the load according to their physical ability to bear it. He will put 165 pounds on the broad shoulders of the man of twenty-one, and 135 on the shoulders of the eighteen-year old boy, and 100 pounds on the fifteen-year old, and 75 pounds on the twelve-year-old boy, and 25 pounds on the nine-year old, and the boys thus loaded walk down the street, each one carrying no more than his physical ability allows him to bear. Does the tariff do that? No. The tariff puts a hundred pounds on each of them, and the great strong fellows waltz down street, and grow and prosper, while the little ones, borne down under their tremendous burdens, remain runts all their lives.

I believe in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man and the right of every citizen, black or white, rich or poor, who has earned an honest dollar, to spend it anywhere on the face of God's green earth it will bring the greatest return without being compelled to pay tribute to a favored few for the privilege. How would I support the government? I will tell you. I would support it by levying the burden upon the wealth instead of upon the poverty of the people.

The battle-scarred veteran, Comrade Ingalls, in his speech delivered in the United States Senate on the 14th day of January, 1891, said that under our present system of government thirty thousand men have been enabled to absorb more than one half of the wealth of all the people of this great nation, while a million American citizens, able and willing to toil, are homeless tramps begging for bread, and innocent women are forced to prostitution or suicide to prevent beggary. And he tells us that there is no natural cause for this appalling condition. I do not wonder at it. I have a list of 792 articles of common use upon which the McKinley bill increased the tariff. Among them I find

clothing, blankets, queen's ware, hardware, glass, and tinware, while agates, uncut diamonds, emeralds, fashion plates, garnets, ivory, medals, stuffed birds, and all precious stones are on the free list! Why tax the necessities of the poor and let the luxuries of the rich come in free? Why not support the government by taxing the wealth, the luxuries instead of the necessities of the people? Do away with this system of legalized robbery. Give the poor man a chance to get a little home for himself and family. Hold the big fellows down and lift the little fellows up and thus equalize the opportunities to get along in the world, and the "Calamity Howler" will be heard no more in the land.

JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

THE NON-PROTECTIONIST IDEA.

BY W. T. GALBRAITH, M. D.

I HAVE read several articles from the pen of Hon. David A. Wells, on economic subjects; and although differing from him on many points, I have always recognized a great deal of force and merit in his writings; but in reading the article on the "Protectionist," in the *American Journal of Politics*, of September, I fail to find either logic or plausibility, and I am surprised at the entire absence of anything to confirm my previous good opinion of his ability as an economic writer. I therefore feel justified in using the terms illogical, short-sighted, and absurd. But terms do not settle the question, and we will therefore consider some of the propositions he sets forth. He says that of course the farmer must sell his surplus. Out of the 10,000 bushels of corn he can use only 1,000, and 9,000 bushels must be sold in order to buy what he needs of other things, and "he must be stupid indeed who does not at once see that the greater the facilities afforded to him for exchange, such as good roads, bridges, horses and wagons, cheap and swift railroads and steamships, low tolls, freights, and taxes, the greater will be the opportunity for exchange and trade to advantage."

Here are mentioned nine different means of facilitating trade, and we might add a tenth, and indeed "queer" Protectionists do claim that one more, at least, is necessary. Mr. Wells would call this a restriction, but we insist that it is a facility as well. Every one of the nine items mentioned represents a tax in some shape. The farmer is taxed for roads, taxed for bridges, taxed for horses and wagons, taxed for tolls and freights, railroads and ships. In other words he is taxed for all his facilities.

Now is it not strange that so much taxation should be a benefit? Is it possible that a Free Trader will admit that taxa-

tion and restriction lead to prosperity in business! Then we have this logical conclusion: Taxes are sometimes a benefit and facilitate exchange; and are not necessarily a "burden." With Free Traders this last word is almost inseparable from the word "taxes," and in the same connection we usually see "infamous," "iniquitous," and "robbery." These are the pet words we hear on all sides, and methinks might apply just as well to some of the items mentioned as to a very important item not mentioned in the nine. Of course we do not think they apply to either.

Suppose the farmer claims that the nine facilities are not enough, and he needs one more to help him out with his surplus of 9,000 bushels of corn; and suppose he says he wants a law passed to tax him so that he may have this extra help, Mr. Wells would tell him he has all he needs, and the extra tax would be a "burden," that it would be a "shot-gun" robbery of himself and others. But he will reply that the tax will be a help just as other taxes have helped him, and he is always ready to spend money in order that he may have greater returns.

This it is said interferes with the natural law of supply and demand. Just so, all taxes or tariffs interfere with this law, and we always have taxes; we never have trade or exchange without a law of supply and demand which is more or less artificial. It is never natural. Legislation makes the demand stronger and the supply greater. This is sound political economy for our own people, whatever it may be for the rest of the world.

Legislation has given us most of our facilities for trade, and it can give us still another; and yet Mr. Wells says, "There never has been a case in all human experience, when the removal of restrictions—natural and legislative—on trade, did not result in the extension of trade." Taxes for roads, bridges, etc., are restrictions; should they be opposed?

But it is said that some taxes are necessary, but they are not absolutely necessary. The native North American Indians did not tax themselves; the native African does not do so; he needs no roads and bridges, no railroads or ships; why should he tax himself to build them? We consider these things a necessity,

but they are only luxuries or facilities for acquiring luxuries.

Mr. Wells begs the whole question by assuming that all restrictions are hurtful, and give no corresponding benefit; but if one "restriction" to trade may at the same time be a facility, as I have shown, so may another, and unless he shows that the tariff has no benefits equal to, or greater than the restrictions that it imposes, his "shot-gun" is a failure.

In a social community it is of the greatest importance that we see the future as well as the present, and we must see the necessity of present expenditure for future benefits. This idea is acted upon by most individuals in business, but the good of the general public must generally be improved by legislation, the principle being the same in both cases.

But Mr. Wells is anxious about the farmer's surplus, and he wants to get it into England. Why England? Is it not a fact that we have a better market here for his 9,000 bushels? In fact 9,000 out of every 10,000 bushels are needed here, so that he has a very small surplus to sell abroad, and is it not possible that we might by legislative restriction, furnish a market for all of it here? It may cost something to do it; but everything costs, and is not a home market worth anything to us? It makes no difference whether the expense consists in a tax for a railroad or a restrictive tariff, if the future income compensates for the expense. The claim of the Protectionist is that the tariff restriction will result in benefits more than equal to the "burdens" it imposes, and hence that "taxes" may be a blessing rather than a curse.

All that Mr. Wells has said applies as well to a tariff for revenue as to a protective tariff. The tariff for revenue is only a benefit in so far as it furnishes the means of a good government; but a protective tariff does all this and fosters our own industries besides. It is a "road" to success and a bridge to prosperity. Our "gun behind the bush" has become a very friendly gun and shoots the game that supplies our table. Home industries and home competition, made possible by the protective tariff, reduce prices of products that we must have, and we are now paid back for all we have expended. That this is the result we

have numberless examples as proof and every one who is at all well informed as to the progress of our industries and the prices on products must know that this is true. Every time we transfer an industry to this country we have benefited ourselves in several ways. The products are made here; the money we pay for them stays here; the men who make them buy their necessities as well as their luxuries here. They eat the farmer's corn and he does not need a ship; he may not even need a railroad. The farmer has much less competition at home than he has abroad and therefore the home market is the best.

Mr. Wells says that the government does not need the revenue obtained by tariff on protected articles. This is strange. We must get it in this way or some other. The revenue tariff is a tax, and a tax only; the protective tariff gives us revenue and more besides. That which gives us the most is that which we should choose.

A protective tariff may raise prices temporarily but the fall in prices is sure to follow in most cases if not in all; that is, we are willing to pay more for products for a short period in order that we may buy them cheaper for all time to come, and in order that we may buy them in a home market rather than a foreign market. The legislation necessary to effect this is true political economy. The Free Traders say, "Let supply and demand regulate this; legislation is restriction, burdens the people with taxes, gives license to rob us." "These taxes," they say, "do not help us; we prosper in spite of them." Just as well say that the citizens of a city prosper in spite of sanitary laws, or laws which tax them for good streets or laws which compel them to build fire-proof houses, waterworks, etc. Why do citizens tax themselves for bounties and land as an inducement to manufacturers to locate with them? Do they expect no returns? Are they not justified in this course by future results? Have they not a better market for their merchandise, and is not their property enhanced in value? Here are taxes and restrictions, here is the gun in the bush again. I have never yet heard a Free Trader object to them in this shape. Mr. Wells says, "Revenue is not the object sought for" in the Protection laws, and yet he knows that a

large part of our revenue is collected by such laws. We protect and encourage our home industries and collect revenue at the same time. We restrict the foreign industry and encourage our own. We use the "shot gun" to bring our market home, and while it costs something to build a "market house" we are willing to pay the cost in order to get the home market. Going into a new business always costs money, may cost more than we can make for years, but we do not hesitate on that account; our "robber gun" becomes a useful hunting gun, establishes new industries, gives work to the laboring man at home, gives a market to the merchant and the farmer.

Edward Atkinson, a Free Trader, tells us that wages were never, in this or any country, relatively higher and the necessities of life were never relatively lower than they are in this country to-day; that is, we can buy more with a day's labor than we ever could in any country. But he and other Free Traders will tell us that this prosperity is due to improved machinery.

Now the improvement in machinery is dependent on industries in which machinery can be used. The industry must exist before improvement takes place. Inventors do not invent and improve and wait for the industry to come. If we as Americans have any superior inventive power, if we can add anything to the world's wealth by invention and improvement, we must first have the opportunity, and nothing is clearer to the unprejudiced mind than that the protective tariff furnished this opportunity. We can now see that not only the industry but the improved machinery itself is dependent on the protective tariff. Industries are schools and talents are cultivated in them. Without these schools in our own country we depend on the rest of the world for what they may give us, good, bad, or indifferent; with them our own native genius has a chance for development, and certainly is inferior to none in the world. We cannot afford to lose the benefits of the talents of the people of this great country for lack of schools in which to cultivate them.

Free Traders are very much opposed to the Protection of the tin plate industry, and say we cannot make tin plate. *We are mak-*

ing it, and will soon make nearly all, if not all we use, and will make it for export besides. When we do this Free Traders will say Protection did not do it. Although a large number of factories are in operation and being built as a clear result of the McKinley bill, and although in a short time tin plate will be as low or lower than before the tariff, they cannot see economy in paying a little more for tin plate for two years and then getting it cheaper for ten years. They cannot see economy in spending ten dollars in order to get back one hundred if there is a protective tariff behind it. Tariff is a tax, a tax is a burden, and this is all there is of it, and is all they can make out of it.

But I am reminded here that as soon as we make all our tin plate we will have a great calamity upon us. We will shut off competition abroad and a powerful tin trust will be formed as a result of Protection. In other words, prosperity and the ability to produce all we need of tin plate or any other product, is disastrous and calamitous, according to Mr. Wells, and we should do nothing to make a trust possible. If prosperity leads to trusts let us not be prosperous, anything to avoid trusts. Of course Mr. Wells would prefer that Wales should make all our tin plate, that we should not compete with her. He has no fear of a trust over there. English capitalists do not like trusts, or if they do the difference between a trust abroad and a trust at home is so great that the benefits of a home industry would be no compensation for it. Nothing can overcome the fear of trusts in the minds of Free Traders when fighting Protection, but still they like them when they are in business for themselves.

The absurdity of this is so self-evident that we need no better answer to all Mr. Wells has said about trusts, which amounts to this: Prosperous home industries engender trusts, therefore, let us not be prosperous at home.

To use Mr. Wells' expression: Non-Protectionists are a "queer set." He says:

"In short to carry out logically and to the fullest extent, Mr. McKinley's views about industry, you would have every man trying to produce all he can, and sell as little as possible."

Now there is certainly no such logic in Mr. McKinley's views.

His plan is to produce all we can, increase our *best* market in order that we may sell all we can produce. This is business ; this is prosperity. Mr. Wells' views would be these : In order to avoid taxes and trusts buy your tin plate, or anything else you need, abroad ; manufacture as little as possible, sell nothing but corn abroad and buy abroad all you can in order to induce them to buy your corn. This was the logic of England with reference to the American colonies a century ago ; this is the logic of all Free Traders, and is the logic of every man who opposes the McKinley bill, even of those who deny that they are Free Traders, for the Democrats, who say they are not Free Traders, use the very same arguments used by confessed Free Traders. The arguments which fit Free Trade cannot possibly fit moderate Protection. The theories are directly opposite. The theories of moderate Protection and of high Protection are the same, and the only question is one of expediency as to the degree of Protection. When the Protectionist says that we must protect, no one but the Free Trader can say that we must not. The moderate Protectionist can only say, " Yes, we must, but how much ? " Then we have a discussion of expediency with reference to what should be protected and to what amount. Yet these two classes of Democrats use the same arguments and seem unable to see their absurd contradictions.

Democratic Free Traders are or seem to be very anxious about our foreign market and try to convince us that if we do not buy of Great Britain we cannot sell to her. This is a bugbear of the silliest kind. Great Britain to-day buys of us more than twice as much as we buy of her, and the difference is growing greater every year, so that it is evident that our selling to Great Britain is not dependent on our buying of her.

Governments do not trade, they only legislate. We legislate against Great Britain because it is to our interest to do so. She does not legislate against us because it would be against her best interests. She wants Free Trade and needs it ; we do not want it because we do not need it. A of Liverpool wants our corn or wheat, but he does not stipulate that we must buy manufactured products of his friend B in Manchester. A buys of us because

he gets what he wants, and he does not care whether B sells to us or to Australia. B sells to Australia and does not care whether A buys of Australia or America. According to the logic of Mr. Wells this condition of affairs would stop our selling and the protective tariff would be the cause. Our markets would be glutted with produce which we could not sell to England because we do not buy of England. But facts are stronger than theories and a condition confronts us. This disposes of all theoretical difficulty about the farmer's surplus. He can sell all there is a demand for, and Protection cannot make the demand less, but it will make it greater at home where the market is always sure and best.

The imagination of the Calamitists must surely be unduly active. Logic, theories, and absolute fact are all against them. Not only these are against them, but they are against one another and against themselves. A Free Trader cannot be a moderate Protectionist; and a moderate Protectionist cannot be a Free Trader. They are absolutely contradictory in theory, and yet we see the same helpless Democrat clinging to both "planks."

Now to sum up the discussion. We find these "queer" facts:

"Restrictions" are not always restrictions, but helps.

"Taxes" are not "burdens," but blessings.

"Taxes" facilitate trade and exchange.

"Taxes" establish home industries.

"Taxes" establish home competition.

"Taxes" establish home markets.

"Taxes" furnish occupations for thousands.

"Taxes" do not prevent our selling abroad.

"Taxes" may raise prices for a *short* time, but

"Taxes" will lower prices for *all* time to come.

"Taxes" for Protection furnish revenue needed.

Finally we are willing that Free Traders shall call a tariff for Protection a tax, if they will explain at the same time how taxes are a blessing in disguise, or let us do it for them. We are willing to accept the logic of the McKinley bill, but we are not willing to take the logic of Mr. Wells unless he greatly improves by a study of facts and conditions.

W. T. GALBRAITH.

PRACTICAL LABOR REFORM.

BY G. W. WEIPPIERT.

HERE, there, and everywhere philanthropists, professional and otherwise, are discussing the "deplorable condition" of our laboring classes, without, however, suggesting a plan which, if conscientiously carried out, would have a tendency to lessen existing evils. Capital, or in other words, the employing class, is blamed for all of the hardships endured by wage-workers. "Increase the wages of the toiling masses," say these superficial students of social affairs, and "happiness and prosperity will be the rule and not the exception"; forgetting that the law of supply and demand will regulate the labor market at least as long as there are more workers than positions.

Utopian reform schemes have a tendency to hide the truth from the persons most interested in the rational discussion of labor problems, and their advancement by irresponsible philosophers—unfortunately the English language has no synonym for the German "Weltverbesserer"—has contributed more than anything else to the establishment of a trades union tyranny entirely foreign to the spirit of American institutions.

The happiness of a man, no one will deny, does not depend so much on the amount of his income, as it does on the wisdom of his expenditures. A working-man who earns \$9 a week and saves \$2 a month is infinitely happier and a much better citizen than a skilled mechanic who earns \$20 a week and owes his grocer and butcher \$10 at the end of the month. It is true, he may have had a larger variety of food on his table, he may have dressed his wife and children better, he may have satisfied his appetite for liquor and tobacco to a fuller extent than the other man; but the deficit which he will have to meet sooner or later will make his life miserable.

The inevitable result is a spirit of dissatisfaction, which is carefully nursed by agitators who, too indolent to work themselves, grow fat at the expense of these dissatisfied men. Unjust strikes are precipitated whenever these professional leaders see fit to create a disturbance in the business world; and in a short time their dupes become abject slaves and automatons, bending their knees at the beck of designing dictators and spending their wages without a thought of the morrow.

The party press of the country, instead of pointing out the errors of their ways, fills its columns with unsubstantial articles in praise of labor societies; and fulsome flattery, which grows most nauseating just before elections, is dealt out in quantities that should convince those most interested of its insincerity.

"Nothing is too good for me," is an expression frequently heard in workshops; "and I propose to have a good time while I can." These are the sentiments of the man who spends every cent of his income and runs in debt. He enjoys life in his own peculiar way as long as he has good health. He patronizes the saloon and the variety theater and is loud in his denunciation of all movements looking toward the regulation of the liquor traffic. He never thinks of sickness or hard times. His ambition starves. He does not desire to excel in his work, as the union or trades assembly to which he belongs has decreed that he shall not receive more pay than the most incompetent member of his craft. He is, in short, a being without a will of his own, bound to an organization which uses him at its will.

Another class of working-men detrimental to the best interests of the labor cause is represented by super-wise individuals imbued with the idea that they are entitled to the same remuneration accorded to the educated and well-trained brain-worker and active business man. These fellows are ever on the alert to breed dissension among their fellow-workmen, and in their obtrusive way do more to strengthen class feeling than the most narrow-minded plutocrat ever accomplished.

What the American working-man needs more than anything else is common-sense instruction in the art of saving. Professional agitators, chronic gamblers, and thoughtless spendthrifts

have but little influence over men of steady habits. Possession of real estate or ready money—no matter how small the amount may be—is the mainstay of conservatism, and as soon as a laboring man has accumulated his first hundred dollars, the agitator loses his grip on him and the true cause of labor has found another adherent.

The man who is determined to lay by a certain percentage of his earnings can do so without denying himself any of the necessities of life. As his determination to save grows stronger, his liquor and tobacco bills grow smaller. Every married artisan, even though his income be but \$15 a week, can, without sacrificing the comfort of his family, save \$2.50 out of his weekly earnings. Two dollars and fifty cents a week invested in a legitimate building and loan association will entitle the investor to a principal of \$2,000 at the expiration of a period ranging from eight to nine years. In other words, the systematic saving of about 16 per cent of his earnings enables the ordinary American laborer to own a cozy cottage in a few years.

Of course, a man determined to provide for his family by investing his surplus, cannot afford to participate in groundless strikes. His interests—being of a more substantial nature than those of agitators—demand close application to work, and he strives to make his trades union what it really should be—a purely benevolent organization, which protects its members from competition with incapable workmen, and stands by them in the hour of sickness and adversity, exercising its powers as arbiter of labor troubles only at critical times, when organized capital attempts to usurp unjust prerogatives by arbitrary and heinous methods.

The conservative labor element owes its strength to the prudence of its members. It does not precipitate strikes, but submits its demands and grievances to arbitration. Backed by the capital honestly acquired by its members, it becomes a power in the business and social affairs of the country, beside which ephemeral labor organizations with anarchistic and socialistic tendencies present a sorry sight.

The power of capital controlled by corporations is great, but

the power of the capital invested by working-men in homes is infinitely greater. The former develops the material resources of the country, the latter fortifies the social and moral institutions of the land against the attacks of reckless adventurers and foreign plotters.

Economy, then, is the only safe road to wealth and genuine happiness, and the sooner this truth is realized by all American working-men, the sooner will the war which has for many years been waged between capital and labor be brought to a satisfactory end. Judicious saving of surplus earnings, reasonable ideas concerning the proper mode of living, and temperance in appetite and language are the cardinal principles upon which labor's anti-poverty society must be founded.

"But," some will ask, "does capital owe nothing to labor save the payment of a small weekly stipend, and do you expect wage-workers to be satisfied with whatever greedy employers may be willing to allow them?" By no means. Labor organizations composed of sober, industrious toilers, and directed by thoughtful men, will have public sympathy on their side whenever corporations or other "soulless" employers should attempt to enforce an unjust reduction of wages or objectionable regulations, and the public would see the laboring class protected in its rights.

The time will soon arrive when capital, by the force of circumstances and by self-interest, will be compelled to share some of its profits with labor. Scores of profit-sharing plans and reward-of-merit schemes have within the past two years been given a trial by progressive employers, and from day to day new propositions calculated to unite capital and labor are advanced. But—and let all shiftless working-men note it—the beneficiaries of these systems are the sober, faithful employees, and those most injured by their adoption are the grumbling, improvident workers, who, in most instances, are discharged before these reciprocal reforms are inaugurated.

The object of the writer has not been to give a detailed account of co-operative schemes, but to point out some of the errors committed by a class of toilers who, although having ample opportunities to become better informed, waste their chances in life by

thoughtless expenditures, and who, instead of exercising prudence and accumulating a competency, curse the social limitations fixed by their own recklessness.

The plan for reform here submitted is not Utopian. Its practicability can be tested by every working-man, and if some of those in need of advice should accept it in good faith, they will cheerfully pardon the writer for having said some things which at first glance may have seemed unkind.

G. W. WEIPPIERT.

ODDS AND ENDS.

OUR INTERNATIONAL POLICY.

THE impression seems to prevail among us that the United States like the king, can do no wrong, and whenever any controversy arises between us and another country the majority of our statesmen, politicians, and newspapers decide the case in advance; and assume without the trouble of a thorough, much less of an impartial investigation of the case, that we are entirely right and the other side wholly wrong. The idea is held forth that the United States is a pacific kind of government "that suffereth long and is kind," and the charge of "jingoism" that has been made against our foreign policy at times finds no responsive chord in the public heart, but is hooted at as being prompted by partisan motives or a lack of proper national spirit.

One would scarcely dare to characterize the United States as the Russia of the western continent. Such an utterance would be as strong a case of treason as that assumed against the boy who was recently strung up by the thumbs thirty minutes for proposing three cheers for the crazy fanatic who attempted to assassinate a Pittsburg capitalist; and yet, if a prize were offered to the nation of this continent that can justly lay claim to the tyrant's place, the prize by common consent would be awarded to the United States.

The readiness with which a large majority of our statesmen in the national legislature last winter talked of declaring war upon poor little Chile unless she, like the trembling urchin in presence of the stern master with cowhide in hand, would say she was sorry for having done "it," whatever "it" might be construed to mean, clearly indicates that we as a nation do not act as reasonably and justly as might be expected of an enlightened people whose representatives are supposed to be illumined by the torch of civilization and guided by the principles of the

Christian religion. It is well sometimes to be told of our faults, especially by our good friends, lest we become "wise in our own conceit." It seems peculiarly timely at the present that some one who can speak plainly and understandingly, and we might almost say with authority, should point out some of our mistakes in dealing with international matters. We commend to the careful attention of every reader of the JOURNAL the article in this number on "Our Foreign Relations," by Prof. Woolsey, of Yale University, and published in the "Yale Review" for July. It will open the eyes of those who read it to the difference between an impartial, careful, and scholarly view of the cases in point and the situation as described by papers that are animated by what is popularly taken as a spirit of patriotism but which if patriotism at all is of a very cheap and undesirable quality.

TECHNICAL TRAINING.

Graduates of several technical schools have found employment at the Carnegie mills at Homestead since the strike; and Superintendent Potter says that these young men have surprised him by the facility with which they have learned to manipulate novel machinery, their theoretical training making them apt scholars. He thinks a little practice will render them as proficient in handling machinery and apparatus as most of the high salaried men who were at work when the strike occurred.

The *Railway Review* declares that this upsets a pet theory of Mr. Carnegie who contended, in a controversy two years ago, that a college education is a detriment rather than an aid to young men who engage in manual labor.

Mr. Potter's report is certainly a good argument in favor of technical training, but we fail to see that it argues much in favor of the ordinary college course so far as the trades are concerned. The students who entered the Homestead mills were from the Columbia School of Mines, Troy Polytechnic School, Stevens' Institute, and Boston Institute of Technology, none of which call themselves colleges and none of which are colleges in the ordinary sense of the word. If a dozen graduates of those colleges

where the time is spent largely on Latin, Greek, and metaphysics had gone into the mills and shown great aptness for the work, it would argue in favor of a classical education for the trades, but the probabilities are that the greater part of such a contingent would have found its place in the "awkward squad."

In technical schools the hand, eye, and mind are all trained—no stuffing the memory with Greek verbs and particles—mechanical principles are studied and mechanical drawings made; but a young man, after completing the four years' college course, condemned by Mr. Carnegie, would not know the difference between a friction clutch and a jackscrew.

Technical schools and manual training schools do undoubtedly help to fit young men to enter occupations that require a skillful hand and a trained eye. We need more of them and more manual training in connection with our public schools. If half the classical schools and colleges of the country were changed into such institutions as those that sent the young men to Homestead mills the country would be much better off in respect to its educational advantages.

THE PRIZE RING.

An event that tends to sustain the theory that man has descended from the monkey and, in fact, that he is still descending in some respects was the recent pugilistic combat at New Orleans. Everything else was eclipsed by this national event. Even the dread cholera was obliged to take abbreviated notices in the daily papers; and the candidates for the highest office on earth were obliged to pass one day and leave the nation ignorant as to whether they drank tea or coffee for breakfast, in order that the whole first page might be devoted to a description of the brutal contest between two sluggers whose only qualities worthy of mention are brute strength and more than ordinary endurance.

Let any intelligent man compare the short notices given to those noble men, who will live immortal among the names of the world's great—our good poet Whittier and our noble editor and statesman Curtis—with the columns devoted to the New Orleans

sluggers, and his cheek must tingle with shame both for the depraved public taste and the willingness of the press to pander to it and stimulate it.

It is not surprising that men are willing to engage as principals in this demoralizing business; for men in all times have been willing to undertake anything, no matter how dangerous or degrading, how painful or loathsome, where money and applause are the reward. It does seem remarkable, however, that there are in every large city thousands of men more or less intelligent who are willing to pay from ten to twenty-five dollars to witness so brutal a spectacle, and thus encourage and lend their sanction to the demoralizing practice.

The Olympic Club, under whose auspices the fight took place, is said to have had \$70,000 after paying the enormous expenses. We are told that everything passed off orderly and pleasantly, and there seems to have been but one thing lacking to make the occasion one of great moral influence and benefit. It was perhaps an oversight that the proceedings were not opened with prayer. No doubt for the sake of the notoriety it would have given him some minister of the gospel could have been found, willing to invoke the divine blessing. He could have defended his course by alleging that the fools were determined to fight anyway, and that being the case it might as well be done decently and in order,—something after the style of the minister of this city who recently proposed opening saloons to lessen the evils of drinking.

For all this interest and ferment over a fight, and for the demoralizing effects it is universally admitted to have, the press must shoulder a large share of the responsibility. When the papers of the country devote column after column and page upon page to the description of an event in all its details, it is but natural for the public to infer that such event must be one of importance and one on which the people should be informed. The public doesn't stop to consider that the motive of the publisher is a sordid one, and that he is simply taking advantage of the public foolishness to make money by printing what nobody ought to read, but what nearly everybody will read when an

opportunity is offered. Publishers should not "lead us into temptation."

Many of the newspapers as if "to add insult to injury" ridicule and condemn their legitimate offspring; and not a few that contained pages of "prize-ring" literature, acting on the principle that the hair of the dog will cure his bite, editorially condemned the spirit and practice of pugilism in terms more or less vigorous. One of the Pittsburg dailies that did its full share in describing the "beautiful fighting," a few days later had this sarcastic reference to the subject: "When Corbett reached Boston the people of that cultured city upset a cab in order to get at him with congratulations. Harvard College has not yet read him an address of welcome."

Those who fall over one another in their haste to see a champion pugilist may be fools, but those who regard them as such and still do all they can to stimulate their foolishness come suspiciously near the class called knaves.

When the public taste becomes so improved that it does not crave such literature newspapers will not be slow to drop that and take something else; but nothing can so quickly elevate the public taste as the newspapers themselves, and unfortunately they are not likely to make much effort in the direction of improvement so long as more money is to be made out of a depraved public taste than a high-toned one. For the credit of the newspaper and for the credit of the public intelligence it is to be hoped that the time will soon come when a champion slugger is not considered worthy of public mention, much less worthy of more notoriety than the chief magistrate of the nation.

THOUGHTS ON THE STRIKE.

No event of recent occurrence has aroused a more genuine public interest than the difficulty between employer and employee at Homestead, Pa. Press and pulpit, platform and office, shop and street corner, have all been enlisted in discussing the matter in its various aspects. Some of the discussions have been calm, able, and logical; many of them fiery, bitter, and

unreasonable. The case is important not so much for what it is in itself as for the infinitely larger field of labor interested in the result. The position taken by the respective sides may be briefly stated :

Those whose sympathies are with the employers declare that the law must be obeyed, and that it recognizes the right of the employer to run his business without any help at all or with whatever help he may see fit to employ and at whatever wages he may be able to secure it ; that working-men have a right to choose or refuse the wages offered ; that they may quit work whenever they see fit, but that they have no right to interfere with those who may desire to take the places that have been vacated.

On the other hand, those who take sides with the employees concede the supremacy of the law and admit that it should be respected, but they insist that morally the strikers are in the right, and that in some way the legal rights in the case should be made to conform to the moral basis. They maintain, that inasmuch as the government has placed a protective duty on the products of this mill at Homestead for the avowed purpose of enabling the manufacturers to pay good wages, such an arrangement changes the conditions involved ; and instead of being a case simply between employer on one hand and employees on the other, the government because of having aided the industry for a specific purpose must become a party to the controversy and see that its interest in the matter is not lost sight of. These, as we have been able to gather from the great volume that has been written and said on the subject, are the positions taken by the respective sides.

Since Congress has decided that the national government cannot interfere, the matter is left just where such disputes have always rested ; and working-men may as well make up their minds to the stern truth that under the existing order of things they can work for the wages offered or not, as they may elect, but there their authority ends, and they have no legal right beyond the power of persuasion to prevent other men from working at whatever price they may see fit to take. When they at-

tempt to go beyond the domain of reasonable persuasion and invoke the aid of physical force, the law, civil or military or both, steps in, and no matter what view any good citizen may take of the problem, he will agree that the law must be respected. It is true the employer may be harsh, avaricious, and domineering, but the law as yet grants a man the privilege of being a hog if he chooses to be one, and many avail themselves of the privilege.

It is evident that the permanent and general improvement in the condition of the wage-worker does not lie in the direction of compelling the employer by physical force to pay labor a higher price than he is willing to grant. It can come only from a better understanding, a more harmonious action among working-men, and a general recognition of the unwritten commandment, "Thou shalt not take thy neighbor's job." Under such a confederation of organized labor as it is possible to conceive, working-men could peaceably demand and readily receive all the profits of their labor in manufacturing industries above a reasonable sum to pay the employer for his time, capital, and risk. The employer should not expect to pay less, the employee should not ask for more.

As long as there is a great reservoir of unorganized labor, not controlled by the ethical principles recognized in the commandment above quoted, but willing to underbid those who are more profitably employed, we may expect wages to be lower than the manufacturers can really afford to pay.

Rome was not built in a day nor can the wage question be settled at once. It will be a question of evolution and development, but under the wise leadership of such men as Powderly, Gompers, and a host of others, the vexatious problem will gradually adjust itself fairly and permanently.

There is a great clamor for legislation on the subject but beyond a few slight helps it is difficult to see wherein statutory law, and especially any law that the most sanguine could expect to see passed, can accomplish the desired end. The selfishness of men, it is true, has led to all sorts of private, corporate, and professional protection, but it is hardly likely that such will be invoked for the wage-earner.

For example, lawyers seeing that their profession was in danger both in reputation and emoluments, by too much competition, took means for their protection. In order to appear in court to transact business a man must be admitted to the bar, no matter how well he may be qualified to discharge the duty intrusted to him. In order to be admitted to the bar he must first pass an examination in certain prescribed text-books, after a fixed time of study; and even before he enters on the study of these legal text-books he must have a knowledge of mathematics, Latin, history, etc., as may be prescribed. In this way our lawyers manage to protect themselves from the pauper attorneys of Europe and elsewhere.

Physicians have a protective measure in a registry law, and in many states, at least, before a man can legally practice medicine he must go to the county seat and register in a book for the purpose. He cannot register, however, unless he has a diploma from some medical college recognized by the law. In this manner physicians manage to protect the dignity and profits of their business from "scab" doctors who might crowd in and practice cheaper if not better.

The same is true of ministers, teachers, druggists, and others, and who can say that the application of this principle may not extend until all classes of workers have rules and regulations protecting their respective interests. The puddler cannot now say to another, "You shall not puddle in this mill," but perhaps he can have it so arranged that no man can engage in that business unless he has been a resident of the state for a certain number of years, is able to read and write, has a knowledge of mathematics and history, understands chemistry, especially with reference to the manufacture of iron, and has a knowledge of geography sufficient to locate Mozambique Channel and describe the Dead Sea. This may seem like unnecessary knowledge for a puddler or stoker, but questions intended to elicit such knowledge would not be any more ridiculous than are many of those asked at civil service, school, and college examinations, so far as their being pertinent is concerned.

Almost any one will admit that this would be a doubtful kind

of protection if universally applied, and what to do with the great host that would be shut out from all employment would be a more serious problem than the one that now confronts us as existing between capital and labor.

More general intelligence, more thorough organization, a more judicious economy as to expenditures, more discretion as to when to strike and when not to strike, on the part of working-men, will do more to elevate them socially and financially than all the legislation that is likely to be enacted for years to come.

CAMPAIGN EXCITEMENT.

Judging from indications up to date, the people of this republic do not intend to lose their senses so completely in the present campaign as they have usually done during a presidential contest. The boyish plan of arming with wooden guns, trailing the streets wearing caps and capes and carrying greasy, smoking torches and shouting like a band of Apaches seems likely to go into welcome obscurity along with many other ridiculous practices that have prevailed in political campaigns.

Excitement is harmful under almost any circumstances and should be discouraged, and especially at a time when men are called upon to select the chief executive officer and the highest legislative officers of the nation do they need to act from their best judgment, uninfluenced by hurrah or blind party enthusiasm.

The campaign orator or "stumper," as he is commonly called, promises to be with us for a few campaigns yet, but the time is coming when "his voice will no more be heard in the land."

Year after year it becomes more and more difficult to drum up a fair-sized audience to listen to the lawyer or politician who periodically takes advantage of political interest to get acquainted with the dear people, either asking their votes at the present time or expecting to do so a little later on. It is now only men of ability and reputation who can attract an audience or command a respectful hearing. Not many years ago, and perhaps it may still be the practice in some localities, great processions

made up of wagons, buggies, and horseback riders, carrying forests of hickory or pine, according to the bias of their lack of political opinions, would go through rain or shine fifteen, eighteen, and even twenty miles to a mass meeting. While these meetings were a good thing for the venders of cheese, crackers, and cider, in creating a higher conception of citizenship they were dead failures. The time is coming and is now at hand when intelligent men will study politics the year round, as they have the opportunity, and when they will mingle their studies with a little thought, instead of waiting until the fall campaign opens to be stuffed by those who are hired for the purpose. Partisan politics is the bane of the nation and when the excitement incident to political campaigns dies out men will begin to reason and we may expect conservative, independent political thought to take the place of that narrow partisan view which characterizes so large a portion of the American votes.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

New York. By Theodore Roosevelt. 12mo. 250 pp. London and New York : Longmans, Green & Company. Price, \$1.25.

This is the first volume of the "Historic Towns" series edited by Edward A. Freeman, D. C. L., and Rev. William Hunt.

The history of a great city is always interesting and especially so when portrayed in so fresh and vigorous a style as Mr. Roosevelt's. The book opens with an account of the discovery of the Hudson River in 1609 by Henry Hudson, who christened it in his own name. He traces the history of the city from its settlement in 1624, when the Dutch bought Manhattan Island for \$24, down through its entire history, the Tweed ring being about the last subject treated as a matter of history. He says comparatively little of the military and political events, dealing rather with the customs and condition of the people and the causes that have made New York in a growth of less than three centuries to be the third commercial city in the world.

Mr. Roosevelt admits that there are cities of the Old World with cleaner municipal governments than New York, but on the other hand he thinks the masses are worse off in those cities than in New York. There are three maps in the book, one illustrating the city as it was in 1664, another showing its dimensions in 1767, and the third a most excellent map of the New York of the present time.

Callias. By Rev. Alfred J. Church, A. M. 12mo. 350 pp. Meadville, Pa. : Flood & Vincent.

This book is a historical tale of the fall of Athens, in which the imaginary hero Callias, a young naval officer, takes a more or less prominent part. The reader is led to infer early in the story that Callias is ready at any moment to fall in love with Hermione, the daughter of Hippocles, but there is but little to satisfy the curious on this point. When the last page is reached "he had clasped her in his arms," and she muttered

something about being able to love an alien, but whether they were married and found marriage a success or failure the book saith not.

The author's principal object perhaps is to convey clear ideas of old Greek life. Among the interesting historic descriptions are the trial and death of Socrates and of the six generals for their failure to rescue the drowning crews at the battle of Arginusæ. The author's style is good and the typography of the book is of Flood & Vincent's best.

We must confess that we do not like books that are declared to be a combination of fact and fancy, and especially do we dislike fictitious delineation of history. It would spoil the effect of an author's style to be obliged to label his paragraphs, "This is fact," and the next, "This is fiction," throughout the entire book, but is this not really essential to the reader who may not be able to discriminate, and who desires to draw a line between the real and the unreal? It may be well enough to lay the groundwork of a novel on fact, if fact be more suitable than imagery, but we doubt whether any one's valuable knowledge of history can best be increased by reading historical romance. History at best is suspiciously intimate with fancy, and many fictions of one age become alleged historic facts of the next.

The Free Trade Struggle in England. By Gen. M. M. Trumbull. Svo. 288 pp. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Price, 75 cents; paper, 50 cents.

Having been born in England, and passing his first boyhood days there, the author of this book, next to the love he holds for the land of his adoption, for which he has fought in two wars, feels an interest in the land of his birth, and has kept careful watch of the questions that have been at issue in English politics. He is an intensely vigorous writer and invests every subject he touches with new interest.

We could not by any review do this book justice and hence simply advise all who are interested in the subject to send for the work itself. One sentence from the preface will show the author's style and indicate the sentiment of the book:

"Had the English arguments for Protection been preserved in Mr. Edison's phonograph, the unwinding of the machine would not have

more faithfully reproduced them than they have been reproduced by the American Protectionists in the debates in Congress—excepting this one, 'the foreigner pays the tax.' In all the debates in Parliament between 1841 and 1846, I cannot find it of record that any member was foolish enough to think that, or daring enough to say it."

Sixteenth Year Book, New York State Reformatory. Elmira: Reformatory Press.

This is a pamphlet of about 130 pp., and while the average man would perhaps throw it aside without reading enough to become interested, it would vastly increase the general intelligence and soften the public heart in relation to a most important subject if every intelligent man and woman would give this report a careful perusal. It describes by fine illustrations and good language the facilities for dealing with crime and the methods employed in training youthful violators of law in the Empire State.

It is safe to say that the New York Reformatory at Elmira stands at the head of all similar institutions, not only in the United States but in the world—an institution that is not only doing work that society left undone, but what is still harder is undoing vicious, idle habits, the forming of which society not only permits, but encourages and stimulates.

Following is an extract from the manager's report :

"During the past year more than ever before, letters of inquiry from all portions of our own country and from Europe and Asia have been received in respect to the methods of treatment pursued in the Reformatory and the results which have attended the return to society of men paroled and finally discharged from custodial care. Persons interested in penal affairs in the state of New York and in other and distant states are frequent visitors at the Reformatory, and are impressed by the comprehensive system which undertakes to furnish the young inmates education, self-control, health of body, and the possession of trades—all the essentials for reaching and maintaining useful and honorable manhood. The words of the sentence, 'hard labor in prison,' imply rigor and mercilessness which are begotten by crude ideas of justice which remain as a heritage from a former period of jurisprudence. Whatever would crush the convict's spirit, and make prison life harsh and oppressive and encourage no hope against the day of his release, was ingeniously devised and systematically followed, not for the benefit of the man but all for the good of the public. It has taken a long time to learn that man cannot be improved by such treatment, that a word of encouragement is better for a man in misfortune than a frown or a

blow, and that efforts to set him on his feet, when he is fallen, are more to be commended, even in a selfish estimate of business ways and interests than to make his falling permanent and degrading."

Some of the special methods made use of are shown by quoting from the report of General Superintendent Brockway :

"The indeterminate sentence, with its marking system and conditional release, is a great improvement upon a determinate-sentence peremptory release. The physical renovation of the most defective criminals by a systematic physical training in a well-appointed gymnasium, with its baths and massage, is a new departure for prisons, and is reasonably successful. The military organization and self-government of a large Reformatory prison for adults is also new and has proven a successful experiment. The complete classification of the inmates for trades or mechanical instruction, attaching diminished importance to the matter of possible earnings or income from the labor of prisoners, is probably a considerable advance upon any employment of prisoners in an ordinary state prison, and is believed to be, from the experience here, of fundamental importance in a reformatory system. The compulsory education in the school of letters, completely engaging the time and attention of the more advanced pupils, as well as the illiterates, is probably more thoroughly accomplished at the Reformatory than in other prisons anywhere."

More than thirty trades are taught in this institution and taught thoroughly, too, instead of in the haphazard manner in which a boy or young man is often obliged to "pick up" his trade under the direction of a "boss." For example, the course of study in book-binding is divided into twenty-three steps, and a certain number of hours are prescribed for each step. In horse-shoeing there are fourteen steps; in carpentry, twenty-five; in brick-laying, twenty-three, and in printing, thirty-five.

An Ounce of Prevention. By Augustus Jacobson. 12mo. Paper. 251 pp. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. Price 50 cents.

This is number three of the Library of Progress of which the issues are quarterly. About a hundred pages are devoted to an argument favoring the "succession tax." The work starts out, however, in a discussion of the labor question and declares that there is but one thing that can settle it, namely, the individual improvement and elevation of the man who has to work with his hands. To bring about this improvement, he would impose the "succession tax" and raise a sum sufficient to make the manual training school a part of the American public school system.

In order to keep the children at school he suggests the novel plan of paying the parents for their children's time, beginning at the age of twelve years and ceasing at twenty. He suggests that \$50 should be paid for the first year, increasing the amount \$25 per year each year until the end of the term.

To meet this enormous expense he would lay a "succession tax," something such as we had during the Civil War only heavier. He would impose a tax on every decedent's estate, beginning with $2\frac{1}{2}$ mills on all estates under \$25,000, and increasing according to the size of the estate until it would amount to ten per cent on a million, one per cent for every additional hundred thousand and 50 per cent of all estates of five millions or over.

He estimates that in Chicago this tax would amount to six millions annually, and in New York from twenty-five to fifty millions annually.

Colonel Jacobson thinks that it would be to the interest of this country to adopt some of the inheritance rules of the code of Napoleon under which many of the large French estates have been subdivided. It is the law of France that when a man has one child he can dispose of but half his estate, the other half belonging to his child; if he has two children he can dispose of but one third of his estate; in other words, the father is on an equality with each of his children. Under this plan many large estates that might otherwise be kept together are scattered at the death of the owner.

The thirty-two short chapters of this book are well worth a careful reading, and while the author may sometimes seem to trespass upon the visionary, his book contains a great deal of good hard sense, and forms a very strong argument in favor of the general introduction of manual training into our whole public school system.

Proceedings of the First Annual Conference on University Extension.
Compiled by George Francis Adams, M. A. 8vo. 292 pp.
Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

The seventeen addresses given at the conference together with the reports on the progress of the work from the different states and Canada are given in this book, and a careful reading will give one not familiar with university extension an idea of its

needs and purposes as expounded by those engaged in it.

Of the addresses that of Dr. William T. Harris, United States commissioner of education, entitled "Place of University Extension in American Education" gives perhaps the best view as to the aim of this new plan of educational work. Dr. Harris bears down somewhat heavily on the self-educated man who, he says, is necessarily one-sided and defective in his training and one who in German literature is called a Philistine, a term which Dr. Harris adopts as a suitable epithet. He says that the self-educated man is likely to be warped out of his orbit by some shallow critical idea which is not born of a comparison of each department of human learning with all departments. He names but one man as an illustration of such "Philistinism" and unfortunately for the strength of his case he chooses Herbert Spencer, a man whose education was far in advance of any training that can be expected from university extension, and one whose theories of education have been practically adopted by the best educators of Europe and America.

Dr. Harris has never before been suspected of being arrayed against the American high school, and yet his remarks may be so construed. He says, "I find myself obliged to admit that the present and past results of these schools may be summed up as the vast intellectual current of 'Philistinism.'" Well, if Philistinism be a bad thing, and of course it is, for it sounds bad, anything that promotes it is to be condemned, and if the high schools, as he says, may be summed up as such a production, how can we escape the conclusion that Dr. Harris is against the high school? He is greatly in love with the common schools and instead of believing that a little learning is a dangerous thing, he seems to think that a little learning is a good thing but a little more is dangerous.

Without begging the question it might be said that all men are self-educated if educated at all—that high schools, colleges, and universities are only helps and that is the very most that can be hoped from university extension. It will stimulate many to effort and aid them in their effort.

Bishop Vincent's address is devoted to a discussion of the relation that Chautauqua work sustains to university extension work. He regards the opposition that both plans of work have met on the part of certain university men as a good sign, for he

says that true scholars deprecate superficiality and are anxious lest some easy way be set forth as a substitute for culture, power, and honor, and he thinks it is well that they do look with suspicion upon anything that tends to lower the dignity and character of their work ; he believes the hesitancy with which they approve of the work of university extension and Chautauqua will be followed by hearty approval when university men come to understand the object of such work.

Many other able addresses are given in this book, some of which are devoted to a discussion of the practical work of university extension.

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DEALING IN "FUTURES" AND "OPTIONS."

BY HON. W. D. WASHBURN, U. S. SENATOR FROM MINNESOTA.

THE line between fictitious sales and sales of actual property should be clearly drawn. There has been a persistent effort on the part of those who are opposed to any legislation on this subject to convey the impression that the effect of any such legislation would be to cripple and interfere with legitimate trade. Most of the arguments in fact that have been made have been on the basis that sales of actual property even could not be made for future delivery, under a law prohibiting dealing in options. And in this way very many have been greatly misled and deceived, for no one would think, I imagine, for a moment of passing a law that would substantially interfere with the freedom of trade or commerce.

The merchant and the banker, and the business man to some extent, have been drawn into this controversy and placed thus in seeming opposition to legislative enactment against such dealing under such misrepresentations and consequent misunderstanding of its purposes and effect. The professional gamblers on the boards of trade have lost no opportunity to create confusion and false impressions, thinking that if they could bring to their aid the merchant, the banker, or the business man they would at least find themselves in good company, and thereby give their own vocation a respectable standing.

Dealing in options is nothing more than gambling, pure, simple, and absolutely cold-blooded. Its devotees do not contemplate the delivery or receiving of property, and I do not

suppose that there is an instance on record where any property passed, but it is simply a bet on what the value of that property may be at a given time in the future. I think that even those who are opposed to legislation against it do not claim that there is anything in "dealing in options" except gambling. For example, A sells a million bushels of wheat, if you please, to B, to be delivered next December. A does not own a bushel of wheat, never has had a bushel and does not expect to have, and B, who has made the purchase, never expects that A will deliver the wheat to him at the time specified in the contract, but on the expiration of the contract the two gentlemen make a settlement on the basis of the price that wheat may bear at the time specified. There is no ownership or property; there is no change of property; there is no legitimate transaction. It is simply a bet on the part of the two operators as to what the price of wheat will be at the time designated. So that this, as in the case of "options," simply becomes a wager as to the price of property at a given time in the future and finally resolves itself into a bet and nothing more. All assumed sales of property where there is no ownership, where operators on boards of trade assume to sell property, wheat, pork, or cotton on exchanges where there is no ownership, where no delivery of the property is expected to be made or is made should be placed under the ban of law. I cannot see how any merchant doing a legitimate business or banker is to be affected in the slightest degree by the passage of a law making such sales illegal. It would not touch commerce, excepting, perhaps, the bank which acts in many cases rather as a holder of stakes. These transactions, as we all know, are carried on exclusively on margins. These margins amount to enormous sums of money, and, of course, are deposited in different banks. I can see how banks with such deposits would be affected unfavorably, because deposits of this kind are very large.

These people talk about "fettering commerce." Let me ask how commerce can be fettered, obstructed, restricted, or in any way interfered with under the provisions of such a law? It would only suppress gambling and nothing more, and gambling

of the most vicious character that has ever existed, compared with which the Louisiana lottery is but a Sunday school. How can commerce, how can trade, how can any dealings of the merchant be affected by the fact that the gambler or operator cannot sell for future delivery millions of bushels of wheat and thousands of bales of cotton that do not exist? What is the commercial feature of such a transaction, and in what possible way can it affect trade, excepting by creating a condition of uncertainty and insecurity. The merchant, or the banker, or the business man should hail the day when all these transactions which are unsettling trade, interfering with legitimate commerce, are eliminated from the situation. This would not interfere with commerce. It would simply destroy the most vicious kind of gambling that has ever existed.

The system of "short selling" is comparatively a modern invention, inaugurated about twenty-five years ago in the city of Milwaukee, and carried on in a small way for some time without cutting any great figure in board of trade transactions, at least so far as controlling and making prices. But in more recent years it has grown to such proportions as to overshadow anything like the kind of transactions that were formerly conducted on boards of trade, and has reached a point where at least 90 per cent of all the business that is transacted on the boards of trade of the country is of this character, where the property is sold without ownership for future delivery, and without any intention of delivery on the part of either seller or purchaser.

From the best information I have been able to obtain at least 95 per cent of the sales on the Chicago Board of Trade are of this fictitious character, where no property is actually owned, no property sold or delivered, or expected to be delivered, but simply wagers or bets as to what that property may be worth at a designated time in the future. It has finally come to this, that the operators on boards of trade fix the prices of different articles without regard to the law of "supply and demand" or any natural conditions whatever. So that the business of the country has reached a crisis that is absolutely unbearable; so that the boards of trade, which are a necessity in conducting

the commerce of the country, have been subverted from the uses and purposes for which they were created and have been turned into gaming resorts where the great products of this country are made the basis and football of gambling transactions; so that wheat and cotton have become as much gambling tools as chips on the faro-bank table. The property of the wheat-grower and cotton-grower is treated as though it were a "stake" put on the gambling table at Monte Carlo. The producer of wheat is compelled to see the stacks in his barn dealt with like the peas of a thimble-rigger, or the cards of a three-card-monte man. Between the grain producer and the loaf eater there has stepped in a "parasite" saying at what price one shall sell and the other buy—a "parasite" between them, robbing them both.

I make the broad statement that the prices of many of the agricultural and food products of this country are made arbitrarily and artificially on the boards of trade, and most notably the board of trade in the city of Chicago, and that, too, without the slightest regard to the laws of "supply and demand" or any natural conditions whatever. I will say, further, that for the past three years, almost without exception this price has been made by the "short seller"—the "bear"—who has persistently and continually depressed the price. Why should he not be suppressed? What place is there or should there be for such an animal in this country? Great Britain, the largest importing country of our products in the world, passes laws to prevent combinations for raising of prices to its consumers. Why should not the United States, the greatest exporter of these products, with equal propriety, pass laws to suppress any system that depreciates prices?

The price of wheat has steadily declined from the highest point on the last crop to the present time, 34 cents a bushel. The price of cotton has declined about 30 per cent. That the decline of prices in these great products has not been brought about by natural causes is very evident. As a matter of fact the general conditions upon which prices are or should be made have not been changed in that direction. Substantially, we knew as well last October the amount of the wheat crop in this country

as we knew it in July. The estimated shortage in this crop in all the countries of the world, perhaps with the exception of India, is not substantially changed, and, as a matter of fact, there is nothing that can be suggested, so far as general conditions are concerned, that would have had the effect of depreciating the prices of these products. The aggregate product of wheat and rye in the world on the last crop was about 300,000,000 bushels less than an average of the world's production; yet prices have marched steadily downward in the face of this fact. There has been no material increase in the wheat area in recent years from the fact that the acreage area for the five years ended in 1884 was 188,695,000 acres, while the aggregate of the last five crops has been 189,105,000 acres. In other words, the last five crops have averaged only 82,000 acres greater than the first five named. The rates of freight from the farm to the seaboard have been reduced at least one half in the last fifteen years, and, as I think, in the last ten years. Yet this fact seems to have had no effect whatever in staying the downward trend of prices. This decline is to be accounted for, in my judgment, only in one way, and that by the manipulation and making of artificial prices on the produce exchanges of the country, and by the toleration of a system by which the "short seller" keeps constantly on the market a large amount of wheat that has no existence.

Formerly the price of wheat was made at Mark Lane, and the price of cotton in Liverpool. Now the market for wheat, not only for this country, but for the entire world, is made on the Chicago and New York boards of trade, and the price of cotton on the cotton exchanges of New York and New Orleans. Liverpool and London have no more to do with fixing prices than Podunk or Anacostia. Mark Lane is a great market, the board of trade of Chicago a colossal bucket shop, and in the matter of making prices Mark Lane is at a disadvantage, for it can deal only in actual products, while the Chicago institution can put on the markets hundreds of millions of what does not exist; so that Mark Lane becomes eliminated from the situation, so far as the fixing of prices is concerned.

The representatives of the boards of trade, appearing before the Committee of the Senate and House, last session when this subject was under consideration, without exception contended that the practice of "short selling" is beneficial alike to producers, consumers, and dealers because—

First. It makes a broader and more stable market for the products of the farm. Second. An increase in the number of buyers results and this increased competition creates an active market and brisk demand, thereby insuring a higher level of values. Third. While "short selling" does not depress prices the farmer is benefited by advances in prices which follow bull speculation. Fourth. Notwithstanding the offering of illimitable quantities by other than owners, prices are determined by the supply of actual products as related to the demand, and while admitting that prices may at times be affected by "short selling," such disturbances are trifling in amount and temporary in character, supply and demand always being the ultimate arbiter of values. Fifth. These methods render it much less hazardous for the merchant and banker to handle the products of the farm and enable them to do so on much smaller margins than would be necessary but for the insurance available through short selling. Sixth. Under this system fluctuations are much less frequent and their range less wide than formerly. Seventh. It encourages and induces speculation, thereby aiding in carrying and marketing the crops at low cost. Eighth. The "short seller" implies the "long buyer," and while the "short seller" may work to depress prices this is offset by the constant effort of the "long buyer" to advance them, and the forces being equal the law of supply and demand acts just as freely as it would in the absence of the "short seller."

The daily market reports, as published in the commercial press, demonstrate the fallacious character of each of these claims, and that they are unfounded has been forcibly illustrated by the May corner in corn, when one firm—Coster and Martin—with a capital of but little more than \$60,000 were, by reason of the oversold condition of the "shorts," enabled, by putting up small margins, to secure contracts from the short sellers for

much more of the contract grade of corn than was available for delivery, and thus determine or affect the price of all the corn of that grade in the country, and, sympathetically, of that of all the other grades reaching market during the month of May, causing the contract grade to advance, inside of thirty days, from 40 cents to \$1 per bushel, and then to drop, within one minute, to 50 cents, bringing loss to bankers and dealers who had dealt in or made advances upon an article subject to such artificial conditions.

That "short selling" is a menace to the solvency of all those who deal in articles which are subject to its blighting touch, is shown by the relief experienced upon all the exchanges when it was reported that the greatest of "short sellers," Mr. Partridge, had covered his "short lines." This phenomenal "short seller," who ventured to sell the entire visible supply without owning a bushel of wheat, is the logical and inevitable product of this vicious system, and is a constant menace to the fortunes of all the participants in this game of hazard, so destructive of the values of the products of the farm, and the stability of mercantile houses and banks endeavoring to transact a legitimate business in real products.

It is obvious that "short selling" and "long buying" of fictions cannot broaden the market for farm products, as it does not and cannot increase the number of consumers, nor hasten consumption, and the recent corners in corn, the Harper corner and the Hutchinson corner, each affords abundant proof that it furnishes a market the very reverse of stable, as regards demand or prices; on the contrary, it furnishes a market that is affected by every baseless rumor, as well as one where fluctuations are abnormally wide, rapid, and frequent, and such as were never dreamed of before.

That supply and demand do not determine prices, but that they result from manipulation, only made possible by "short selling," has been demonstrated numberless times, and was made clear by the recent corner in corn. There was no legitimate demand for corn at \$1 per bushel, but "short selling" had created artificial conditions which enabled the manipulators to fix such a price,

but when this artificial demand suddenly ceased, that instant the prices shrank one half, showing that great disturbances do arise from "short selling," and the collapse of the Harper wheat corner was an illustration of their far-reaching effects, as in that case wheat, which had for months been selling at an average of about 80 cents per bushel, rose rapidly to 95 cents, to fall instantly on the failure of the corner to 68 cents, and it was eight months before the price again reached 80 cents, and there is little doubt that the price received for the entire succeeding crop was materially less by reason of the manipulation of Harper; and aside from this destructive effect upon values, the other effects were neither trifling nor temporary, and but for the system of "short selling" the Fidelity Bank would not have been plundered, reputations ruined, great losses sustained by merchants, bankers, and artisans, and Harper would not now be "doing time" in the Ohio penitentiary.

The most plausible and catching argument advanced against the proposed legislation usually assumes this form:

The seller implies the buyer; that for every sale there must be a purchase, hence the contending forces are equal, and the result is that "short selling" is always offset by "long buying"; that the effect of the "short sale" upon prices is invariably neutralized by the "long purchase," hence the actual supply, as related to the actual demand, remains the ultimate factor in determining prices.

It may safely be admitted that the seller does imply the buyer but what kind of a buyer? It is not the buyer of actual commodities for consumption or distribution, but of mere "contracts" for delivery of something which the seller does not now or ever expect to possess and which the buyer does not expect or intend to receive and pay for; and the very approach of the nominal period of delivery throws him into a condition of anxiety that causes the "long" to throw overboard the thing ("contract") which he has purchased upon the slenderest of margins and which he could not pay for, nor would he know what to do with it if he could. The fact is that the "long" buyer of fictitious products is just as destructive of the value of

actual commodities as is the "short seller" and it is the "realizing sales" and "liquidations," so-called, of the "longs" which break the market quite as often as either the offers or sales of the "shorts." Liquidation, as we all know, means the determining (and settlement) of indebtedness, and in this case liquidation is resorted to in order to determine what is the remainder interest of the "long buyer" in the slender margin which he placed in the hands of the broker when the order was given to make the purchase of a "contract"; and liquidation is here settlement of fictitious purchases. The broker, caring only for his commission, takes good care to "liquidate" the transaction the moment there is the least probability of a loss if longer held. The "holdings" of the "longs" are entirely different from the holding of actual product by real investors who have the ability and disposition to pay for what they have contracted to receive. The "holdings" of the "longs" are a constant menace to values and it is the forced "liquidation" of the "longs," forced by the exhaustion of slender margins, that so often enables the "short" to "cover" his sales at a profit. In other words, the "long" and the "short" both deal in fictions, both are destroyers of values; neither performs any useful function. Such being the facts the advocates of "anti-option" legislation, may readily grant that the "short seller" does imply the "long buyer."

It was my good fortune to pass the larger part of the summer a year ago in Continental Europe, and being greatly interested in the question of the world's product of wheat and other cereals, I was a close observer of the situation and lost no opportunity to acquaint myself as fully as possible with the condition of things abroad. I reached St. Petersburg during the month of August, and just after the Imperial Government of Russia had issued its ukase against the exportation of rye from the Russian Empire, and it was then "an open secret" at the Russian capital that a similar ukase would soon be issued with reference to the exportation of wheat.

The disastrous effect of the drought, which had extended over such a vast area of Russia, was then but too well known, and the

subsequent famine could not have been a disappointment to anyone familiar with the Russian situation. All accounts which were current in St. Petersburg were corroborated in Moscow, where I took occasion to gather all the information I could from the United States consul in that city. Leaving Russia I visited Austria and Hungary, and there learned from all the information I could gather from millers, grain merchants, reports of exchanges, and such facts as I could gather from the United States consuls that the amount of wheat raised in both Austria and Hungary was about 30 per cent less than an average crop. I visited the great mills at Buda-Pesth, where I received special confirmation of the foregoing statements. One of the largest millers there, in conversation with me said :

This is the year for your country—this is the year for the United States. The wheat crop is so short in Austria and Hungary, and nearly all the countries that export wheat and flour, that you will have it your own way. The world must have your wheat, and will have to pay a good price for it. The exportation of flour from Austria and Hungary will be comparatively small, so that you will have, to a great extent, the markets of Great Britain and other importing countries.

In Germany I learned from similar sources that both the wheat and rye crop in that empire was far below the average, estimated at about 25 per cent. Returning to Paris, I was told that France would necessarily have to import as much wheat and rye as she produced, a most unusual condition of things for that country ; while the general summing up of the situation showed that for the entire world, with the exception of the United States and India, and the few countries producing small amounts, the production of wheat, rye, and other food products was far below the average. It was estimated then, and I think this estimate has since been substantially confirmed, that the aggregate shortage of wheat and rye in the world was about 300,000,000 bushels.

As I returned to the United States in September, I came home with high hopes and expectations, feeling that the day had at last come for the American producer of wheat. For the three years previous the American farmer had become greatly discouraged from both short crops and low prices. It now seemed

as if there was to be a change. We certainly had an enormous crop, and there was every possible indication that the price would be good. It seemed as if the era of prosperity, which can only come to this country through the products of the soil, had at last dawned upon us. There was not only a large crop of wheat, but of corn, rye, barley, cotton, and all the great export products. It seemed as though the wheels of commerce and trade were to be again set in motion at their old-time gait. I have not seen in several years such a spirit of expectation and hopefulness. But what do we find? The exportation of wheat had barely commenced before it became apparent that the "short seller" or the "market wrecker" was getting in his work. The price of wheat was broken, not in the foreign markets, but on the Chicago Board of Trade.

The foreign buyers, disappointed at the decline of price in this country, became paralyzed. Many of those who had bought on the basis of demand in the foreign markets were ruined; all became discouraged and disheartened; so that since that time there has been no foreign market, except such as has been made by artificial prices on the produce exchanges of this country. And so the work has gone bravely on and the decline has been continuous to the present moment.

Wheat has declined from 112 cents a bushel to less than 80 cents. Few realized last September that a large portion of the wheat crop of this country had been sold for future delivery before it was ever harvested, and that it would be the special business of the "short seller" for the subsequent few months, by the use of all the devices known to the expert operator, to depreciate prices. The hopes of the producer have been turned to ashes; the grain dealer, the miller, and the business man have been disappointed. The balance of trade in favor of this country, that every one looked forward to with so much assurance, has been much below the general estimate, probably from depreciation of prices in our agricultural and food exports, at least \$200,000,000. Gold is still leaving the country, and there is but little life or spirit in general business, while I think there is a general disappointment that, with the tariff of

1890, we do not see better times. This condition of things I charge largely to the fact that the "market wrecker" of this country has depreciated to so enormous an extent our grain products and exports.

I have spoken mainly thus far with reference to the effect of "short selling" on the wheat products of the country, because wheat is the great product of my section of the country, and I am therefore more familiar with this subject in connection with it. Next to wheat I think perhaps that cotton has been the most disastrously affected by this system of "short selling."

Last April, fourteen of the principal cotton dealers of Memphis, Tennessee, united in the following expression of opinion :

"Believing that the 'future' business as connected with cotton is seriously hurtful to the legitimate cotton trade, and, as conducted, tends to an unjust depreciation of values, besides fostering a spirit of wild speculation which greatly unsettles the regular trade, we strongly favor the early passage of such a law as will restrict future dealing within legitimate lines and check the illegitimate "gambling" deals, which, in New York alone, have reached such immense proportions as to exceed threefold the entire cotton crop, and which even assumes now to establish prices for next fall on the crop before it is planted."

The dealings in agricultural products, as well as those on the stock exchanges, or at least nine tenths of them, are notoriously gambling ventures, and so regarded by everybody, and so treated by the press, in market reports, in the conversation of individuals; and I regret to say that the public conscience has become so dulled that such transactions are shamelessly paraded as proofs of smartness and skill, and are as usually spoken of as gambling, and with the same exuberance of "slang," as betting on a horse race or a prize fight.

The Chicago Board of Trade received only 14,000,000 bushels of wheat in 1890, hardly enough for seed, and yet it fixed the price for from four to six hundred million bushels. If it made the price for only the wheat that reached its own market no great harm would be done. But when it reaches forth and makes the price on the one hundred and fifty millions of wheat raised in Minnesota and the two Dakotas, and has so depreciated the price that on the last crop alone the farmers of these three

states have not received for it by \$30,000,000 as much as they would had not this nefarious system of short selling been in existence, then the situation becomes unbearable.

The following table showing sales at New York will give some idea of the enormous extent to which this juggling with the necessities of life is carried on:

Date.	Sales of actual wheat.	Option sales of fictitious wheat.	Sales of actual cotton.	Option sales of fictitious cotton.
1890.	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bales.</i>	<i>Bales.</i>
April 8.....	63,000	18,400,000	.....	.....
April 9.....	54,000	2,000,000	.....	.....
April 12.....	1,800	10,080,000	.....	.....
April 14.....	6,000	44,000,000	.....	.....
September 3.....	8,000	8,000,000	369	86,600
September 4.....	32,000	6,400,000	.....	150,200
September 15.....	62,000	7,240,000	1,586	81,700
October 22.....	12,000	4,000,000	518	120,100
October 23.....	64,000	3,000,000	328	90,000
October 24.....	35,000	4,600,000	405	155,800
Total.....	337,800	107,720,000	3,206	685,000

There are at all times from twenty to forty millions of what is called the "visible supply of wheat," mostly for sale and on the market. Why not buy this wheat of some one who has it, owns it, instead of going to some speculator who assumes to sell it, and does so, in the hope that before the time of delivery arrives he may be able to beat down the price of wheat so that he may buy it at a less price than he has contracted to sell. He may do so, but who receives the benefit? Certainly not the purchaser, for his price is fixed; not the producer, for he has sold at a less price than paid by the purchaser. It is the parasite that has stepped between them and robbed both.

It is claimed by many that a law prohibiting dealing in options will seriously interfere with the actual handling of the actual products named. I cannot believe that such will be the case. There was no such difficulty in handling either the wheat or cotton crop before this system was in vogue, and when the crop to be handled was as large as now, in the ratio to population, and when the physical facilities for handling large tonnage did not compare with what they are at the present time. I cannot see what the practice of betting on the future

price of wheat that does not exist has to do with the moving to market of wheat that does exist and which the world is waiting to buy.

Nor should we overlook the fact that there are other agricultural products, some of them as large in value as any one named in the bill, that are still handled and marketed without the intervention of the gambling devices of the produce exchanges. Take the article of hay. The hay crop in 1889 was valued at \$400,000,000, as great in value as the wheat crop of that year. I have no official figures later than that year, but from all that I can learn, I believe the hay product has increased in a larger ratio than that of wheat for the past five years. Yet we hear of no difficulty in handling or marketing this great crop. The farmer raising it can sell it; the consumer can buy, so long as he has the money to pay for it, and the transaction is consummated without calling on the board of trade parasite to "sell short" on the produce exchange. And so it is with butter and cheese, beef, potatoes, and many other similar articles that are not gambled in on the produce exchanges.

The value of the hide and leather product of the country exceeds somewhat \$200,000,000 per annum. Yet I have never heard of the Boston leather dealer or Lynn shoemaker buying an "option" on the Boston Board of Trade.

I have no statistics showing the value of the iron and steel annual product of this country, but it goes without saying that it is enormous. Yet the prices for this product by the "short seller" are not made on any board of trade. And so to the end of the chapter. The prices on all such articles are made in obedience to and compliance with the law of "supply and demand," and so long as these laws are permitted to operate normally, without restraint or restriction, neither the seller nor the buyer can complain. And this claim of the operator that this system is a necessity to the handling of products falls to the ground and has as little merit as the other claim made that the practice of "short selling" has the effect of "steadyng" the market, both of which propositions may be dismissed as illogical, absurd, and devoid of ordinary common sense.

One of the arguments urged against this measure, and which is in the nature of a threat, is, that if this system of gambling is squelched by Congressional legislation, the operators will transfer their business to Canada. Many business men, especially from the city of New York, have found it both convenient and healthy in the past few years to transfer their "household gods" to Canada; yet the country has stood the shock of the exodus.

To-day a great bank closes its doors; the depositors outside are howling with rage and indignation; the earnings of a lifetime have been swept away; the business world is startled and paralyzed. What has caused all this? The response comes promptly. The president or cashier of the bank has been speculating in stocks, wheat, or cotton. He has used the money of the bank; he has lost his bets, and the bank is broken. Last week the cashier of another bank left suddenly for Canada. The next day an examination disclosed the fact that all the available resources of the bank had disappeared. The usual explanation quickly followed: "The cashier had been speculating in wheat." And so I might go on with instances almost *ad infinitum* similar to the foregoing. Embezzlements, defalcations, blasted reputations, and suicides follow each other in quick succession.

Several years ago, during a trip abroad, I visited the great gambling resort, Monte Carlo, the only legalized gambling house in the world, and from which the little principality, Monaco, derives revenue for the support of its government. As I entered the grand casino, rich in decoration and fascinating in surroundings, I saw the gaming tables, the faro table, the roulette table, surrounded by the old, middle-aged, and the young, piles of gold distributed all about. There at the table was the "Old Traveler," cool and collected but with mind intent on the game. There were women, old women, who apparently had exhausted the pleasures and excitements of the world and society, with faces hard, severe, and haggard, utterly absorbed in the game. There were young girls with the blush of maidenhood on their fair cheeks, with faces flushed and eyes distended, fiercely watching the game as the fateful card was turned. What a revolting

scene ; with what a feeling of disgust does the average American turn from it !

Yet we have all through this country similar resorts ; worse, for they are more far-reaching in their effects. We do not call them casinos, but bucket shops. The bucket shop does not have the green cloth, but the blackboard. The worn-out devotees of passion do not visit these resorts, it is true, but in their stead we see young men, middle-aged men, and old men watching the blackboard with the same intensity and passion as did the players at Monte Carlo. You see seated in front of this blackboard, with figures varying and fluctuating from hour to hour and minute to minute, as rapidly as the figures in the kaleidoscope, cashiers, bank tellers, bank clerks, and clerks of all kinds, business men, artisans, mechanics, and the ordinary laboring man, dissatisfied with the slow-going methods of acquiring fortunes, and eager to become suddenly rich, all determined to secure what they do not earn and does not belong to them. This is the bucket shop of America, and there is not a village in the entire northwestern part of the country in which this bucket shop has not found a place. There is growing up through the agricultural population of the country a feeling of unrest and discontent. They have in some way come to believe that they are not receiving all to which they are fairly entitled. Especially do they feel that under the prevailing system of gambling in their products they are mercilessly despoiled and cruelly robbed of the just results of their labor. There is a unanimity of sentiment on this subject, whether right or wrong, and a sentiment profound and intense that has rarely had a parallel. The farmers and planters now appeal to Congress for protection, not from the pauper labor of the Old World, which has been so often extended to the various industrial classes of the country, but protection from the ravages of the market wrecker and the robbery of the parasite.

There are in this country something like 25,000,000 people engaged in agricultural pursuits. Upon the prosperity of this class of our citizens depend the general prosperity of the country and the welfare of every other citizen. They live in

scattered communities, so that organization and concert of action is difficult and, to a great extent, impracticable. They must and should look largely for the protection of their interests, certainly so far as legislation is concerned, to those who represent them in the National Legislature. As against them we find compact organizations, composed of men, shrewd, sagacious, and unscrupulous, with immense wealth at their command, with trained lawyers and skilled statisticians ready to do their bidding. The contest in this respect is unequal, like veterans against volunteers.

Let us return to the old-time methods when the law of trade was "supply and demand." When the dealings on the exchanges were in property and not fictions. Let us remove from the commercial world all those elements that create discredit and distrust. Let us once more enthrone legitimate business. In the earlier times the "money changers" were "driven from the temples." Let us now drive the gamblers from our temples and reinstate therein the genius of legitimate trade and commerce.

W. D. WASHBURN.

"PROGRESS IN MORALS."

BY REV. JOHN R. SUTHERLAND, D. D.

AS TO the progress of the age in which we live in natural science and its application to the culture, the comfort, and the convenience of man there is no divided opinion. The facts are too patent and abundant to permit of a despondent view in regard to the world's advance along these lines. And there is just as little real ground for doubting our progress along other lines than that of natural and applied science. In philosophy and even theology the progress, although less marked, has not been less real, nor have the results been less beneficent. The phenomena in these directions are more carefully studied and better understood than they were in former times; and it would certainly be a very strange thing indeed if this clearer and better light did not have a corresponding influence upon the moral and spiritual life of the people.

It is doubtless true that progress in the knowledge and application of moral and religious truth is, on account of its complex character, not so easily seen and appreciated as in material things. Yet a careful and discriminating study of the facts in the case will make its reality apparent to any intelligent mind, not blinded by prejudice or whose judgment is not swayed by the "philosophy of despair" as to the condition and outcome of things. There are minds so constituted that to them the present is always dark and gloomy and the precursor of a darker and gloomier future. Now with this despairing view regarding the present and the future of the race and the world, which is so often proclaimed from pulpit and platform and heralded in books and periodicals and sometimes in the daily press, the writer has little patience and less sympathy. The facts do not in any measure justify it. In fact they cannot truthfully be

made to serve as a plausible apology for it. When we think of the progress along these very lines, even within the period of an average human life, surely it ought to fill us with thankfulness for the present and hope for the future.

We need to study history in its reality and not as it often appears in the tinted colors of the imagination. Such study would tend to correct many of our false impressions regarding the relative condition of the race in the past as compared with its condition to-day. Light has come into the world and is surely though slowly driving out the darkness whether men acknowledge it or not. The so-called "good old times" that we often hear about are considerable of an illusion—at least in many ways.

The public conscience, which is but the aggregate of the individual conscience, is far more tender now than it was a generation ago. Men high in public favor and public confidence did things then that to-day would bring them under the severest condemnation and into disgrace. I venture the assertion, and that without fear of successful contradiction, that at no time in the history of this country within the century has the moral standing of our public men averaged so high as it does to-day. I say this fully alive to the fact that we are still far from an ideal condition in this regard and with no intention of muffling in any degree the cry for still further advancement and reform along moral lines. But it serves no good purpose to paint existing moral conditions darker than they really are or to shut our eyes to the progress that has been made. We need, it seems to me, the inspiration and hope that come from a recognition of the actual victories that have been won and the advanced line that to-day marks our position on the world's great battlefield. Let us then briefly consider some of these evidences of moral progress as we find them in our own history and experience as a nation within say the century that is now drawing to a close.

The way in which we look on great national questions is a fair criterion of our moral character as a people. We may assume that there is such a thing as a public or national conscience, and the verdict this gives on the matters brought before it is an

index of the character of the people as a whole. *First*, then, take the matter of human slavery and what a mighty revolution has taken place in the conviction of our people with regard to it! Not only has it been abolished by law but the feeling, that, as an institution, it was a crime against humanity that the martyrs' blood could alone atone for, is all but universal. What public man north or south to-day would hazard his reputation for justice and moral sense, let alone public policy, by defending, nay even apologizing for, such an institution? I know of none; and yet how few public men could, even fifty years ago, be found to raise their voices against this monstrous crime against humanity. It will not do to say that it was limited to a section of our country. The people of the South were not alone responsible for it. It was recognized and legalized by the constitution and laws of the nation and it is but justice to say that some of its earliest and most uncompromising foes were men born on southern soil and reared amid its blighting influences. Well then we have here a very striking illustration of advance in public morals—an illustration proving most conclusively that in one important particular at least the former days were not better than these.

In the second place look at the relative position of polygamy in this country to-day and that of twenty-five or even fifteen years ago. Then the Mormon hierarchy defied public opinion and had skillful lobbyists in Washington looking after its interests. They were successful. Under the plea of "religious freedom," Mormonism was permitted to openly and defiantly traffic in one of the worst and most damning forms of vice. But in our day the end has come. In response to the urgent and persistent demand of the people at large, Congress adopted stringent measures to suppress this evil and the result we see in the present embarrassment of that vile institution, and its prospective overthrow.

Again, and in the third place, take the liquor traffic which for many years resisted and defied all efforts to regulate it. Now in most of our states the liquor men are demanding regulation and license as a concession to enlightened public opinion.

It is not within my province in this article to discuss methods of minimizing the evils of this traffic except to the extent of saying that wise policy would dictate such methods as would most truly harmonize with and give effect to the most widely prevailing sentiment of the people in regard to it. Though comparatively a young man I can well remember when in the county in which I was born and brought up there was only one pronounced total abstainer. In those so-called "good old times" the man who did not drink and did not supply intoxicating liquors to his friends was considered, to say the least, lacking in hospitality. Is it not a great gain to reach the point in social life when this is not necessary—yea is not to a very large extent done? The enlightened public opinion of our day grants at all events this reasonable liberty.

Then again, and in the fourth place, take the matter of gambling and, though prevalent to a shameful extent, still it is now carried on as a rule under cover and under protest of public sentiment and in most places in defiance of law. Formerly this was not the case. Then gambling in one of its worst forms was legalized by the state and indulged in by all classes of people and even used by the church itself as a means of raising revenue for the Lord's work. I refer to the lottery. Of course there always have been those who looked upon the lottery as immoral and as a serious injury to all honest industry and honesty. But for generations these were, as a friend of mine puts it, "but as a voice crying in the wilderness of general apathy or approval." It will surprise any one to-day to learn from authentic history how prevalent lotteries have been for a hundred years or more. Under the old continental authority they were treated as a legitimate enterprise. We read that in 1759 it was reported to the authorities of Great Britain from Pennsylvania,

"Lotteries have not been carried on in this province other than for necessary and charitable purposes, viz., the fortifications of the city—the defense of the province in the time of war—the finishing of the Episcopal church in this city, all of which were managed with great uprightness."

On November 1, 1776, Congress in Philadelphia authorized a

lottery to raise money for the prosecution of the war. Philadelphia built five churches by lottery schemes, and in 1833 when the system was abolished the "City of Brotherly Love" had 200 lottery offices. A writer of high repute estimates that the money involved in lottery schemes in that city at that time was at least seventy-five millions of dollars. It may not be generally remembered, but it is a fact nevertheless, that when Thomas Jefferson, through kindness to friends, was in danger of losing his loved home "Monticello," he applied to the legislature of Virginia for authority to dispose of some of his property by lottery. In our day it would not be necessary for a patriot like Jefferson to resort to such a scheme in order to relieve his financial embarrassment.

It is hard for us to understand how there could have been such blindness—such moral blindness as not to see in these practices serious evils and objections. Now the constitutions of nearly all states contain specific prohibitions of this evil. The voice of the church is universally and decidedly against all gambling—even the "grab bag" has had to go. Statesmen, even those among them who do not profess to be religious, are all agreed that gambling is an evil. Public sentiment, even outside the church, is back of all the laws—national, state, and municipal—that have been enacted to put a stop to it; and to me there is no stronger evidence of moral progress than this. The lottery made its last strong effort to perpetuate itself in Louisiana, but the effort proved fruitless. There its final death knell was sounded amid a shout of thanksgiving and gladness that echoed throughout the length and breadth of the land.

There are many more evidences of moral progress that might be adduced, as, for instance, the more just and humane treatment accorded the Indians as the result of a higher sense of the nation's moral responsibility. But those already presented are sufficient it seems to me to satisfy any impartial mind that while as yet we have not reached the highest possible level of moral elevation, we have been and are now making sure and substantial progress toward it.

JOHN R. SUTHERLAND.

INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY.

BY HON. FRANK H. HURD.

IT WAS once the habit of men who are opposed to Free Trade to depreciate the importance of the issue which it presents. It has sometimes been called a local issue. In the sense that the selfishness of certain localities is consulted it is true, but in the broader sense of the common good it is false. What issue involves more interests and power than this? It involves the whole question of Federal taxation; it affects all contracts, all toil, all wages. It reaches down to all the relations involved in the field of contest between capital and labor; it touches all the points of difference between the employer and the employee. It determines the position of the citizen to his government. It fixes the relations of the United States with all the nations of the world, and as well the relation of every American citizen with every man in the world. What issue involves more? All other issues are bound up in it. Every other question sinks into insignificance. In days of peace, when men are not murdering one another, it is the question above all questions. It is as general as the necessities of humanity, as universal as the blood of mankind; it is the living, burning, blazing question of this hour, and more for another reason than any I have suggested, that it involves the question of liberty.

I take it for granted that no man will deny that under a republican form of government, at least, each citizen shall have a full opportunity to buy and sell to every living man; that right of independence, that right of freedom, involves the control of the products of each man's own toil. And who is free if he cannot control his own labor? What was the African slavery, which the blood and the death and the graves of the

war abolished, but the ownership of the labor of one man by another man? Whoever owns my labor owns me. Whoever controls the wages of my toil is my master. If this right that I have to trade with all the world is to be restricted by law for any other purpose than a public one, then who shall be the person who controls this right? I have toiled a day out of my existence. Its hopes, its fears, its desires, are all gone, and what is there to show for it? The dollar which I have earned. That dollar is the expression and the incarnation of them all. With that dollar I can buy from the Austrian or the Russian an article that I desire, an article which perfectly satisfies me, an article which he is perfectly willing to sell me; and as I am about to pay the dollar for the article that I need the United States government presents itself, with its power and dominion, and says to me, "You must buy it of the man who has made it in Providence, it may be, Rhode Island." I say, "Yes, I will buy from him. I did not know that my American fellow-citizen was selling these articles. If I had known it I would have gone and given him my dollar for his article." I go, in my ignorance of these methods of taxation, and present my dollar for the article which he has to sell. He laughs at me. "We are not selling these articles for \$1. They are worth \$2." "Why, I could buy," I say to him, "as good an article as that from the Austrian, from the Frenchman, from the Russian, it may be; why not let me buy it from him, then, if you cannot sell it to me for the same dollar which he was ready to take from me?" "The government of the United States," he replies to me, "is in partnership with me, and compels every man to pay me \$1 more for this." I have to pay the additional dollar. Where do I get it? The government of the United States is passing no laws to put dollars into my pocket. I cannot go and get it from the treasury of my county, or my city, or my state, but I must go back to my toil from which I earned the first dollar and get the second dollar; and then with the second day's toil, and with the second dollar of gain, I go and purchase the article that I desire. Whose day was that second day? Whose dollar was that second dollar? Not mine. It belonged to the manufacturer of

the article, which I was compelled to buy, by the power of the United States government, of the man who lived in Providence, R. I. I had toiled one day out of my life, against my will and against my interest for him. And I was as much his slave as though under the whip and the spur and the lash he had wakened me in the morning hour and compelled me to toil for him until the setting of the sun.

Every dollar of the increase of price which the protective tariff occasions is a day of slavery to the American laborer, and every hour of unnecessary toil which it requires is stolen from that store of responsibilities and duties which each individual has control of to answer for at the judgment-seat of God.

With the labor of every man involved, who shall not say that Free Trade is the burning issue of the hour? Free Trade comes to strike off these shackles which Protection has imposed. It finds the American laboring man bound hand and foot, striving, perishing, dying, and it strikes off the shackles and sets him upon his feet as a free man again. There are so many points of view from which to discuss the subject that I hardly know where to begin. But this one thought is the only one which I shall try to impress in this paper. It will not involve the question of the abstract merits of Protection and Free Trade, but it will simply put the inquiry whether there is enough of a market to keep the splendid genius of America employed. After the most careful investigations which I have been able to make, I am able to say without fear of contradiction, that if all the manufacturing establishments in the United States were run to their full capacity for six months in the year, the whole of the American demand would be supplied, and all the foreign demand possible under the present conditions. What for the other six months of the year? With the same careful inquiry I here assert that one half of the fields that are now tilled in the United States would supply, as have been the demands of the market in the last three years, all the American demand for cereals and all the present foreign demand. What for the other half of the fields? Shall they remain untilled? Shall the seed be unsown? Shall the harvest be ungathered? Shall they be returned to the

primitive period of the pioneer or surrendered to the undergrowth and the forest of the aborigines? What for the mills and factories during the other six months? The fires will burn out. The machinery will rust. The capital will be without interest. The men will suffer. The women will weep. The children will starve. Mr. Powderly, president of the Knights of Labor organization in the United States, is reported to have said that there are 1,000,000 men able to work, and anxious to work, out of employment within the United States. They are out of employment because the mills are idle, and the mills are idle because there is no demand for goods that they manufacture and produce. Go to them wherever you may—in Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Wilkesbarre, New York, and many other places where I have personally been—and you will hear them tell the same story.

Over and over again, overproduction, they say, is the cause. When the Protectionist says that, he gives his case away and virtually admits all I charge. Overproduction is only another name for "limited market." No man overproduces who has a market large enough to consume what he makes, and we see that in the stillness of our mills and the starvation of our employees we have the result of overproduction. Market! Where shall it be? What shall it be? Can the manufacturer increase his home market for himself? No! The very law of Protection gives to the manufacturer the control of the home market. The law which says to him, "You shall be protected from the manufactories of the world," says to him, "You shall have no other market than an American one." They have no other. They can get no other under this cruel imposition of duty upon the production of foreign countries. Do you doubt what I say? Shall I give the statistics of Great Britain as to the sale of manufactured goods abroad as compared with our sales? Let me consider for a moment that Great Britain and the United States consume practically the same quantity of manufactured goods. It is true, although our population is larger, the people of the British islands consume more than we do, because their goods are cheaper. The consumption of manufactured goods in each country is about the same. British manufacturers supply the

British demand substantially. The American manufacturers supply the American demand. So, so far as the domestic market is concerned in the quantity of produced goods sold, each is as the other; but what for the world? There are more than 1,200,000,000 people living beyond both of these countries. What shall the manufacturing institutions of these two countries say to the world? The people living on those little islands have been selling from four to six times as much as is sold by this great continent, with all its resources, and powers, and faculties, and facilities for development. Shall I tell you why? It is so easy I should think a child might know.

We will take Chile, a specimen state of South America, that has millions of people. They have everything in the way of production there, natural and indigenous to their soil and climate—wool, hides, copper ores, and lead ores, and tallow, and all the products of a tropical country. They have not gold and silver enough to make a stable currency for themselves. They have the cheapest paper circulating medium, the value of which they can scarcely determine from day to day; but they want the products of the world. They want the cotton goods which the ladies of South America like to wear. Where shall they go to get them? I can imagine a Chilean merchant loading his vessel with the products that his own country has produced to go out upon the high seas. He brings all the products, and heaps them up in the hold of the vessel until it is loaded to the water line, and then is ready to go out and invite the winds and storms. Out upon the high seas he goes looking for an opportunity to exchange. At last he reaches the port of New York. The cargo is about to be landed at the dock in the city of New York, when a custom-house officer steps up, and says to him:

“I arrest you!” “Why, what have I done?” “You have brought goods from Chile to America.” “I brought them here to exchange for American goods. You have up here goods that our people want which we have not—which we do not and cannot manufacture, and have not manufactured.” “Until you pay a duty of 50 per cent upon your cargo you shall not have an opportunity to land here.”

And the poor man, without money enough to pay the sailors who came with him on the voyage, prays to the Invisible One to know if there is a country generous enough to let him come and trade what he has for what he wants. That Invisible One whispers in his ear, "England," and to Liverpool he goes, and without interruption and with invitation he lands his cargo, and exchanges it there, with no duty to pay, for the goods that the Englishman has manufactured. Now, in the very article of cotton goods, what has been done by this country and by Great Britain with the people of South America? We sold in one year of our muslin goods less than \$2,000,000 worth to South America, and England sold about \$40,000,000 worth. Am I theorizing? Are Free Traders dreamers? Let me give you an evidence which no man shall controvert, and which I insist in this argument is absolutely conclusive upon this question. We are not left to try Free Trade through England's experience or through the experience of the peoples of any other land in the world. But America has tried it. We have Free Trade to-day with one country which has been in operation now for more than fifteen years. I happened to be in the House of Representatives when the question of carrying out the necessary legislation for the enforcement of that treaty arose. I voted to carry it out then, upon the ground that if I could not get Free Trade, as a whole, with all the nations of the world, I could get it by piecemeal, and by piecemeal demonstrate to the people of America that Free Trade was the true policy to adopt. What is that country? The Hawaiian Islands—the Sandwich Islands—a group of them lying in the Pacific Ocean. There were less than 60,000 people there then. The population has increased but little. The census shows very little difference. In their habits, tastes, and civilization they are the same to-day as they were then. Before then the same law of protective tariff which governs all our relations with all the nations of the world governed our relations with them; but this treaty negotiated declared that all the products of that country save a few should come into this country without the payment of duty, in consideration of all American products going into their country

without payment of duty—practical reciprocity, almost absolute Free Trade between those islands and the people of the United States. If Free Trade were the foe of the manufacturer—if Free Trade were the destroyer of the interests of America—if Free Trade were the enemy of the laborer, we would expect a diminution of the little trade we had with those 70,000 people. But what is the story?

Incredible, marvelous, almost miraculous! Under Protection fifteen years ago we sold of our American goods to those 60,000 people about \$450,000 a year. The total of our trade with those islands was less than \$1,500,000 worth a year. Every article that was carried between the islands and America was carried under the British flag and in British bottoms, not one vessel carrying the American flag being engaged in the traffic. What is the story in 1891? We sold of our goods to the people of those islands that year over \$5,000,000 worth. The total of the trade with them exceeds \$19,000,000. Ninety-five per cent of all the articles carried between the two countries has been carried in American vessels, and the other 5 per cent has been carried in vessels manned by American sailors. And I have been informed by the shipbuilders on the Pacific coast that they have been saved from bankruptcy by the demand which has been made for American-built vessels because of the Free Trade treaty between the United States and the Sandwich Islands. I have this problem in arithmetic, as it may be called, to submit to my Protectionist friend: "If in fifteen years the sales of American manufactured goods to 60,000 people will increase from \$450,000 a year to over \$5,000,000 a year, how much will be the increase when we have Free Trade with the 30,000,000 people of South America and the 5,000,000 people of Canada? And it cannot be shown where in any essential particular the condition of the Sandwich Islands and of the people who live there differs from the condition of the people of South America or of Canada. There is little manufacturing either in the one or in the other. They have an abundance of the raw material. They want to buy the manufactured goods, and they are ready to come and buy from a country that is willing to sell. How is

it as to trade with Canada? Do we trade much more with the people of Canada, than we do with the people who live in the moon? There was a day, under the reciprocity treaty, when we did. How is it now? In the city of Toledo there was one firm which used to sell millions of bushels of wheat per month to Montreal, but do they sell any now?

Do you go and inquire about the Canadian tariff laws. Twenty-five cents a bushel duty on your American wheat—specific. The duties run clear through from the beginning to the end of the schedule until Canada is about as effectually barred by its tariff from the United States as the United States has barred Canada out, each seeming to make an effort to exceed the other in the cruelty and exclusiveness of its legislation. And once when in the Canadian Parliament a gentleman arose and proposed a committee to negotiate a new reciprocity treaty with the United States, Sir John MacDonald said: "No, we have three times attempted to make a reciprocity treaty with the United States, and three times have we been refused, and this treaty shall stand until America shall make the first proffer." And as he avowed that day on the floor of the Canadian Parliament, it should stand in retaliation for our legislation against them. Why? Do you realize the loss to America of this shutting out of Canada? It is stated on high authority that within the United States where we have Free Trade between the different states of the Union, for every 5,000,000 people there is nearly a thousand million dollars' worth of trade a year. I will say a thousand millions. Canada is to the north of us, its people not unlike us, with ambitions, tastes, and necessities like ours, and there is no reason, if Canada was in the United States as the states are in the Union, that we should not have the same thousand millions of trade every year with them, and they with us. But what have we? Why, a beggarly \$60,000,000 a year. Call it \$100,000,000 a year, and then what is the loss? Deduct the trade between the people of Canada themselves—which is a proper deduction—and it will leave hundreds of millions of total trade as the loss that Canada and the United States sustain because of these cruel tariffs, the one against the other. And the

heaviest portion of that loss falls on the border cities, like Chicago, Toledo, and Cleveland, where the places for interchange most naturally would be.

My friends, would it make no difference if we sold these hundreds of millions of our goods to Canada and its laboring people? Suppose we could sell our goods freely to the people of South America. We will not extend to the world. We will keep right to our own continent. Why, let the same treaty of Free Trade be made with South America and Canada that is made now with the Sandwich Islands, and I will guarantee that in five years we will sell hundreds of millions of America's manufactured goods and products where we are not now selling \$70,000,000 worth. And is that nothing—the production of these untold millions' worth of goods? Oh, how many of this million of people who are idle now would be employed then! How many of the mills would be busy which are idle now! How much of the prosperity which is denied to America would come then with its sunshine! It is the cruelty of this system of Protection that it makes the laborer starve while it is pretending to do him a good. The only chance for the laboring population of America is in the success of the manufacturer, and the only chance for the success of the manufacturer is in the increase of his market; and you cannot increase it at home. You must increase it by treaties with nations abroad, and by establishing better terms of traffic with the different countries of the world. It is with the world, in the world, of the world that you must be, in order that you shall have this steady employment for labor and this steady market for manufactured goods. How can it be otherwise? We cannot make more of a market for them at home. It must be somewhere else. It is beyond the confines of America. Mexico is ready, South America is ready, Canada is ready—ah! the world is ready, and nothing stands in the way of keeping the laborer from starving but the ignorant selfishness of the protected manufacturer.

Shut the doors of the world against us as Canada has shut them, and our elevators, lifting themselves to the clouds, will tumble down into ruins. Our boards of trade will become

desert places and our railroads will carry backward and forward only empty cars—ghosts of their former selves. But open the markets of the world, and every day will make a record of increasing growth for our trade and of increasing power for our prosperity. Open the doors and let the world be free to come here and buy, both from the Orient and the Occident, and the channels will be bursting with the overflow that will come rushing through our streets. In that day I see the gates of our cities opening, and the trade of the world paying tribute. I see the wealth of the world emptying itself at our feet and in our lap ; and then, we shall not only be prosperous financially, but we shall be free in fact as well as in name.

FRANK H. HURD.

IS OUR METHOD OF ELECTING THE PRESIDENT REPUBLICAN?

BY JOHN A. ROEHLING, C. E., A. M.

IF THE average citizen be asked what is the form of government in the United States, he will proudly answer, "Republican!" If he be asked to define a republican government, he will probably say that it is one wherein the vote of each and every citizen is of equal weight, and where the voice of the majority rules. He will also add that in this country there is no aristocracy endowed by birth with superior political privileges, nor yet an aristocracy created by law and invested with governmental powers in excess of their fellows. Judged by this, the popular standard of to-day, is our method of electing the President republican?

This is a pertinent question at the present time, when we are once more about to select an incumbent for the highest office in the republic. It is a deeper and more vital question than which of two honest men shall fill the office. If the method of election is unjust it contains latent possibilities of abuse which may at some future day wreck the republic. If it is unjust, the present time is one peculiarly fitted for a discussion of the remedy. Never before have we had a presidential campaign in which there was such calm discussion of the issues; a campaign so free from personalities; a campaign where there was so little partisan prejudice and rancor. It is in the hope that it is now more possible than ever before to consider the question on its merits, apart from partisan bias, that it is once more brought forward. Let us then examine our electoral system fearlessly and impartially, and if we find it faulty let us substitute therefor a system which is just, without reference to the apparent temporary advantage

that might accrue to either of the present parties from its adoption.

Is the vote of each and every citizen of equal weight in our present electoral system?

We may inquire first whether the vote of a citizen of one state has equal weight, in the choice of a President, with the vote of a citizen of every other state. It has not. The state of New York cast 1,320,109 votes at the last presidential election. These voters were entitled to 36 electoral votes, or one electoral vote to every 36,670 voters. The state of Nevada cast 12,596 votes at the same election. These voters were entitled to 3 electoral votes, or one electoral vote to every 4,199 voters. In other words, the vote of a citizen of Nevada has over eight times the weight, in the electoral college, of the vote of a citizen of New York. This follows necessarily from the fact that each state has two electors-at-large, corresponding to its senators, and one elector, corresponding to its representative, no matter how small its population may be. This obviously operates to the disadvantage of the large states. New York and Nevada are the extreme cases, the other states ranging between them, but no two states have exactly the same weight, per vote, in the electoral college.

Such being the inequality between citizens of different states, is the vote of one citizen of a state equal to the vote of every other citizen of the same state? The surest way to test this is to see if it makes any difference in the result whether the citizen casts his vote or does not. If it has no effect, however small, in the final choice of the President, his vote has obviously no weight whatsoever. In 1884, Mr. Cleveland carried the state of New York by the very small plurality of 1,047, in a total vote of 1,171,312. The 562,001 men who voted for Blaine were entitled to no electoral votes. If they could not "carry New York" they were absolutely without any voice in the final choice by the electoral college. Had they all stayed at home in place of voting it would have made no difference in the final result. Their votes had no weight, and they might as well have been citizens of the Congo Free State. Lest this example

be thought partisan, let us turn to Pennsylvania. Of what importance is a Democrat there in a presidential year? Twenty thousand Democratic votes more or less make no difference there. But let these same twenty thousand voters cross that airy line called a boundary and settle in New York—they now decide the presidency of sixty-three millions of people.

Evidently the value of a citizen's vote depends upon his place of residence. If he belongs to the minority in a "doubtful" state his vote is of great importance, since at any time the minority may become the majority; but if he belongs to the minority in a "safe" state, his vote is of no importance whatsoever. Our electoral system has virtually created what might be called a *geographical aristocracy*.

It is but natural that the superior political power possessed by the voter in a "doubtful" state should be recognized by the politician. A presidential campaign is not so much an attempt at discussion by the whole people as an attempt to convert a few voters in the doubtful states. What the rest of the country thinks is after all of little consequence—the other states are "safe" in any event. We naturally find, therefore, a greater intensity of political life in the doubtful states. The best orators of both parties address them; they are flooded with campaign literature; political feeling in them rises to fever heat; even the corruption funds are theirs, and theirs alone; and, at the end of the campaign, what is it we watch the bulletin boards until 3 o'clock in the morning to see? Is it the choice of the majority of the people of the United States? No, that is of no importance—it is the choice of a narrow majority in the doubtful states of New York and Indiana.

There is another way in which the superior power of the doubtful states is shown. The states which virtually elect the President naturally have a preference for their own favorite sons. The politicians, ever obedient to the true sources of power, recognize this in their nominations. Let us see whether undue preference has been given by them to the doubtful states. The following table of the presidential nominations of both parties, since 1876, will tell us:

1876.	
Samuel J. Tilden, Dem., New York.	Rutherford B. Hayes, Rep., Ohio.
William A. Wheeler, Rep., Indiana.	
Thomas A. Hendricks, Dem., Indiana.	
1880.	
Chester A. Arthur, Rep., New York.	James A. Garfield, Rep., Ohio.
William H. English, Dem., Indiana.	* Winfield S. Hancock, Dem., Penn'a.
1884.	
Grover Cleveland, Dem., New York.	James G. Blaine, Rep., Maine.
Thomas A. Hendricks, Dem., Ind.	John A. Logan, Rep., Illinois.
1888.	
Benjamin Harrison, Rep., Ind.	Allen G. Thurman, Dem., Ohio.
Grover Cleveland, Dem., New York.	
Levi P. Morton, Rep., New York.	
1892.	
Benjamin Harrison, Rep., Indiana.	Adlai E. Stevenson, Dem., Illinois.
Grover Cleveland, Dem., New York.	
Whitelaw Reid, Rep., New York.	

The doubtful states of New York and Indiana received 13 out of the 20 nominations, or 65 per cent. If we merely count the candidates who actually occupied the presidential chair, we have: Hayes, Ohio; Garfield, Ohio; Arthur, New York; Cleveland, New York; Harrison, Indiana; and next March either Cleveland, New York, or Harrison, Indiana. Four out of six, or 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent, came from the doubtful states, substantially the same proportion as in the case of the candidates. Such a decided bias exhibited for so long a period denotes a deep-seated tendency to unduly favor the doubtful states. This tendency is independent of parties or of the personal peculiarities of the candidates. It may be of interest to those who have not the good fortune to reside in a doubtful state to know, that as New York and Indiana have, on an average, constituted only 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the population of the country during the period named, while they received 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of the Presidents, the chance of a citizen of these states being elected President is 13 times as great as that of a citizen of the other states. It is his birthright.

Let us next consider whether our electoral system fulfills the second criterion of a republican government. Does the voice of the majority rule?

The following table, giving the popular and electoral vote in each presidential election since 1876, will answer the question:

* The nomination of General Hancock, a Democrat, from a strongly Republican state, may fairly be called exceptional; though it must be remembered that, as an officer of the United States Regular Army, he could hardly be said to come from any one state, in the ordinary political sense. From the standpoint of the politicians, his nomination was decidedly not a success. The experiment will probably never be repeated.

		Popular Vote.	Popular Plurality.*	Electoral Vote.	Electoral Plurality.
1876.	Hayes	4,033,950		185	1
	Tilden	4,284,885	250,935	184	
	All others	93,898			
1880.	Garfield	4,449,053	7,018	214	50
	Hancock	4,442,035		155	
	All others	313,318			
1884.	Cleveland	4,911,017	62,683	219	37
	Blaine	4,843,334		182	
	All others	285,634			
1888.	Harrison	5,440,216		233	65
	Cleveland	5,538,233	98,017	168	
	All others	402,411			

This table speaks for itself. There is no necessary connection between the will of the majority of the people, and the actual choice in the electoral college. The people vote and the electoral college elects. If the people do not happen to vote the same way as the electoral college, so much the worse for the people. It is easy to see why this is so. The electors are chosen by general ticket, that is, the party having a majority in the state is entitled to all the electoral votes from that state, whether that majority be a mere trifle or a "tidal wave." It may thus happen that one candidate carries enough states by narrow majorities to give him a majority in the electoral college, while his opponent carries the remaining states by very large majorities. The discrepancy between the electoral and popular majorities then becomes very great indeed. It may be of interest to inquire, in this connection, how small a minority may legally elect a President under the existing system. It is only necessary for the candidate of the minority to have one vote over one half of the popular vote, in enough states to give him a majority in the electoral college. He need not have a single vote in the remaining states. The result in such a case would be as follows :

POPULAR VOTE.	For Minority Candidate.	For Majority Candidate.
One vote over one half for minority candidate in Nevada, Rhode Island, Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, California, New Jersey, Idaho, N. Dakota, S. Dakota, Mississippi, W. Virginia, Minnesota, Virginia, Wyoming, Washington, S. Carolina, Maine, Alabama, 8-14 Michigan,* Kansas, Delaware, Oregon, N. Hampshire, Georgia, Nebraska, N. Carolina, Montana, Vermont, Colorado, Connecticut, Maryland, Tennessee.....	2,322,805	2,322,754
No votes for minority candidate in 6-14 Michigan, Kentucky, Texas, Missouri, Illinois, Penn'a, Mass., Wisconsin, Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, New York.....		6,977,054
Total.....	2,322,805	9,299,808
Popular majority against minority candidate.....		6,977,003
ELECTORAL VOTE.	223	221
Electoral majority for minority candidate.....	2	

* In Michigan the presidential electors are at present chosen by districts.

The minority candidate is legally elected in spite of a popular majority of 6,977,003 for his opponent. This is, of course, the extreme hypothetical case, but it shows one thing clearly : in the United States there is absolutely no legal guarantee that the will of the people shall prevail in the choice of the President.

The remedy is obvious : elect the President by direct vote of the people. This is no elaborate, untried, visionary scheme, but is merely the plain common sense method by which state governors, representatives in Congress, mayors of cities, and nearly all the elective officers in the country are already elected. The direct method is the only method that makes all citizens' votes equal. The method advocated by many of electing presidential electors by districts, in the same manner that representatives in Congress are at present elected, would inevitably work great injustice. We may judge of the probable effect of the district system by an analogy from the present method of electing representatives. At the last election for representatives in Ohio, in 1890, the total vote was, for the Democratic candidates, 351,528, for the Republican candidates, 362,590, a Republican majority of 11,062 in the state as a whole ; yet, because the Democratic minority was effectively distributed geographically (that is, the state had been gerrymandered by the previous Democratic legislature), the Democratic minority was able to elect 14 representatives, while the Republicans elected but 7. The district system would prove if anything worse than the present system.

The advantages of the direct method are many.

A change of administration, though sometimes necessary, is in itself an evil. It involves the displacement of a vast army of trained and experienced officials by new men, most of whom know nothing of the duties they are expected to perform. There is a certain discontinuity of foreign policy. Many domestic measures of improvement begun by one administration are abandoned or but poorly carried out by its successor. In short, the whole machinery of government, and to a certain extent the business world also, receive a shock from which it takes them some time to recover. The outgoing President is also apt

to be a weak President during the four months from the election in November until the inauguration of his successor in the following March. Now, while these facts are no reason for retaining in office a President whom the majority of the people consider unfit, they are a most excellent argument in favor of retaining a President of whom the majority does approve; yet by reason of our unjust electoral system, a tried and experienced President may be displaced in the face of an increased popular majority in his favor. This was actually the case in 1888. On the other hand our unrepresentative electoral system enables a party to remain in power after the people have emphatically expressed their disapproval of it by large majorities at the polls. This was the case in 1876. If the President were elected by direct vote of the people neither of these anomalies would be possible.

The tendency of the present system is to make a presidential campaign sluggish in all but the doubtful states. As the result is never in doubt in the safe states, no one takes much interest in the campaign. Neither party takes the trouble to insure a full and thorough discussion of the questions at issue. Many citizens do not even take the trouble to vote. The actual choice of the President is largely left to the doubtful states. Election of the President by direct vote would quicken the political life of all the states and bring out the greater part of the latent vote. The powerful educational influences of a presidential campaign would be thoroughly diffused throughout the country instead of being concentrated in a few states as at present. Bribery would be discouraged, for it requires too much money to buy the purchasable element of the whole country.

When through the direct method of voting all the states become of equal importance, there will be a wider field from which to select candidates. The present distinguished candidates are men who would certainly be nominated under any system, but will it always be the case in the future that the wisest and the best reside in New York or Indiana? At the present time it is possible, though difficult, for a Republican from a safe Republican state to obtain the nomination; it is possible, though still more difficult, for a Democrat from a safe

southern state to obtain the nomination ; but it may be said to be practically impossible for a Republican from Texas or a Democrat from Vermont to receive the nomination from their respective parties, be their fitness and abilities what they may. Under the direct method the wisest and the best man would be chosen irrespective of his place of residence.

Though a presidential elector is at present nothing but a figurehead elected for the sole purpose of voting for a President and Vice President, yet it has been found that if the people object to an elector on personal grounds they will not vote for him, though they may wish the presidential candidate whom the elector represents elected. Thus, in 1880, the people of California, though giving Hancock a plurality, refused to vote for one Hancock elector on personal grounds, and thus General Hancock was made to suffer for reasons which had no connection with the presidency. There is always the possibility, remote though it be, that an elector may, from honest conviction or from corrupt motives, change his views and not vote for the candidate he was elected to vote for. This may seem highly improbable, but it actually occurred in 1824, when the defection of three New York electors cost Mr. Clay the Presidency. If a voter votes directly for the candidate of his party this danger disappears.

But perhaps the greatest danger of all in our present system lies in the possibility of the interference of the state legislatures in the choice of the electors. The Constitution of the United States says :

" Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress : but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector."

Thus the legislature may, if it see fit, appoint the electors itself without any reference to the people. In the early history of the republic it was customary for the electors to be so chosen in the majority of the states. As late as 1824 they were appointed by the legislature in Vermont, New York, Delaware, South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana. Under stress of urgent

partisan demands this custom might at any time be revived. Now an election by the legislature is necessarily a very imperfect way of expressing the people's will. It frequently happens that there is a change of public sentiment in a state, during the interval (usually two years) between the election of the legislature and the following presidential election. When, further, the fact is considered that the legislative districts in many states are so gerrymandered that the party in a minority in the state has a majority in the legislature, it will be apparent how great an opportunity for gaining an unfair partisan advantage is latent in the present system. It may be objected that this danger is slight; that no partisan legislature of to-day would dare so flagrantly to thwart the will of the people: but the recent act of the Democratic legislature of Michigan—directing that hereafter the presidential electors shall be elected by districts, instead of by general ticket as heretofore—is a long step in this direction. In a presidential year, Michigan is a Republican state. The Democratic legislature itself confesses the fact by its conduct. If the state had not been thought surely Republican in a presidential year, the legislature would have left the old general ticket system undisturbed in the hope of securing all the electoral votes. Now the method of electing the electors by districts is in itself bad enough, as shown above by the example of Ohio, but when it is adopted by one state only, it is still more unfair, because it gives the Democratic minority in a Republican state a representation in the electoral college, while denying it to the Republican minority in Democratic states. Should the electoral votes of Michigan decide the coming election, the Republicans will be strongly tempted to retaliate. If so, this Michigan affair may prove but the first of a long series of legislative usurpations.

The election of the President by direct vote of the people is manifestly so much better than the present indirect mode, that there is practically but one objection that would be urged against its adoption. It is thought by some that the Republican party would necessarily be in the minority, and that a change from the present system to the direct method would be tanta-

mount to giving the election to the Democracy. It is claimed, further, that this Democratic popular majority is due to the suppression of the colored vote in the South. It is foreign to the purpose of this article to enter into a discussion of the vexed question of the "Force bill." We are not here concerned with the limitation of the franchise or the method of exercising it, but with the question of what shall be the effect of the votes after they have been legally ascertained and declared. An unjust method of counting is no proper remedy for an unjust method of voting. A government that depends on a delicate balance between two opposing frauds is essentially unrepubli- can and unstable. At any moment the balance may be destroyed. There is but one honorable course: remedy both wrongs. But is the popular vote hopelessly one way at present? A popular majority of 98,017 seems like a very large number, but it is proportionately no more than a majority of 11,500 would be in the state of New York. If either party had a majority of 11,500 in New York, the other party would not think that all future contests were necessarily hopeless. On the contrary, they would hold that New York was extremely doubtful, and would contest it at the next election with redoubled vigor. When it is remembered further that the present system fails to bring out the full vote in many of the safe states and that the direct method would bring out every one—the Democrat from Vermont and the Republican from Texas—it will be seen that we cannot judge from the present figures what the result of a direct vote in the whole country would be.

Our present unrepubli- can system has on the whole, worked better than might at first sight have been expected of it. This for two reasons: first, because the dominant parties have been very evenly balanced in this country as a whole; secondly, there has been in recent years no issue that touched the people very closely. How long will these conditions last? Already we can notice symptoms of an impending change in the political situation. The third party stands for ideas and purposes which will some day divide the country on very different lines from the present ones. The issues will then be far more vital and

more bitterly contested than at present. While we have yet time let us make our government truly republican in all its branches, in fact as well as in name. At some future day, when we have a government of a minority, by a minority, and for a minority, holding power through a legalized gerrymander and bitterly opposed by the great majority of the people, it may be too late to save our country from another civil war.

JOHN A. ROEBLING.

HOW TO ABOLISH WAR.

BY WILLIAM H. JEFFREY.*

“THE benefits of war,” from various standpoints, have been ably discussed both by a rear admiral of our navy, in a recent number of an American review, and by Mr. Andrew J. Palm, editor of *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS*. Our distinguished rear admiral says, “War is an ordinance of God.” On the other hand Editor Palm ridicules this idea as “nonsense.”

War between nations is no more morally right than war between individuals. No one for a moment would claim that a “street brawl” was an “ordinance of God.” Still this is only an instance of individuals’ asserting what they believe to be their rights.

There is a means of settling all difficulties between individuals; why can there not be between nations? Instead of individuals being permitted to continue at war with each other until one shall be annihilated or cry out for mercy, which is not only unchristian but inhuman, courts have been created for the adjusting of differences.

Why then, should this “ordinance of God”—war between nations—be longer tolerated by the intelligent citizens of the world? War is a relic of barbarism, and its effects are not only demoralizing but degrading. The nations of the present century should determine a remedy that shall entirely abolish this merciless demon.

So long as intelligence is not universal or equal, and man has passions, just so long will men and nations differ. But is a nation any more justified in declaring war against another, and spending millions of dollars, assuming enormous public debts, and causing great loss of both life and property, because there

* Author of “Richmond Prisons, 1861-2.”

is a question of what constitutes a "three-mile limit" or whether "its sailors or citizens have been ill treated," than one individual is in taking the law into his hands to punish a neighbor for what he may deem to be a grievance?

If a wrong has been done an individual, he is required to appeal to the courts for redress. His grievance might only be imaginary, and were he permitted to be judge, jury, and executioner, an irreparable wrong might be done.

No one is permitted to sit upon a jury if he has any interest in the case in hearing or is prejudiced in the matter. We all must concede that where jurists are found without prejudice or personal interest, the most eminently just decisions are rendered. If this be so with individuals, why should it not be so with nations?

International arbitration is not feasible. It is practically impossible to find arbiters who have not formed an opinion before the case is finally submitted to them for decision.

Although an international agreement may have been decided on in time of peace, nations may refuse to arbitrate, and questions will arise of which a nation may believe her own interpretations are correct. And when individuals or nations believe they are right, they are not, as a rule, willing to leave it to other parties to determine.

Individuals or nations that have nothing to lose and all to gain may arbitrate, but, on the other hand, those that have nothing to gain and a fair prospect of losing that which they have, will hesitate before they will consent to place their interest in the hands of another. The question then arises, how shall we settle international difficulties by peaceable methods?

Interstate difficulties are settled by the Supreme Court of the nation. This court is composed of men, whose decisions have become eminent; whose honor is unimpeachable; and whose integrity is unquestioned. A man once elevated to this high and honorable position is beyond the influence of personal gain or prejudice. Why then should not the civilized nations of the world consent to the formation of a court supreme?

Let us for a moment consider the feasibility of the plan both in its formation and its results.

The first step necessary to bring about this desired result (the amicable settlement of all international questions that could not be settled by the various diplomatic corps) would be for *our* government to invite the recognized nations of the world to appoint commissioners to meet and formulate the plan for the establishment of the world's supreme court.

This having been done the commissioners would doubtless recommend to their respective governments the appointment of its most eminent jurist as an associate justice of the court. Treaty relations would be recommended, binding all nations to the most rigid observance of the decisions of the court.

To prevent the same difficulty which I have mentioned regarding nations refusing to arbitrate, a provision would be placed in the treaty, that any nation bound by this great code of international law would do all in its power to force a rebellious nation to abide by the decisions of the court. To do this it would not be necessary to arm a fleet and send it out against the offender. It would only be necessary for the nations bound by the international treaty to declare the rebellious power no longer a member of the international union. This decision should carry with it the closing of all ports of the union against the offender, until such time as she should see fit to accept the decision of the court.

Should the question involved be one of damages, the nations under the jurisdiction of the court should seize all public property belonging to the offender, that should come within its jurisdiction until the judgment of the court should be satisfied.

It would not be necessary for the court to be convened with all its associate justices at a given point, but any associate justice would be competent to try any cases that might be brought before him: provided, however, that neither of the disputing nations be his own country. Of course an appeal to the full bench could be made the same as is done in any other court.

The wisdom of placing international disputes under a general

judiciary department cannot be questioned. This plan once perfected, war would no longer be a menace to nations. Standing armies and great navies would be unknown and millions of people would be returned to agricultural and mechanical pursuits, and billions of dollars would be left with the people, instead of being expended annually in the support of these great armies for no other purpose than the destruction of human life and property.

The benefits resulting from such a plan are beyond the estimate of man. We all might then say : "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will toward men."

WILLIAM H. JEFFREY.

THE TARIFF NOT A LOCAL QUESTION.

BY HENRY KINGERLY.

THAT the sentiment of Free Trade is most rapidly growing in the West can no longer be seriously doubted. Upon whatever other issues the political parties, strongest in the West and South, opposing the one now dominant, are divided, they are united in opposition to the principle of Protection and could all other but the tariff question be eliminated from practical politics to-day, the West would declare for Free Trade by such majorities and with such energy as it once stood for the preservation of the Union.

While this fact cannot but be encouraging to those who hold that the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" includes the right to trade freely, as well as the right to "worship God according to dictates of conscience" and to those who believe that an unrestricted commerce is necessary to a perfect civilization, there is, nevertheless, a certain selfishness in the motive of the movement which must be apparent to the careful student of public utterances and the trend of political thought.

Laboring under the delusion that when and where wages are lowest, production is cheapest—a fallacy that has done service to monopoly at the expense of human toil, ever since the discovery was made that men could be most easily taxed by methods the most indirect—our forefathers became estranged. The North desired to establish manufacturing industries, while the South thought it in their interest to manufacture by growing cotton and exchanging the product for manufactured articles. Both sections believed that the South, having slave labor—which is another term for lowest wages—could thus obtain manufactured goods cheaper than the North, with its free labor

and high wages, could make them. Actuated by this opinion, the North sought to prevent trade between the South and foreign countries by protective tariffs—a course which the South persistently, though unsuccessfully, resisted. The contention thus provoked engendered antipathies, which, aggravated by other questions of constitutional rights, developed the estrangement into an open quarrel which was terminated by resort to fire and sword.

This idea, that the tariff question is merely one of locality, as was publicly stated by one deemed great enough to have been the candidate of a powerful party for the presidency, is still the prevailing one throughout the West. Our Free Trade and tariff reform orators are fond of saying that the interests of the West and South are identical; Democratic and People's Party papers are constantly inveighing against the laws which rob the farmers of the West for the benefit of the manufacturers of the East, and the *eastern* monopolist has become a byword and a term of reproach throughout the West and South.

Now, the truth is that the tariff is no more a local question than is the question of human slavery, of polygamy, of women's rights, of dress reform, of temperance, or of ballot reform. To admit that the East, as a locality, is benefited by Protection, is to concede the claims of Protectionists that it raises wages, encourages industry, and promotes prosperity. Just as we now see that slavery, instead of advancing the prosperity of the South, was really an impediment to its progress, so may we see, if we stop to look, that Protection, in place of aiding the East in its struggle for industrial and commercial supremacy, is the chief obstacle to its assuming the proud position to which its vast resources, splendid population, and natural advantages entitle it. It is not in the West, but in the East, that strong men starve, little children perish for want of pure air, and woman's honor is bartered for bread; and the tramp, whom we have come to regard as a mark of civilization, is a product of the protected East.

We have only to observe the wretched condition of the lower classes in such protected countries as Germany, France, and

Italy, to see that Protection cannot benefit countries or communities, as a whole, and that it is not a question of local character.

Since it is certain that Protection cannot aid the East at the expense of the West, nor the North at the expense of the South, let us briefly, though candidly, inquire who can be the beneficiaries of a system so ably championed by special interests, and so tenaciously adhered to as a method of encouraging industry.

Protectionists argue, that when the price of any article is increased by a protective tariff, its production is encouraged at home, and the competition between the home producers almost immediately forces the price lower than it would have fallen in the same time had not the tariff been imposed.

In some cases this is true of prices (and this gives color to the Protectionist's claim), and it is always true of profits. For instance: A tariff which would increase the price of eggs in the United States, would, in consequence of the tendency of the earnings of labor and capital to seek a common level, induce the production of eggs in sufficient quantities to glut the market and reduce the price. Such a tariff could not permanently benefit the producers of eggs.

The first effect of a like tariff upon beet sugar would be to enhance the profits of growers of sugar beets. This would give an impetus to the business of raising beets, and the competition between producers for the use of land upon which beets could be grown would ultimately result in raising the rent of such land. In this case the price of sugar would not fall, but profits would not be greater than in other industries, nor than in the same industry before the tariff was imposed, and therefore, such a tariff could not permanently benefit the producers of sugar beets. It does not detract from the soundness of this conclusion to urge that the producer is also the owner of the land, for in such cases he receives the benefit of the tariff, not as a producer of sugar beets, but as the owner of land; that is to say, not as a capitalist, but as a monopolist, and his Protection comes to him, not in the shape of profits, but in the shape of rent. The two cases differ in that eggs can be produced upon

lands in general, practically unlimited in quantity, while sugar beets can be grown only upon particular lands, of limited quantity.

Now, what is thus true of producers of eggs and sugar beets, is true of all producers, and what is true of land monopolists is true of all monopolists. In all kinds of production in which capital may freely engage, competition will force prices, and with them profits, to the common level. Not that prices will fall lower than they would have gone had not the tariff been laid, but more speedily; often so prematurely as to seriously impair the healthfulness of commerce.

In all kinds of production in which capital may *not* engage without paying tribute to monopoly, prices will be maintained, but profits will be reduced to the common level.

The more we consider this the more apparent it becomes that producers, as producers—capitalists as capitalists—cannot more than temporarily be benefited by protective tariffs, but that, when industry conforms itself to the new conditions, after the imposition of a tariff, every penny it enables producers to add to prices will find its way into the coffers of those who enjoy some special privilege. Among these special and exclusive privileges are:

First.—The ownership of particular kinds of lands. Thus the "lumber lords," who own the pine lands, and not the manufacturers of lumber, receive the benefit of the duty on manufactured lumber; the owners of the copper mines the duty on copper; the owners of coal and iron mines the duty on coal and iron; and in the same manner the duty we so long maintained upon sugar, protected not the growers of sugar cane, but the owners of southern sugar lands, and the bounty we now pay, ostensibly to encourage the production of sugar, must finally inure to the benefit of the owners of Louisiana and Nebraska sugar lands.

Second.—Combinations or "trusts," powerful enough to prevent home competition, control the output, and maintain prices. The tariff preventing competition from abroad, and the combinations suppressing it at home, prices are kept up to the point

at which the foreign product could be imported, plus the tariff. In this way the combinations, or "trusts," reap the whole benefit of the Protection less the cost of maintaining the combinations. But this they receive, not as producers, but as combinations; that is, as monopolists.

As an example of this, we see the immense fortune of Andrew Carnegie accumulated, not as a producer of steel plate, but as a member of a giant combination, the object of which is, to *check* the production of steel plates and to increase prices. Those who receive only the true remuneration for the production of steel plates do not live in Scotch palaces, nor ride in tally-ho coaches with ministers of state.

Third.—Exclusive rights granted by the state, which we call patents, and which are of the same character, and have the same effect as the exclusive privileges granted by Charles the First, of England, to favored friends or to highest bidders. Just as those who purchased the sole right of King Charles to manufacture writing paper were enabled to reap rich harvests from the exorbitant prices the possession of the monopoly permitted them to demand, have the owners of the patents in the United States, covering the processes used in the manufacture of paper from wood pulp, been enormously enriched. But their wealth did not come to them by virtue of their being producers of paper, nor yet by reason of their ownership of the patents alone. Their extraordinary returns were the result of the combined effect of the ownership of the patents and the tariff on wood pulp. The patents prevented home competition and the tariff protected them from foreign competition. Their earnings, in so far as they exceeded the ordinary remuneration from the investment of capital, were not the legitimate earnings of capital, but the wages of monopoly.

All this has been shown by an abler pen than mine,* and nothing can be clearer, when we come to examine the matter, than that Protection cannot permanently aid manufacturers as

* Mr. Henry George, in his masterly work, "Protection or Free Trade?" conclusively shows "that there is a point at which Protection must cease to benefit even the industries it strives to encourage."

manufacturers, or add to the earnings of genuine capital legitimately employed. This, many intelligent manufacturers are beginning to see, as many intelligent slave-holders began to see before the abolition of slavery that slave-holding was becoming unprofitable. But it may be asked, and indeed the question naturally arises, why, if Protection does not benefit manufacturers, does it receive its strongest support from them and those whose votes they so largely control?

Here is the explanation: The same delusion that entrapped our forefathers into legalizing slavery, thus committing the gravest error in the life of the nation—the belief that cheap labor is necessary to cheap production still prevails. Knowing that time wages are lower in foreign countries than in the United States, and imbued with this fallacy, they conclude that without artificially increased prices they would be unable to meet the competition of foreign manufacturers paying lower time wages.

What American manufacturer, when shown the truth that high wages, as compared with the wages of a competing country, gives an advantage to the employer of labor instead of, as he now supposes to be the case, placing him at a disadvantage, would longer willingly submit to a system that taxes his raw materials, and, by artificially raising prices, checks consumption of his commodities and restricts his markets?

To make Free Traders of manufacturers, it is only necessary to convince them upon this one point, to show them this one beautiful truth. And when they see this they become in political affiliations, what they are in nature, the allies and coadjutors of western farmers and southern planters. The interests of all these are identical. They are all producers of wealth. They are all capitalists and laborers. Opposed to these interests alone stands monopoly, but so powerful has it grown, so long has it been fostered by error and deception, that the united efforts of intelligent producers will be required to effect its abolition. This is the lesson for the East to learn.

The lesson yet to be learned in the West is that tariffs do not favor localities, but individuals; that the advantages Protection

confers do not fall upon manufacturers or producers, but upon monopolists and that, while there are more monopolists in the East than in the West, eastern monopolists are no worse than those of the West.

In order to give the Free Trade movement in the West the purity of motive that alone can insure success, the West must learn that a system which endows individuals with the power to exact tribute from industry does not enrich localities, nor add to the profits of producers, but is the enemy of true capital and the common oppressor of humanity.

The principles of Free Trade are of universal application and favor no locality at the expense of another, and its advocates should represent no special point of the compass but the whole country. The line of battle should be clearly drawn to the end that it may be realized that the real issue is between labor and capital upon the one side and monopoly on the other. When this is done it will be understood that the beneficiaries of Protection are not Easterners, nor Westerners, nor Southerners, nor Northerners, as such, but monopolists.

HENRY KINGERLY.

WHY NOT TAX CHURCH PROPERTY?

BY JAMES E. LARMER, JR.

FOR the first time the United States census has secured the statistics of churches. There is a great deal of credit due to the Census Bureau, as it must have been very difficult and laborious work to obtain the accurate figures. There is much more than this which the Census Bureau has done; it has exposed an evil, and shown the injustice that is being done to every property owner in every state of the Union.

But the question, "Why not tax church property?" has been sadly neglected. There have been only a few men who have advocated it, and the press has been absolutely silent. If there was a state church and a national belief, it would be different, but as the United States recognizes no church, and has no belief, I hold that it is absolutely unconstitutional to exempt any church or churches from taxation. A church is a religious corporation, can own and acquire any amount of property, real or personal, without bearing the burdens of taxation. Why I call a church a religious corporation is, because in law it is called a private corporation, and "private corporations are such as are created for the private benefit of the collective members of the corporation, and are designed to regulate and promote their religious, social, or financial interests."

There are churches in every city of the United States that own property that is not used for religious purposes, but is used for various purposes which pay a good interest.

"It was under the Spanish domination that the Catholic Church laid the foundation of its riches and power in Mexico. The small value placed upon land in Mexico enabled the Church to become at an early day the possessor of vast tracts, which it acquired by various donations. The Inquisition, too, flourished during that period, and the lands of

heretics who fell under its discipline were confiscated. The best agricultural estates belonged to the Church, and in every town and hamlet it owned houses of every description. It also came in for a share of the products of the mines without incurring the risk of mining operations. But at last the rule of Spain became unendurable, and the people revolted."

When Maximilian was shot and Juarez came into possession, he and his government began at once to execute the laws of reform. The value of the Church was estimated to be \$300,000,000, and its revenues were greater than those of the Mexican government. When the property of the Church was placed upon the market its actual value was sufficient to pay the national debt several times over. Most of it changed hands, but to what purposes the proceeds were applied is a mystery. The spiritual power of the Church, however, remained, and it has resulted in restoring the Church to its former position of wealth. Before the reform laws this wealth consisted principally in land. Now it is money.

"Concentrated capital is, in time of need, the most available species of wealth."

There are about one hundred and fifty denominations, besides many independent congregations. It is hardly possible for any one denomination in the United States to acquire so much wealth, although the Catholic Church owns property amounting to \$118,000,000, but if ever there is church unity it would not only be possible, but quite probable for this unity to become a power, and the people should awake from their slumber and stop exempting church property from taxation.

In France the Catholic Church controlled and owned two acres of the best land out of every five, prior to the French revolution. It was Henry VIII. who broke up ecclesiastical institutions and secularized their property, that is, stopped exempting it from taxation.

In Europe to-day a man is taxed either directly or indirectly to help support a state church, whether he be a Christian, infidel, or Jew. And where the Church has the strongest hold, as in Spain and Italy, education is comparatively unknown. Italy is waking up and beginning to confiscate ecclesiastical property. The priests are howling, but let them howl; they made the

people howl once. "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander."

Observe the conditions of Canada : and the church is one of the principal causes of the deplorable state the country is in. We do not want Canada until the hives of those ecclesiastical drones are destroyed.

Generals Grant and Garfield recognized the monstrous evil, and in their messages to Congress pointed it out. James A. Garfield said in Congress, June 22, 1874 :

"The divorce between the church and state ought to be absolute. It ought to be so absolute that no church property anywhere in any state, or in the nation, should be exempt from equal taxation ; for if you exempt the property of any church organization, to that extent you impose a tax upon the whole community."

The United States is not a secular government as long as it favors the institution of religious fanaticism.

Gen. Grant in his message to Congress in 1875 said :

"In connection with this important question, I would also call your attention to the importance of correcting an evil that, if permitted to continue, will probably lead to great trouble in our land before the close of the nineteenth century. It is the acquisition of vast amounts of untaxed church property. In 1850 I believe the church property of the United States which paid no tax, municipal or state, amounted to eighty-seven millions of dollars (\$87,000,000). In 1860 the amount had doubled. In 1870 it was \$354,483,587. By 1900, without a check, it is safe to say this property will reach a sum exceeding \$3,000,000,000. So vast a sum, receiving all the protection and benefits of the government without bearing its proportion of the burdens and expenses of the same, will not be looked upon acquiescently by those who have to pay the taxes. In a growing country where real estate enhances so rapidly with time as in the United States, there is scarcely a limit to the wealth that may be acquired by corporations, religious or otherwise, if allowed to retain real estate without taxation. The contemplation of so vast a property as here alluded to, without taxation, may lead to sequestration without constitutional authority, and through blood. I would suggest the taxation of all property equally."

JAMES E. LARMER, JR.

FOURTH INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE OF PEACE.*

REPORTED BY BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.

THE conference assembled in the Council Chamber of the Swiss Federation at 10 o'clock, A. M., with an opening speech by Numa Proz, of the Swiss Chamber, to about two hundred delegates gathered from eighteen nationalities; and all members of their various parliaments. The galleries were fairly well filled with spectators, as were the rear seats of the hall, and there was also a fair sprinkling of ladies among them.

The entire absence of any member of the United States Congress was noticeable and commented upon privately, but the late adjournment of that body has rendered it almost impossible for any one of them to attend if they had desired to do so. Their absence may have had something to do with the Interparliamentary Congress meeting in Chicago in 1893, and especially as no formal invitation as yet has come to them from that body; the several joint resolutions pending, having been favorably reported but not passed.

The preceding Peace Congress had awakened a lively interest in Berne, and besides many of the members had remained over to attend this conference, thus giving it an increased interest.

Mr. Proz's opening speech was warmly applauded, and he was followed by M. Gobat, the provisional president of the congress, who announced, that, as all of the delegates were members of parliaments, the proceedings of this conference would be conducted in a parliamentary manner.

He then called upon Dr. Baumbach, of Germany, who said the Germans were a practical people, and wished this question treated in a practical way; that, after this congress had dis-

* Held at Berne, Switzerland, August 29-31, 1892.

cussed important questions on arbitration and had arrived at important conclusions, they wish them to go home and seek to get them introduced into their parliaments. He closed with a greeting to the Swiss Republic.

The Austrian Reichsrath was represented by Baron von Kubeck, a very delicate looking man, whose voice could scarcely be heard in the rear of the hall.

Frederick Bajer, president for the second year of the International Bureau, represented the Danish Rigsdag. His remarks were listened to with careful attention. He concluded with the remark that "treaties of arbitration among European nations were the first thing for which this congress should work."

Mr. Bajer, although perhaps not eloquent as a speaker, is one of the most zealous and earnest of the peace workers. He has been for twenty years a member of the Danish Parliament, having been repeatedly re-elected. He is a liberal in sentiment, and believes in woman suffrage.

Arturo de Marcoartu, member of the Spanish Senate, an old and tried friend of the peace cause, and well known in the United States, spoke for the Spanish Parliament, and opened with the remark that "the former dream of Spain, with reference to dominion and discovery, with the present wish of many Spaniards for peace and human welfare, was about to be realized."

He has presented to the parliamentary conference his proposition made to the Peace Congress, of the necessity of the neutralization of isthmuses, straits, and submarine cables.

Senator Traireaux represented the French Senate and, although quite a young man, made a very telling speech. He said that "many things declared in the past to be impossible, had to-day become possible; that this congress declares its faith, not in attempting to change the map of the world, but to establish simply a harmony among nations."

Hon. Mr. Cremer, M. P., represented the British Parliament, and expressed regret that he was obliged to address the conference in English. He said that the projectors of this series of congresses had cause to congratulate themselves that since the

first congress held in Paris in 1889, with only forty members and two countries represented, we had to-day two hundred delegates from eighteen different nationalities.

M. Daneli represented the Italian Chamber of Deputies, speaking in French as all of his predecessors had done but Cremer, and was followed by M. Lund, deputy of the Odels-thing, Norway, who spoke in German, and among other things said that weak nations like Norway, if they could not do much for the peace of the world, could nevertheless add much to it in the way of art, literature, and music.

M. Bool spoke for the general states of the Netherlands, viz: Holland, Friesland, and Flanders.

Señor Paiva, deputy, represented Portugal, addressing the congress in the Portuguese language. His address, which was brief, was received with favor and applause.

The Roumanian Parliament was represented in a speech by M. Epurean, deputy. The names of nearly the whole of the Roumanian Parliament appeared on the list. He spoke of the democratic character of Roumania; of the settlement of the Alabama claims and other important matters by arbitration, declaring that Roumania was bound to be on the list of arbitrators.

At this juncture the chairman announced thirty new members to the congress, and the adjournment until 3 p. m.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Report of the Federation of Peace by Marquis Benjamin Pandolphi, of Italy, deputy of the Italian Parliament and secretary general of the congress. The report was voluminous.

1. Reports and propositions concerning an international arbitration court by Messrs. Hilty, Hirsch, and Traireaux.

2. The protection of private property on the sea in time of war, as proposed by M. Baumbach, V. P. Germany.

3. The clause of arbitration in commercial treaties, as proposed by M. Barth.

A permanent international conference to study international questions, as proposed by M. Pandolphi; composed of five members.

The neutralization of isthmuses, straits, and submarine cables, by Marcoartu, of the Senate of Spain.

The organization of a central, permanent international bureau, proposed by the president, M. Gobat (Suisse).

Fixing time and place for the next Interparliamentary Congress.

The president announced, as forming a permanent bureau of reference, Messrs. Baumbach, Kubeck, Stanhope, and Bajer.

The proposition to establish a permanent international arbitration court provoked a very interesting discussion by French, German, and English delegates. It was finally referred to a committee of five for investigation and report, which will be made before adjournment.

The proposition of Mr. Baumbach, of Germany, is as follows :

"The conference requests its members to ask the parliaments of which they are members, and to introduce into such parliaments a resolution to call an international conference upon the right of different nations to the inviolability of private property on the sea in time of war, and to adopt the following rules :

"1. Letters of marque and reprisal are abolished.

"2. The seizure of a ship or of a cargo of the enemy shall only take place in those cases where the seizure of a ship and cargo of neutrals is permitted.

"3. The seizure of a neutral vessel and cargo shall take place only as follows : When the ship has taken part in hostilities, and still intends to take part ; when a ship has been taken in violation of a blockade ; or when the ship seized is filled with transports on account of, and to the destination of the enemy."

Mr. Thomas Snape, of Liverpool, made an admirable address upon this proposition, stating that he belonged to the greatest maritime nation in the world, and lived in her largest maritime city, and declared that many wars would be averted by the adoption of the several clauses of this proposition, which he warmly advocated, and cited several instances—notably the Alabama claims—where difficulties thus engendered had been settled by arbitration and war averted ; that although privateering had been somewhat abated, it had not been abolished ; that armies no longer took private property on land without compensation, and that the same law should be extended to the sea. He was followed in support of the proposition by Marcoartu, of

Spain, Pourquery de Boisserin, from the French Chamber, and many others, as well as Mr. Baumbach himself, who warmly supported his own measure, and coming as it does from a German official, it will have much weight. However, after the animated discussion, everything but the preamble to the proposition was stricken out, when the latter was unanimously adopted.

The proposition of Dr. Barth, deputy of the German Reichstag, was as follows :

"The Interparliamentary Congress invites its members to endeavor to have a clause of arbitration inserted in all commercial treaties, that it may be submitted to the parliaments to which they belong."

Dr. Barth supported his own proposition, and Mazzoleni, without dissenting, proposed to add treaties of extradition and navigation, with reference to industrial property. He was followed by Frederic Passy, and Jules Siegfried, of the French Chamber, and Marcoartu of the Spanish Senate, with short addresses on the proposition and amendment. The proposition was finally passed by a large majority, with Mazzoleni's amendment of extradition and industrial property.

The proposition of Marquis Pandolphi was next discussed. It read as follows :

"Considering that the peace of Europe is an indispensable condition of civilization upon which to base the existence of a durable union upon justice, and between nations, this conference expresses the wish that the governments of civilized nations institute an international conference, who shall study the means by which peace can most surely be maintained between nations, and their pacific relations be preserved."

The committee appointed to consider an arbitration court reported the following decision :

"That the members of each of the parliaments represented in the conference, will request the parliaments of which they are a part, to ask that their respective governments accept the proposition of the United States, relative to the formation between them of permanent treaties of arbitration."

Wednesday morning.—Rohusen of the Parliament of the Netherlands in the chair.

Remarks on changing the order of the day and the necessity of having a more perfect organization, by Pres. Gobat. He said :

"We have already experienced disadvantage on this account in this gathering," and he also suggested the necessity for a permanent international bureau, but said that his proposition was more for a guide in the discussion, than to be implicitly followed.

He was followed by Epurean, deputy from Roumania, who said that Berne was *a priori* the place for the establishment of the bureau, but that there were some serious objections to it. He suggested that the matter be postponed for one year, and that Marquis Pandolphi be retained for another year as secretary general.

He was followed by Mr. Baumbach, of Germany, who said that to postpone for one year would be a disadvantage, and moved that the entire proposition of President Gobat be adopted.

Mr. Frederic Passy, of France, favored a permanent organization at Berne, setting forth at length, the good that might be accomplished, and his speech was favorably received. He also suggested that this bureau be auxiliary to the one already established.

Dr. Clark, member from Scotland, opposed the establishment of a bureau as altogether useless and cumbersome, stating that the parliament or conference had nothing for the bureau to do except to organize the next conference, and that that duty would fall into the hands of the national group where the conference would meet. Mr. Clark remarked that it was true that there were some questions that could not be discussed at Berne. It was also true that there were questions that this conference could not discuss anywhere—they could only suggest; but if this bureau was to be established anywhere, he preferred Berne. The Swiss were a quiet, orderly, industrious people, and he would prefer that, if established, it should fall into the hands of the Swiss people.

Dr. Clark was seconded in his ideas about the bureau, and especially about the Swiss, by Mr. Stanhope, member of the British Parliament.

Mr. Cremer rose to say that the proposition headed "English Deputies," should read Deputies from Great Britain. Laughter

from Scotch members. Mr. Clark suggested that only active members of parliament should be put on the commission.

It was finally voted that ex-members of parliament might be present at the sessions of the conference, participate in the discussions, but would not be allowed to vote or hold office. Carried.

Dr. Max Hirsch, of Germany, suggested that the members of this bureau should be elected for the term of one year.

Thomas Snape, of Liverpool, seconded generally the proposition of Max Hirsch, while Mr. Gobat, propounder of the proposition, accepted both amendments, to the effect that a bureau shall be established of five members, elected annually from the different nations, established at Berne, and of which the Swiss member shall be the president.

Dr. Clark suggested that the congress itself should decide on the number, but that five should be the minimum and ten the maximum. The proposition of M. Gobat was finally adopted item by item, except the last as to number.

At this juncture Dr. Gaillard, French member, arose after the vote had been taken on the several articles, and when the question of "out of order" was raised on time, declared that he had a right to talk on the proposition until it had been accepted as a whole. Notwithstanding the objections and the shortness of time, as adjournment was near, he persisted in making a long and very earnest speech against the passage of the proposition. Promptly as he took his seat, and almost unanimously, the proposition as a whole, minus the sixth clause, was adopted.

Senator Traireaux made a pacificatory speech, throwing oil on the waters, and as he descended from the platform shook hands fraternally with Gaillard. The latter had said in his speech that it was difficult for him to combat the whole congress. He was followed by Herr Freiherr von Pirquet, of the Austrian Parliament, in a conciliatory speech. Nevertheless Dr. Gaillard was so much aroused at not being able to carry his point, that he withdrew from the conference.

Dr. Clark suggested that the members of the bureau should be elected as far as possible from the various countries represented,

and especially the more important ones at this time, but suggested that hereafter they should be elected by the various national groups, who would be most likely to know what members would be likely to have most influence with their Parliament.

The time for adjournment had arrived, but the business of the congress was not yet over.

An afternoon session for the election of members of the bureau was held, to decide upon place of next meeting, and to discuss the proposition of the neutralization of isthmuses, channels, straits, and submarine cables—the proposition of Marcoartu. Whether Gibraltar had anything to do with the proposition was not disclosed, but evidently the English members thought it had, and the fact that he was promptly supported by the delegate from Portugal, gave color to the proposition.

Rohnsen, of the Netherlands, thought Marcoartu's proposition too general, because there are three classes of straits, viz., those that are only six miles wide, belonging entirely to one nation; those that are six miles wide or less, belonging to several nations; and very wide straits, that according to the law of nations can never be controlled beyond a league from shore.

Mr. Marcoartu disclaimed any intention of making his proposition for any particular strait, but desired the congress to establish the principle. He was supported by M. de Paiva, deputy from Portugal.

Dr. Herst, president of the Odelsting, Norway, presented an invitation from that body for the next meeting of the conference, which was accepted, after the election of the following members for the bureau: Bajer, Scandinavia; Baumbach, Germany; Traireaux, France; Stanhope, Great Britain; Pandolphi, Italy; Rohnsen, the Netherlands; Pirquet, Austria; Marcoartu, Spain and Portugal; Vasile Urechea, Roumania and Servia; Gobat, Switzerland.

Thus ended the session of the most important humanitarian body ever called together, unless we except the Pan-Republic congress of 1890 in Washington. The conference will be held next year at Christiania, but its bureau will sit in Berne.

BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.

THE "ENDOWMENT" CRAZE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

BY HON. FRANK P. BENNETT.

ANY person who had occasion to pass through Tremont Street, Boston, on the evening of Friday, January 30, 1891, would have noticed that Tremont Temple was surcharged with a demonstrative gathering of people, and that hundreds of curious or interested observers were being turned away from the doors because of the inability of the great audience room to accommodate them. On the platform inside the Temple was a box containing \$40,000 in crisp new \$100 treasury notes, and the principal feature of the evening's program consisted in giving one of these \$100 bills to each of 400 persons whose payments to the organization giving this entertainment aggregated \$41 within the previous 12 months. Among the speakers, a lady from Cleveland, who was announced as the "state deputy from Ohio," and the "leading lady of the order," said: "Cleveland people had to have the order of the Royal Ark thoroughly explained to them. A one-year order was something new. Now we have six-months' and even four-months' orders, and whether the time will come when we can put in our money Monday morning and draw it out Saturday night, I can't say." To her hearers this last sentence concealed behind its doubtful form the pleasing hope that the time was near at hand when \$41 put into the hopper of one of these orders on Monday morning would grind out \$100 on Saturday night.

The order which this lady represented and which thus gave \$100 for \$41, with the accompaniment of music, oratory, and the acclamations of several thousand people, was one of 56 assessment endowment associations doing a similar business in Massachusetts at that time, while 201 "bond investment companies," and foreign endowment associations were then engaged in an

even more brilliant system of getting rich quickly in that state.

The assessment endowment companies were authorized by an unfortunate law passed in Massachusetts in 1888, and in spite of repeated and urgent efforts to secure their termination, the act in question still remains upon the statute books. An amendment was adopted in 1890 forbidding the further formation of these endowment societies, but 56 had already been chartered, and although 32 have since come to grief, Massachusetts, at the present writing, still permits the remaining 24 to seek new victims within her own borders, and to operate in other states under the seal of the Commonwealth which has chartered them.

The "endowment craze" reached its height in Massachusetts during the six months ending June 30, 1891, and on that date the 56 Massachusetts companies had 265,485 members, to whom they had promised the enormous aggregate of \$84,810,278. And as the existing companies were given a monopoly by the amendment of 1890 forbidding the formation of any further similar corporations in Massachusetts, a great number of organizations were chartered in New Hampshire and came into Massachusetts with promises of the still readier method of acquiring riches, to which I have already alluded. Inquiry of the commissioner of corporations in the State House at Boston shows that 201 foreign "bond investment" companies and foreign endowment associations were registered there in May, 1891.

The New Hampshire "bond investment" company differed from the Massachusetts "endowment society" in promising to pay each certificate in numerical order, as soon as the necessary funds were in the treasury. For instance, if the face value of the certificate was \$100, the "bond investment company" agreed to pay that amount upon certificate No. 1, as soon as the amount was in the treasury after paying expenses of management. The next \$100 was to be paid to certificate No. 2 with equal promptness, and with assessments of even \$1 per month and 1,000 members, it was evident that the early certificate holders would get their \$100 each at very small cost, while the loss would fall more and more heavily upon the later members, and the last man would have nobody but himself to assess after having con-

tributed heavy assessments to pay off earlier and more fortunate certificate holders. While the assessment endowment societies differed from the bond investment companies by withholding payments until a definite period, as for example, until the end of six months or one year or five years, the promoters of each system agreed in denying that there was any danger of a "last man" to suffer loss because there was nobody left to assess in the society but himself. In the Tremont Temple meeting, to which I have alluded, the lady from Cleveland, Ohio, said, "As for the last man argument, which all deputies have to meet, just assure the people that, so long as the cradle is rocked, there'll be no last man." But one of the promoters of a bond investment company, appearing before a legislative committee at the State House in Boston, was asked who had certificates No. 1 and No. 2 in his company, and he replied, "Well, 'er, I had No. 2." Being further interrogated, he admitted that, if he couldn't have No. 1, he wanted No. 2. It was found that nearly all the earlier numbers of certificates in the bond investment companies were held by the promoters and their friends.

By a law enacted June 4, 1891, the bond investment companies were unceremoniously swept out of Massachusetts and were suppressed with equal promptness by their parent state of New Hampshire, though not before the "last man" had been reached among the victims of several of them. Of the Massachusetts endowment societies, the "Order of the Royal Ark," whose Ohio deputy had said, "So long as the cradle is rocked, there'll be no last man," terminated its active existence September 11, 1891, or about seven months after its "leading lady" had made the remark which I have just quoted. It had at one time 17,400 members, and in its early circulars the officers informed the naïve public that whatever balance was left after paying \$100 from \$24 received in assessments "would be carried to the reserve fund." The early members were paid \$100 each at a cost for endowment assessments of \$32; the public payments at Tremont Temple were \$100 at a cost of \$41 each, and seven months later the possibility of further payments upon a basis attractive to new members had ceased. The "Friendly Aid

Society," the "Golden Lion," the "National Three-Year Benefit Order," the "Mutual One-Year Benefit Order," the "National Congress of Friends," and 26 other Massachusetts assessment endowment societies followed the "Royal Ark" into the hands of receivers in quick succession, making 32 in all which have failed. I say 32, but as the number is constantly increasing, it may now be 33 or 34. In the 27 Massachusetts companies remaining in existence January 1, 1892, the aggregate membership had fallen to 72,444, against 265,485 in the assessment endowment associations of Massachusetts six months previously. Nearly all of the societies still in existence call themselves "long-term orders," and their officers unite in criticising the "short-term orders," or those whose endowment period was less than four or five years. But whatever their term of payment may be, the proposed methods of all these societies have been similar. The failures have included 7-year, 5-year, and 3-year orders, but have been largely among the 1-year orders, because the period of large payments in such orders has been generally reached. Those 5-year orders, whose first certificates do not begin to mature until 1894 have naturally found continued existence much easier than the 1-year orders whose certificates matured in 1891. But it is difficult to see why it should prove much easier in the end to pay \$500 in five years for \$200 than to return \$100 in one year for \$40. The insurance commissioner of Massachusetts, Hon. George S. Merrill, who sturdily refused from the beginning to yield either to the enticements or the threats of these orders, readily disposed of this claim of superiority of the "long-term orders" before a committee of the legislature the present year. In his report upon first taking possession of his present office, in the year 1888, he pronounced the promises of even the "Order of the Iron Hall" as "absurd," "preposterous," and "morally and mathematically impossible of fulfillment," and from that time until the present he has appealed to the legislature annually to take from these speculative schemes the indorsement and approval of the Commonwealth.

The "Order of the Iron Hall," the pioneer and parent of the "assessment endowment associations," was organized in Indiana

in 1881, and the officers and paid attorneys of this corporation have been assiduous and influential in promoting legislation in favor of the Massachusetts companies, whose political support is very important to this Indiana corporation. It was in 1887 that Hon. John K. Tarbox, then insurance commissioner of Massachusetts, called the attention of the attorney-general to the business in which this corporation was engaged; and the law officer of the Commonwealth affirmed the illegality of the transactions of the Iron Hall, and was about to apply for an injunction. But the corporation retained ex-Governor Robinson and other leading politicians as counsel before the legislature, and with their assistance obtained such legislation as they desired. Since that time ex-Governor Robinson and other men prominent in public life have appeared before committees at each session of the legislature in defense of the endowment orders, and this year the counsel of these organizations were aptly described by Insurance Commissioner Merrill as follows:

"Four years ago, three years ago, one year ago, the officers of these corporations were willing to commit their case to the brilliant ex-governor, and the able ex-councilor; but this year, after the little episode in last fall's political campaign, that was a combination altogether too one-sided, and they therefore brought in from the other great political party the brilliant ex-congressman and the other equally brilliant expectant lieutenant-governor."

The principal feature of the Iron Hall has been the payment of endowments of \$1,000 each to those of its subscribers who persist in paying the assessments as levied by the supreme officers for a period of seven years. The payment of disability and death benefits has been merely incidental, and is a service which can be performed far more honestly and satisfactorily by the legitimate fraternal or mutual benefit associations than by the endowment societies. The obligations of the Iron Hall began to mature in 1888, and in the four years from that time to the date of its last public statement, January 1, 1892, it had paid in final benefits to its sick and persistent contributors the large sum of \$5,791,245; and the cost to each beneficiary was in the neighborhood of \$300 for \$1,000. The amount of each assessment is \$2.50 for a \$1,000 certificate, and the number of

assessments has thus far averaged 17 or 18 per annum. The Iron Hall also issues certificates for less amounts than \$1,000 at assessments ranging from 50 cents to \$2.00 each. The success of the Iron Hall in meeting its maturing certificates without any apparent disaster until the recent application for a receivership was a powerful argument in defense of the Massachusetts endowment societies. During the first years of its organization, the membership of the Iron Hall was small, and, at \$1,000 each, \$5,791,245 would pay but 5,791 certificates. According to the company's own statement, it paid only 909 final claims in 1891, and had at the beginning of that year 53,906 members, and at the end of the year 65,204 members. The 17 or 18 assessments of the company for a single year, upon the last-named number of members, would yield more than sufficient funds to have paid the 909 maturing certificates. In the year 1891, to which I have just alluded, the Iron Hall raised 17 assessments, yielding \$1,907,288.25; and it paid benefits aggregating \$1,105,488, including not only the \$1,000 each to the 909 matured certificates, but also some sick and disability benefits. But while a membership of 65,204 would thus readily pay 909 maturing certificates and leave something for the reserve fund, a membership of at least 2,608,160 would be required to pay 65,204 maturing certificates at 17 or 18 assessments per year, and a membership of 104,326,400 to pay 2,608,160 maturing certificates, and a membership of 4,173,056,000 to pay 104,326,400 maturing certificates; and as the population of the entire globe is estimated to be but 1,500,000,000, it follows that, upon the basis of these calculations, nearly three times the population of the whole world, including octogenarians and infants in arms, Hottentots, Patagonian giants, and wandering Arabs, would shortly be necessary to insure a reasonable degree of permanency for the Iron Hall alone, without making any provision for the endowment companies having their home offices in Massachusetts.

It would not seem to require a very profound student of mathematics to understand that if 1,000 men pay \$300 apiece into a common treasury, and 300 of them draw out \$1,000 apiece, there exists a deficiency immediately of \$700,000 if the remain-

ing 700 have each been promised a like sum ; and that, without making any allowance for the running expenses of the association, it requires $3\frac{1}{2}$ new members to pay off one old member at the rate of \$1,000 for \$300. Nearly every schoolboy is familiar with the old story of the blacksmith who agreed to pay a helper one cent the first day, two cents the second, four cents the third day, and so on, doubling the man's wages each succeeding day for twenty days. The astonished blacksmith found that by this process the helper's earnings amounted to \$5,242.88 for the twentieth day, and to \$10,485.75 for the entire twenty days. In this generation of an advanced public school system in the United States, one would suppose there were enough who have been initiated into the mysteries of geometrical progression to suggest the impracticability of the Iron Hall system of speculation at a glance.

But while all men have the gift of reason, it is unfortunately true that some men reason very badly. Some of the victims of the endowment orders were very "practical" persons, who scorned theories and doctrines and were quite certain the endowment orders would succeed because they had seen with their own eyes full payments made by some of the orders to their certificate holders. Others of the victims admitted from the outset that somebody was going to be financially hurt in these orders, but that they themselves hoped to get their money out before the crash came.

To those of their critics who are so theoretical as to appeal to the rules of simple arithmetic, the managers of the endowment societies answer that sufficient "lapses" may be depended upon to insure the success of their enterprises, and moreover that they do not promise to limit their assessments to any definite ratio of the promised benefits. Furthermore, the Iron Hall replies that it does not even promise to pay a definite amount, that it only contracts to pay a sum "not exceeding \$1,000." All of their literature, however, suggests a definite promise of \$1,000, and the persons who join do not see the certificates until after they have become members, and are usually then influenced rather by the promises of the company's agents than by the precise language of its written or printed contracts.

Of the present liabilities of the "Order of the Iron Hall," only \$1,849,725 matures in 1892, but the amount increases rapidly until it reaches \$12,399,600 for the year 1898 upon the certificates issued in 1891. The present liabilities of the "Order of the Iron Hall" will become payable as follows :

In 1892	\$1,849,725	In 1896	\$ 8,353,400
In 1893	2,908,205	In 1897	6,857,580
In 1894	6,382,275	In 1898	12,399,600
In 1895	9,035,532		
Total			\$47,786,317

As the certificates of those who become members of the order in 1892 will not mature until 1899, they should consider whether any known system of accurate mathematics would demonstrate the ability of the corporation to meet the large sums falling due previous to 1899, even if the order should be honestly managed.

In the "Order of Aegis," one of the Massachusetts assessment endowment corporations, which was active in preventing action by the last legislature against these orders, there has lately been much discontent among the certificate holders because it is becoming apparent that the corporation cannot fulfill the expressed or implied promises of its promoters that \$1,000 would be paid in seven years at a cost of 70 cents per week, say, \$255.50. The "North American Endowment Association," another of the Massachusetts companies organized under the law of 1888, promises to pay \$500 in five years, and distinctly claims in its circulars that "it is an assured thing that you will not have to pay more than one third the amount of your certificate." In the printed circular of the "American Protective League" there is a formula estimating the total cost of an endowment of \$500 in five years at \$150 to \$200. In the printed circular of the "National Congress of Friends," a five-year Massachusetts order which has already come to grief, a statement of the purposes of the order began as follows: "The question which interests every one is, how can a person put in \$250 or \$300 in five years and take out \$1,000." The circular then goes on to explain how this can be done by a system of "lapses" which has been aptly described by the critics of the endowment orders

as equivalent to the theory that if two strangers sit together in a train leaving Buffalo for Albany, and one of them is called back by a telegram at Rochester, leaving his carpet bag in the train, the "persistent" traveler may coolly confiscate the carpet bag and its contents to his own permanent use and enjoyment. The carpet bag lapses, owing to misfortune befalling its owner.

Our whole case against the assessment endowment societies might rest upon the injustice and immorality of this deliberate speculation upon the misfortunes of those who have been encouraged to become members of the associations under the banner of fraternity. The hope of large profits has induced the victims of these orders to continue the payment of their assessments in periods of financial misfortune, when grocery bills, house rent, clothing, and even food have been sacrificed to meet the fees of the endowment association; when sentiments the reverse of brotherly have inspired in hearts, rent and blinded by poverty, the hope not only of saving the hard-earned pittance intrusted to those associations, but of profiting by the "lapses" of others crushed out by the weight of still greater misfortunes. The attractiveness of the assessment endowment association for new members lay in the expectation of receiving two or three or more dollars for every dollar paid in. If the hope of such a result were sufficiently reasonable to commend itself to the members who are able to continue their payments, then the lapses must come mainly from the members who are weak financially, the brothers who have fallen by the wayside. If the lapses have not been caused by financial distress, but have come from well-to-do members, then the hope of securing two or three dollars for one has not been sufficiently strong to induce persistence in membership by those who are able to continue. The promoters of the system of "lapses" have found themselves, and must continue to find themselves, impaled upon one or the other horn of the dilemma just stated.

Interest rates are too low and opportunities for profitable investment are not sufficiently numerous to induce any intelligent person to abandon his assessments at any stage of an enterprise in which he is assured even two dollars for one.

The member who lapses during the first year or two of his membership in a Massachusetts endowment order does not, of course, leave as large a forfeiture for the benefit of his persistent fellow-members as though his lapse occurred in the fourth or fifth year, when the accumulations of his four or five years of persevering contribution to the funds of the company would constitute a more attractive reward for those who were waiting to profit by his withdrawal from the company. Of course, the certificate holder who has continued his payments four years in a five-year company, or six years in a seven-year company, would be likely to endure much personal sacrifice in other directions rather than allow his payments to lapse when so near completion. But this tendency toward a diminution of lapses in the concluding year of the term is offset by the fact that the law permits the endowment society to make unlimited assessments upon its certificates during the last three months before such certificates mature. Experience has shown, however, a much stronger tendency to hold to the bitter end in these endowment societies than the promoters have predicted. Of 4,244 certificates terminated in the Iron Hall in 1891, the number maturing was 909, as already stated, while 259 were terminated by death, leaving 3,076 which lapsed. This lapse rate is not up to the estimate of the company's promoters and attorneys, being only a little over 5 per cent of the Iron Hall membership at the beginning of 1891, as already stated, or $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent of the membership at the end of that year.

Next to the Iron Hall, the largest existing endowment corporation is the "People's Five-Year Benefit Order," which had been in existence 33 months at the time of its last official statement on the first of January, 1892. It had then 15,314 members, the amount of whose outstanding certificates was \$7,576,100. To meet those the corporation had in the state treasury, at last accounts, \$361,404. Of its \$7,576,100 of liabilities, about \$2,348,600 falls due in 1894, \$2,477,400 in 1895, and \$2,750,100 in 1896. Supposing this total liability to be reduced by payments for disability benefits \$298,926, which is about the ratio of previous reductions from this source, and by

the interest upon these, the legality of which is questionable, say \$70,000 more, there still remains more than \$7,200,000 of ultimate liability toward which the corporation has accumulated but \$361,404, not more than one fifth of which can be used to pay the \$2,348,600 of certificates maturing in 1894.

The Iron Hall, when first seeking admission to Massachusetts, had a provision in its charter that during no period of its existence should more than one seventh of its reserve fund be drawn in any year to meet maturing certificates. After the company had been admitted to the state, the charter was changed so that two sevenths might be taken, and the company's report for 1890, sworn to by the officers, showed that it took two sevenths instead of one seventh, of that which it had promised should remain in the reserve fund. If the "People's Five-Year Benefit Order," with \$361,404 in the reserve fund, and with maturing certificates amounting to \$2,348,600 in 1894, and \$5,227,500 in the two following years, abandons the plan of drawing only one fifth of the reserve fund in any year to meet maturing certificates, its certificate holders must still endure one hundred assessments in two years, an average of over four per month. But to provide a reserve so that one fifth of it will be sufficient to meet the payments as promised, the 15,314 certificate holders of the "People's Five-Year Benefit Order" must stand twenty assessments of \$1.50 each per month, or a total of \$360 per year, a result which is certain to be accompanied by an application to the courts by angry members. The "People's Five-Year Benefit Order" began by calling a single assessment of \$1.50 per month on each certificate, and they are now calling two assessments, or \$3.00 per month in all.

The objections which have been stated respecting some of these Massachusetts assessment endowment corporations, apply equally well to all the others. To be sure, the "Order of the Solid Rock" had but 1,651 members, according to its last annual statement, and the "Order of the World" but 4,561, and the "Order of Safety" but 611 (therein lies the safety of those who have stayed out); but the advertised methods of all, whether their terms be one year, or five years, or seven years,

have been modeled after the same plan. The corporation consists of seven persons, popularly or unpopularly known as "Supremes," with no representation as a rule from the subordinate lodges. Among the incorporators was generally a well-salaried supreme chaplain, and there was a curious admixture of religious pretense in many of their proceedings, which can neither be pleasant nor profitable to describe at this time. In the corporations which have already failed there has also been a record of thievery and mismanagement, which certainly illustrates the unwisdom of a system that intrusts such large sums of money to a body of seven men who are not responsible in any way to the certificate holders.

In some of the public meetings of the associations, a supreme humorist seems also to have been employed; but his office must be considered ephemeral and unimportant, since we nowhere learn that a supreme humorist has been admitted to any such large participation in the profits of the endowment societies as the supreme chaplain. In the "Order of the Golden Lion," one of the officers who appeared before Justice Allen, of the Supreme Court, was asked what position he held, and answered that he was the supreme chaplain and that his duty was to open the supreme session with prayer. He further stated that his previous occupation had been that of a clerk in a grocery store at \$15 per week, but that his salary as chaplain was \$7,500 per annum. As the supreme session of the "Golden Lion" was held but once in two years, the cost to the members for this supreme chaplain was \$15,000 a prayer. In the "Friendly Aid Society," which began business in June, 1890, the old officers discovered a method of enriching themselves by the process of selling out the corporation, resigning and allowing the purchasing members to be elected officers in their places. The old officers received over \$27,000 cash for this transaction, and the new officials managed, in thirteen weeks of the existence of the corporation after they had gained control, to secure to themselves \$36,200 in compensation. When a receiver was appointed, the books and accounts were in a sadly confused condition, almost impossible of being satisfactorily adjusted. In the "Golden Lion," whose

chaplain's salary has already been alluded to, the expenses, which largely went to the officers in salaries, were \$120,000 in eleven months. In the "Order of the Royal Ark," J. W. Hamilton was the printer, chairman of the committee on supplies, a member of the auditing committee, and a member of the finance committee. As a member of the finance committee, Mr. Hamilton approved the bills which Hamilton, the auditor, had audited, as rendered by Hamilton, the chairman of the committee on supplies, from Hamilton, the printer.

In the "Progressive Benefit Order," which began business in May, 1890, and had a total membership of about 55,000, one Thomas Davey pocketed \$68,000 in the eighteen months' existence of the order. After the payment period began, the officers of this association concocted a scheme by which the members were to agree to receive a bicycle instead of the \$100 promised in the certificate.

In the "Mutual One-Year Benefit Order," a selling-out process occurred last October. I take some natural interest in this particular order because its president (whose whereabouts is now unknown) was for a time my fellow-townsmen, and having secured the chairmanship and control of one of the political committees, was said to be engaged in actively promoting his own election as an endowment candidate for the legislature, when the exposure of his rascality came. He and the other members of the old board of officers in his company received \$20,000 for selling out. He had also pretended to institute a subordinate lodge of 300 members, known as Hampden Lodge 106, which is believed to have had no existence in fact, and had drawn out by this means \$30,000 which was fraudulently transferred to the pockets of the officers. The expense account of this corporation for salaries was also at the rate of nearly \$110,000 per year. No wonder the president fled! He is alleged to have been subsequently seen in the Bermudas, where he certainly need not remain for climatic considerations, as he would find the latitude of Massachusetts sufficiently hot for him if he should return thereto.

I will conclude merely with the suggestion that "the endowment craze in Massachusetts," though unique in many of its

details, is still sufficiently like the "loan fund" mania in Massachusetts forty years ago, the "South Sea Bubble" in Europe 180 years ago, the "Tulipomania" in Holland 240 years ago, and to numerous other combined speculations and swindles in all generations, to prevent the hope that the lesson which it teaches will be permanent, or that any historical sketch will be effective in preventing some similar delusion in a future generation. In the case of the Massachusetts endowment societies it is not enough to say that "the American people like to be humbugged." To the greater portion of their victims connection with these organizations has been no joke. They entered into the organizations seriously, and have witnessed the denouement sadly, and the record of financial distress—of poor cash girls and washerwomen and mill operatives pinching and denying themselves to put money into the purses of men now living in splendid residences and driving fine horses, or fleeing to more hospitable climes with their ill-gotten gains, while brilliant ex-governors remain behind to defend their operations—the record of all this, I say, suggests, not that innocent showman's maxim, "the American people like to be humbugged," but rather that sadder refrain,

"Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn."

FRANK P. BENNETT.

PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE IN THEIR RELATIONS TO WAGE EARNERS AND COMMERCE.

BY HON. JOHN JARRETT.

IT IS remarkable that from the very commencement of tariff agitation in this country the working-men have always been arrayed on the side of the American policy of Protection. When the Constitution of the United States was adopted and tariff legislation was launched into the field of national politics, the skilled mechanics were among the foremost and most energetic in laying before the first Congress of the United States the necessity of the passage of such laws as would favor the establishment of the industrial independence of the country. The first petition presented to Congress after its first assembly in March, 1789, came from several hundred mechanics and tradesmen of Baltimore, "lamenting the decline of manufactures and trade since the Revolution, and praying that the efficient government with which they were then blessed would render the country independent in fact as well as in name by an early attention to the encouragement and protection of American manufactures by imposing on all foreign articles which could be made in America such duties as would give a decided preference to their labor." Like memorials followed in quick succession from representatives of the same class in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and other centers of commercial activity. In response to these requests, together with the fact that the administration in power and nearly all the people were in sympathy and felt the need of such a movement, Mr. Madison, of Virginia, submitted a tariff bill to the new Congress for the dual purpose of revenue and protection, which in its preamble made the emphatic declaration that it was "necessary for the support of the government, for the discharge of the duties of the

United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures that duties be laid on goods, wares, and merchandise imported." Congress acted promptly on this measure, passing the bill as its second act. Throughout the first half of the present century the working-men of the United States were loyally arrayed on the side of Protection, while the chief opponents and advocates of Free Trade were the slave owners and those who were in sympathy with slavery. The working-men of the free states had always been loyal, and the attempts made on the part of the advocates of Free Trade to nullify the tariff laws of the United States intensified the ardor and zeal of the free labor of the country in favor of Protection.

It does not appear that there was much discussion as to the influence of tariff on wages until about the year 1840. In the campaign of that year the tariff of 1828 was one of the principal issues, and the wages question was pretty freely discussed, but we do not find that any of the political parties took up the wages question, giving it a prominent part in the campaign until the year 1860. At this time the slavery debate had reached its highest and intensest pitch. The industries of the country were fast decaying and business was in every way depressed, all of which was clearly expressed by the President of the United States in his message to Congress the year previous. The young Republican party in 1860 held its National Convention at Chicago and announced itself in favor of a protective tariff, the closing words of the tariff plank being as follows: "And we commend that policy which secures to the working-man liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, and to the nation prosperity and independence." The wages paid American labor now became a prominent feature in the discussion of the tariff. A protective duty was not only necessary to promote and encourage manufactures, but it was also necessary to protect labor in its earnings in competition with the labor of foreign countries.

It is generally argued that the tariff of 1861 was simply a war measure. There can, however, be no dispute that had war been averted, under the administration of the Republican party a

tariff similar to that of 1842 would certainly have been adopted. The tariff act of 1861 and subsequent acts during the war were in some respects a war measure, non-competing as well as competing articles being placed under heavy duties. After the close of the war, the Republican Congress of the United States went about revising the tariff, eliminating by degrees from the dutiable list such articles as did not enter into competition with home productions. The Democratic party, however, continued after the war as it had been before, to be the champion of Free Trade, but it was not until the year 1877-8 that the party succeeded in having a majority in the lower House of Congress. They at once set about reducing duties under what is known as the "Fernando Wood Bill." The working-men of the country were at once "up in arms" in opposition to the passage of the measure, and committees of labor organizations representing various interests presented themselves against the passage of the bill.

Up to this time the policy of Protection had been strictly adhered to by the Republican party, but in 1883, though both Houses of Congress and the President were Republican, it was thought best to revise the tariff, when it could be done by the friends of Protection. Special efforts were made by the Free Traders to make the best of what appeared to them as a weakness on the part of Protectionists. A few weak-kneed Republicans were found in each House who gave way to the clamor of the Democratic Free Traders, and voted with the Democrats in reducing the duty on wool in such measure as to absolutely do away with the protective features of the act of 1867. The results of the reduction in the wool duty were exceedingly disastrous to the wool industry. In 1884-1887 the number of sheep in the country had decreased over 5,800,000, and in the same period the quantity of American wool produced decreased 79,300,000 pounds. The tariff revision of 1883 was unpopular, for in the campaign that followed the Democrats were successful in obtaining control of the House of Representatives.

The farmers in the wool-producing states had strenuously opposed the reduction in the wool duty. They afterwards sent

petitions in large numbers praying Congress to restore the duties of 1867 on wool. The Republican members of the House now did all they could to assist the farmers, but the House being Democratic and under the control of the enemies of Protection, promptly refused to accede to the demands of the woolgrowers.

Mr. Morrison, of Illinois, was at this time leader of the House and chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. A bold attempt was made by him to bring about a horizontal reduction of about 20 per cent on nearly all duties. Again the working-men were in the front, committees representing several trades and labor organizations appeared before the Ways and Means Committee and entered their protests against the proposed reductions. The Morrison bill was defeated by the narrow majority of four.

The next onslaught made by the Free Traders on Protection was in 1888, in what was known as the Mills bill. Committees of working-men again entered their protests, but the bill passed the House 162 ayes to 149 noes, but was subsequently defeated by a Republican Senate.

I have gone over these various instances briefly to show the interest the working-men have taken in favor of Protection. On the other hand, I do not know of a single case in which a committee representing a *bona fide* trades union or labor organization have appeared before the Ways and Means Committee or appealed to Congress in any form, praying for a reduction in duties of articles imported and which compete with the products of American labor. Among the various organizations of labor that have from time to time sent committees to Washington protesting against the attempts made by the Democrats, or rather Free Traders, to reduce duties below the protective point, none have been more active than the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. This organization though severely non-political, has always been an advanced advocate of Protection to American industries. The following was adopted at its Annual Convention in 1883, and is a clear expression of its sentiments on this subject :

"That all producers and manufacturers should bear alike equal burdens of taxation, and foreign producers and manufacturers should not be exempted therefrom. Our tariff should at all times be so adjusted as to, at least, tax them the like amount of tax paid by home producers and manufacturers for the support of local, state, and national governments, as well as the amount of difference in the wages of labor and cost of manufacture, and the ruling rate of interest in this country, so that American capital and labor invested in the productive industries of the land shall be placed upon an equal footing in our own home markets with foreign capital and labor, and not discriminated against by national legislation. Our government has neither the moral nor political right to discriminate against home capital and labor in its tariff legislation, and against any such policy we are unalterably opposed. We therefore favor a tariff so adjusted as to give to our people who pay the taxes and support the government, adequate protection against foreign competition, and place them upon, at least, an equal footing with foreign competition, in our home markets. We also favor the abolition of internal revenue taxes, and if, after their abolition, further reduction of taxation by the national government shall be desired at any time, it shall be done by placing on the free list such articles as do not enter into competition with home productions and manufactures; but in no case should the tariff upon such articles as do enter into competition with them be placed at lower duties than shall be required to maintain and keep them upon a footing with foreign competitors."

This is clear, concise language which strikes the mark every time.

But it may be asked why should working-men be such earnest advocates of Protection. There are many reasons for this, but we will take up but a few in this article.

First, because they are before everything else essentially producers, therefore, it is of the greatest importance to them that the natural resources of our country be utilized to their fullest extent, and thus afford the largest and fullest diversity of employments possible to labor. Free Traders usually assert that this would be accomplished under the "natural laws of production." From this we are to infer that, if a country possesses natural resources for production of manufactures of any class, as the population increases these resources will necessarily be utilized, but experience teaches us that in the opening of new industries in new countries, restrictive measures of some nature have always been applied. Did England become a great manu-

facturing country under the operation of the "natural laws of production," so termed? or was it not rather because the government of that country adopted and practiced the most rigid system of Protection from 1336 to 1846? Free Traders, however, point to the enormous growth of manufactures that has taken place in England since the adoption of Free Trade by that country. It is to be observed, however, that countries that have adopted Protection have increased in much larger ratio in manufactures than England has since the year 1846. We shall point out some of these instances outside that of our own country, further on. It is remarkable that no country has ever succeeded in establishing manufactures but under the operation of protective tariff laws. This is also the experience of our own country. Wherever and whenever the tariff duty has been protective on any foreign product, the manufacture of that product has been successfully established in this country, while in all cases where the duty has not been protective, the manufacture has not been successfully established.

The tin plate industry is a remarkable instance of this in the iron and steel industry. Notwithstanding the fact that up to the year 1876 the prices charged by the foreign producers for tin plates were enormously high, and though attempts were made by American manufacturers to make tin plates during the period of these high prices, the movement utterly failed because the duty on tin plates was not protective, being much less than the duty on the material out of which tin plates are made.

It is, therefore, clear as a question of fact that if we would utilize the natural resources of our country to their fullest extent, protective tariffs are necessary.

Again, American working-men are advocates of Protection because it isolates the field of competition between the products of their labor and the products of foreign labor. Under the operation of this aspect of Protection, our working-men are not only able to command, but they receive far higher wages than is paid abroad.

But Free Traders and *quasi* labor leaders affirm that the tariff has nothing to do with the higher wages paid to labor in this

country. The credit for this, they say, is due to the trades and labor organizations of the working-men. It is very strange what regard and interest the present day Free Traders are taking in working-men, their welfare, and their organizations. It was not always thus. Richard Cobden the great apostle of Free Trade did not seem to have a very high opinion of the qualifications of working-men, or much respect for their welfare. In a speech delivered in the House of Commons on February 27, 1846, he said, "You never heard me quote the superior judgment of the working classes in any deliberations in this assembly; you never heard me cant about the superior claims of the working classes to arbitrate on this great question." Of course Mr. Cobden was a large employer of labor and a capitalist. His opinion on trades unions is therefore very interesting. In a letter written to his brother Frederick, he said, "Depend upon it nothing can be got by fraternizing with trades unions. They are founded upon principles of brutal tyranny and monopoly. I would rather live under a Dey of Algiers than a Trades Committee." (John Morley's "Life of Richard Cobden," p 43.)

This is very strong language indeed, but perfectly consistent with the principles of Free Trade as enunciated by Mr. Cobden and his cotemporaries. Free Trade is nothing more or less than *free competition*, while trades unions and labor organizations are combinations of working-men banded together for the purpose of *regulating and controlling competition* among themselves. We may go a step further and say that labor organizations absolutely do away with competition. Where, then, is the consistency of present day Free Traders in asserting that the organizations are the only cause of the higher wages paid labor in this country. As a lifelong trades unionist I am prepared to give labor organizations full credit for the good they have done, and maintain that without organizations working-men would not get as high wages as they do get. Free Traders compromise themselves in the position they now take regarding labor organizations, for if the organizations of labor were the only cause of the higher wages received by our working-men, and these organizations are based on the principle of restricting competition, the argument

necessarily follows that as protective duties restrict competition between home and foreign labor, the higher wages paid to labor in this country is wholly due to the tariff. Again, it must be borne in mind that trades unions and labor organizations existed in Free Trade England long before they did in this country, and to-day the working-men of England are as perfectly, if not more perfectly, organized than are the working-men of the United States. Why then is it that labor organizations have not enabled the working-men of England to raise the standard of wages to the same level as exists in this country?

To show that the tariff has much to do, if not all, with the difference in wages paid in this country and England, let me illustrate. In 1860 the highest wages paid for puddling in England was 13 shillings per ton, equal to about \$3.25 of our money. In the United States, at Pittsburg, the highest wages paid in 1860 was \$3.50 per ton for puddling, a difference of about 25 cents per ton. Free Trade practically existed in this country at that time. At present the highest wages paid in England for puddling is 7s. 6d., or \$1.80 per ton. In this country at Pittsburg, the wages paid for puddling is \$5.50 per ton. Thus puddling, with organized labor and Protection, has advanced from \$3.50 to \$5.50 per ton in this country, while in England with Free Trade and organized labor, puddling has gone down from 13s. to 7s. 6d. per ton. This fact does not apply to puddling alone, but to every other department of labor in the manufacture of iron. Tonnage wages in some instances has increased in this country to as much as 70 per cent and daily earnings in some cases to 580 per cent. Common day labor shows the smallest increase, being 75 cents per day in 1860 and \$1.35 per day at present.

No branch of labor in the manufacture of iron in England shows an increase in wages at present over 1860.

To affirm what I here state, I quote the following from London Industries, a British authority:

"The rise in the rate of wages generally paid in skilled industries in the United States has been considerable even since 1880, but during the last two years it would appear as if the upward movement had been

effectually arrested. At any rate there can be no doubt that in the staple industries, and especially those in which the people of the United States have to face the competition of our own and other European countries in the markets of the world and within their own boundaries, the average rate of wages has reached as high a point as it is likely to attain. That point may roughly be indicated by the general payment of \$1.50 per day for unskilled workmen and from \$2 to \$3 per day for skilled workers. These figures are much above the rates paid in England; indeed they may be regarded as fully 75 per cent, and in many cases above 100 per cent, above English rates. Up to some 30 years ago there was not such a difference between the two countries, but the scarcity of labor caused by the war, and the increased stringency of the tariff, initiated for revenue purposes, but continued and increased with a view to the development of home industries, caused wages to take a rise which has been more or less permanent. It is probably a correct diagnosis of the range of wages paid to skilled labor in this country to say that it will average about 5s. per day, while unskilled labor will range between 3s. and 3s. 6d. This view is presented as a result of the examination of many returns and pay sheets."

Free Traders, however, assert that the higher wages paid labor in this country are of no benefit to the working-men, as the cost of living is proportionately higher in this country. As I have been a resident in England for about three years, serving as United States consul at Birmingham, and having given very extensive study to the whole of this question, I venture to assert that outside of clothing made to order, and house rent, a dollar will purchase as much in this country as in England.

The best joints of beef and mutton sell at from 20 to 24 cents per lb.; turkeys sell at from 24 to 28 cents per lb.; chickens at from 48 to 84 cents each; fresh eggs at from 2 to 4 cents each; dairy butter at from 32 to 40 cents per lb.; tomatoes at from 12 to 24 cents per lb.; grapes from 8 to 96 cents per lb. All of these and several others I can mention are luxuries seldom, if ever, indulged in by the average British industrial classes. The poorer joints of meat sell at from 8 to 16 cents per lb.; store eggs from 1½ to 2 cents each; margarin from 12 to 24 cents per lb.; apples from 4 to 12 cents per lb.; canned peaches from 24 to 36 cents per can; canned tomatoes from 16 to 24 cents per can. These few items will give the reader an idea of the average run of prices over there.

The following pathetic letter which appeared in the *Postman's*

Gazette under the heading of "How to Live on a First-class Postman's Wages," may be interesting here :

"SIR:—Whilst recently sitting at home reading an old issue of a daily paper, I read how some people seemed perplexed how to live on £800 a year. My husband thought it would be curious to know how we, with two children, lived on 19s. per week, or £49 8s. 0d. per year, so I thought I would send you our account as near as possible for past week, which shows how near I have been in housekeeping. First there is rent, 4s. for one large room; six loaves at 4½d., 2s. 3d.; fresh meat for Sunday, 10d.; cuttings for Wednesday, to make soup, 4d.; vegetables, 1s.; 1lb butter, 1s.; flour, 5d.; rice, 1½d.; treacle, 1½d.; tea, 9d.; cocoa, 3d.; milk, 3½d.; sugar, 4d.; two eggs, 1½d.; cheese, 3d.; jam, 4d.; condiments, 1½d.; coal, ¼ cwt., at 1s. 2d., 10½d.; loose wood, 3d.; soap, soda, matches, hearth stone, blacklead, etc., 4½d.; oil, 3d. Husband having so much walking, he wears two pairs of boots per year, at 9s. 0d. per pair; repairs of same, 5s. 10d. (5½d. per week); myself, two pairs at 5s. 0d.; boots for two children, 10s. 0d. per year; repairs, 3s. 10d.—£1 3s. 10d., or 5½d. per week; insurance on children, 2d.; school fee for one, 2d.; Postmen's Auxiliary Society, 3d.; Postmen's Union subscription, 2d.; weekly newspaper, 1d. Clothing for self and two children cannot be reckoned at less than £2 10s. 0d. per year, or 1s. 0d. per week. Balance, ½d. This is how we have laid out 18s. 0d., my husband keeping 1s. 0d. for himself out of which he buys his own private clothes, including shirts and socks. He smokes a little sometimes, but happily he does not drink. When he can afford it he goes to the baths, which costs him 3d., as there is no bath-room where we live. So you see, though we are not extravagant, we cannot save for old age or even for a holiday, and to buy other articles needed in the house we must do without something mentioned above. I am sorry to say my husband is unable to pay 'bus fare, whereby he is compelled to walk to and fro a long distance twice a day. He has to draw a parcel post handcart seven or eight hours a day, besides which he says he has to do sorting in the office. He has been several years employed under government, and has had 1s. 0d. rise since the commencement of the Postmen's Union, of which I hope he will continue to be a member; and, as he says, it is not only for himself, but also for others who are worse off than we are. Some have more children, and are only getting 18s. per week. I hope this may fall into the hands of my more fortunate married sisters who have £800 a year to keep house with. They will see what a hard struggle it is for me, whose husband's income is 19s. 0d. per week.

"Yours, etc.,

"A PARCEL POSTMAN'S WIFE."

It will be observed that the postal carrier's wages in the letter referred to amount to \$240 a year. A government employee doing similar work in this country would receive at least a sal-

ary of from \$600 to \$720, and as a result would be able to enjoy better living by far than that illustrated in the letter of our "Parcel Postman's Wife." It is true that it costs a working-man more to live in this country than in England, but it is also true that the American working-man is better fed, better clothed, and better housed.

It is again affirmed by Free Traders that the manufacturers of this country get all the benefits of the tariff, as its resultant is one of higher profits only. Let us see. The price of a ton of bar iron, Staffordshire marked bars, at Birmingham, England, latest quotations, is £8, or \$38.85, per ton. The price of refined bar iron at Pittsburg at present is 1.80 cents per pound, or \$40.32 per ton of 2,240 pounds. The wages paid for puddling in Staffordshire, England, is \$1.80 per ton, 2,240 pounds, and in Pittsburg \$5.50 per ton, 2,240 pounds. Thus the American manufacturer not only pays more for puddling, but a much larger proportion of the selling price than the English manufacturer pays. Including all mill labor, based on the union prices in each country, we have this result: Total mill wages in the production of a ton of refined bar iron from pig iron to finished bars, in England, \$4.62; in the United States, \$11.27; a difference in wages of \$6.65 higher rates being paid in the United States, though the difference in the selling price of refined bars is only \$1.47 per ton higher in the United States than in England. American mill hands turning out three and one half tons of finished bars will earn the selling price of one ton of finished bars. English mill labor to earn the price of a ton of finished bars must turn out nearly eight and one half tons of finished bars. This clearly indicates that the American manufacturer of iron not only pays higher, but larger proportionate wages based on the selling price of iron.

There is a marked difference in the expressions of British Free Traders and those of our country on this aspect of the question. It is freely conceded on the other side of the Atlantic, that Protection diminishes profits, and even so good an authority as Mr. Gladstone clearly admits this. In his article on Free Trade which appeared in the *North American*

Review, January, 1890, referring to this, he said, "In your protected trades, profits are hard pressed by wages."

I have never observed that this has since been denied by Mr. Gladstone or successfully controverted by any of our own authorities on Free Trade. It is, however, a very common argument used by Free Traders on this side of the Atlantic, that in the event of this country adopting Free Trade, wages and profits would be increased. Whether the intention of assertions, such as this argument involves, is to show that the wages of each individual working-man, and the profits of each individual manufacturer are to be increased is not clearly stated. If, however, the profits of manufacturers are now too high, and by the adoption of Free Trade they are to be higher, I fail to see how the wages paid to working-men can be increased. Is it not possible that Free Traders presume too much in matters such as these? There is certainly a lack of uniformity and harmony in the arguments used.

I now come to what appears to me to be a very amusing phase of the whole question. Our American Free Traders say that our present system of Protection, is protection to the manufacturer and not protection to the laborer. It is said the product of the manufacturer is protected, the laborer himself is not protected. This is certainly begging the whole question, for the product of the manufacturer is also the product of labor; hence it naturally follows that if the product of the manufacturer is protected, the product of the laborer must also be protected. It is, however, true that foreign labor is permitted to come to this country free, that is to say, there is no tax to be paid by foreigners for the privilege of landing in this country. It must, however, be conceded by every fair-minded and intelligent person, that the Free Traders have never done anything in the way of restricting foreign immigration into this country, nor can they consistently do so.

The following is taken from a speech delivered by Mr. Gladstone at the presentation of an address to Mr. T. B. Potter, secretary of the London Cobden Club, in May, 1890:

"It was said that at one time the devil was wiser than of yore,

and it is curious for Lord Granville to note that Protection is bolder than of yore. Protection used in old times to be confined to goods, and I remember I used sometimes to ask, Why don't you apply it to persons? Why was it that the wealthy and powerful classes of this country when they commanded the legislation did not lay prohibitive duties on the importation of Italian singers? Why was not the labor of the honest, hard-working, though perhaps not equally melodious, British singer entitled to Protection just as much as bad production or inferior productions in other departments? Well, nobody placed the Italian opera under the ban of Protection. Gentlemen know too well to sacrifice their own pleasures and their own comforts to the protective doctrines when they come so near home as that. But though it really may seem almost like the incredible, yet you all know that as has been well said, 'truth is stranger than fiction,' and Protection is now freely applied against persons and not simply against goods. I am not sure what the state of the law of the United States is, and whether the incursion, as it is I believe called, of the Chinaman, is simply resented or whether it is barred by any kind of legislative restrictive or pecuniary tax; but undoubtedly in the Australian colonies, among our own kith and kin, the Chinaman is either prohibited or heavily taxed upon his importation. That is Protection pure and simple. It is quite right to exhibit it as such in the face of the world. And why is the Chinaman thus taxed? Not because a superior race resents the contact, you may say the contamination, of an inferior one, and not because civilization recoils from companionship with a people that are considered uncivilized. The Chinaman comes in to compete with the hand-laborer, and his entry is, in some, if not all, of these colonies prohibited or restrained by heavy taxation, amounting in some cases, I believe, to virtual prohibition. And why? Because he does more work for the money, because he is less exacting, because he is satisfied with less, and, moreover, because he consumes a great deal less alcoholic liquor. On these accounts the Chinaman is a formidable rival. It is not for his vices but for his virtues that he is dreaded. On account of those virtues,

Protection has developed itself in a manner and degree happily beyond our experience, and is applied—as consistently, I admit, it ought to be applied—to the importation of human beings, as well as to the importation of things made by the labor of human beings.”

Mr. Gladstone was evidently misinformed as to the United States law, restricting, or rather prohibiting the importation of foreign labor under contract. According to the first part of his argument, this law would be “Protection pure and simple.” It is not the “wealthy and powerful classes of this country” as in England of yore, that have demanded protective tariffs, for as I have already shown, the working-men have played their part in the movement. It was the working-men too that demanded the passage of the law prohibiting the importation of foreign labor under contract into this country, and it was Protectionists that passed the law. The agitation now carried on throughout our country of restricting immigration, is almost wholly the work of working-men. Will Free Traders show us how this is to be accomplished on the lines of Free Trade principles? Will they be as consistent and outspoken as Mr. Gladstone was in the speech above quoted?

Mr. Gladstone is an authority on Free Trade principles, and as his standing as a statesman and scholar is of the highest, his views must be accepted as logical and conclusive. He is also honest, can as much be said for the Free Trade agitators of this country? It is unnecessary to write a single word of comment on what Mr. Gladstone says of the virtues of the Chinese. His language is clear, sufficiently to convey its true meaning to the mind of every intelligent reader.

Let us now turn and briefly inquire, has Free Trade brought about the results in Great Britain its formulators so lavishly foretold? No class was promised more than the agriculturists, but we cannot find that the benefits promised them have been realized. For many years there has been a steady decline in the acreage and production of agricultural products. In the United Kingdom, including the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands, the total cultivated area of corn crops for the years 1868-71

average 11,811,000 acres, and for the years 1888-91 they had declined to 9,610,000. In the same periods the cultivated area of grain crops had declined from 5,077,000 to 4,579,000, the acreage of flax declined from 218,000 to 102,000 and of hops from 64,000 to 57,000. The acreage of pasture, clover, and grasses increased from 28,246,000 to 33,118,000. Wheat cultivation has fallen off in larger ratio than that of any of the grain crops.

During the five years from 1855 to 1859 there were on the average 4,128,972 acres under wheat cultivation in Great Britain and Ireland, which produced an average of 15,861,930 quarters per annum, or sufficient for the consumption of 22,459,370 persons, and the number of persons engaged in agriculture in England and Wales alone (as enumerated in the census of 1851) was 1,928,796.

By the year 1886 the wheat land in cultivation, had decreased to 2,355,451 acres, its production to 7,918,485 quarters, and the number of persons engaged in agriculture to 1,286,000.

The population of England and Wales has increased from 17,982,794 in 1851 to 27,870,586 in 1886, an increase of 55 per cent; in the same time the number of persons engaged in agriculture decreased by 642,796, viz., from 1,928,796 to 1,286,000.

Again, Great Britain does not show up so well as other countries having protective tariffs in increased production of manufactures. The annual reports of the German Chambers of Commerce, issued at the beginning of this year, enable us to make a comparison between German and British production of iron and steel. The figures cited extend back to the year 1850, and are given at the end of each decade up to 1890. At the half century, for instance, Great Britain produced 2,250,000 tons of raw iron and Germany only 208,000 tons. In 1890 the respective production of the two countries had increased to 8,000,000 and 4,637,000 tons respectively. Thus within forty years the production in Germany, from being scarcely one tenth of that of Great Britain, has become over one half, the percentages of the increased output being 255 per cent in Great Britain against 2,129 in Germany. In the manufacture of steel the comparison is no less instructive, the produce of the two countries in 1872

being 417,000 and 189,000 tons respectively, while in 1890 the figures stood at 3,636,000 and 2,161,009 tons, the percentage of increase in nineteen years being only 772 in Great Britain against 1,043 in Germany.

The following is taken from Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, giving values of total production of all manufactures in the countries mentioned in 1840 and 1888 :

	1840.	1888.	Increase per cent.
Great Britain	\$1,935,000	\$4,100,000	212
France	1,320,000	2,425,000	183
Germany	750,000	2,915,000	388
Russia	200,000	1,815,000	907
Austria	710,000	1,265,000	178
Italy	200,000	605,000	300
Spain	225,000	425,000	188
United States	480,000	7,215,000	1,503

Countries showing the largest increase are those which have adopted the highest tariff laws, while those showing the smaller increase have adopted either so-called Free Trade or low tariffs. It is remarkable, but worthy of mention, that Great Britain not only shows a smaller increase in manufactures than the high tariff countries, but is also the only country of those mentioned in the above list in which agriculture has declined, and is still on the downward scale.

Free Traders are constantly pointing to Germany as paying lower wages in manufactures than England, but it must be admitted that though wages are still lower in Germany than in England, Protection has realized the benefits sought by Germany in increase of manufactures and diversified industries.

It is not generally known that the German tariff is not protective on precisely the lines that that of the United States is. It has not been sought to make it high enough to raise wages above the standard of England, yet notwithstanding this, wages have increased in Germany since 1878 about 28 per cent, while wages in England are if anything lower now than then. The revenue realized by Germany from duties on imports is actually less in each year than that realized by England. In the decades 1870-89, the increase of German imports was 27 per cent, and

the increase of exports 44 per cent. In the same periods, the increase of British imports was 41 per cent, and the increase of exports only 29 per cent. The revenue raised from customs in England in 1890 was over \$97,000,000, while that raised in Germany was about \$65,000,000.

From the graphic description given us by Free Trade writers of the excellencies of Free Trade, it would be supposed that in England no such condition would be found as that of suffering and degradation among the working classes, and I have before me the fifth report of the House of Lords Committee on the "sweating" system. The committee sat to receive evidence on 71 occasions, and examined 291 witnesses, including clergymen and ministers of various denominations, physicians, statisticians, government officials, representatives of trade societies, co-operative societies, Jewish Board of Guardians, medical officers, health, factory, and sanitary inspectors, journalists, manufacturers, middlemen, factors, managers, superintendents, foremen, factory hands, workshop hands, home workers, laborers, and persons interested in social subjects as to the prevalence of "sweating" in the following trades: the making of clothing, boots and shoes, cabinet making and upholstery, shirt making, mantlemaking, furriery, saddlery and army accouterments, making nails, chains, gun-locks, nuts and bolts, cutlery, hardware, and waterproofing. The localities investigated included, London, Woolwich, Chatham, Sheffield, Newcastle, Leeds, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Walsall, Dudley, and Cradley Heath and district.

The term "sweating" is not assigned an exact meaning by the committee, but the evils known by that name are shown in the pages of the report to be:

(1) A rate of wages inadequate to the necessities of the workers or disproportionate to the work done; (2) Excessive hours of labor; (3) The insanitary state of the houses in which the work is carried on.

The report says:

"These evils can hardly be exaggerated. The earnings of the lowest class of workers are barely sufficient to sustain existence. The hours

of labor are such as to make the lives of the workers periods of almost ceaseless toil, hard and often unhealthy.

"The sanitary conditions under which the work is conducted are not only injurious to the health of the persons employed, but are dangerous to the public, especially in the case of the trades concerned in making clothes, as infectious diseases are spread by the sale of garments made in rooms inhabited by persons suffering from smallpox and other diseases."

I will not attempt to give details from the report, as to do so would require too much space. The story is one that gives evidence of the greatest degradation and most deplorable conditions possible. It tells of women engaged in the most arduous kinds of labor such as working on coal banks, in chain works and for starvation wages. Instances are plentiful in which wages paid women for making chains and nails, hauling coal at the pit mouth, range as low as \$1.08 for a week's work. Case after case is quoted in which whole families of father, mother, and children are employed, the total ranging from about \$4.50 to \$6 per week. These people work from 7 in the morning till 9 at night, and this in Free Trade England.

Would our Free Trade advocates inaugurate these conditions in this country ?

JOHN JARRETT.

FACTORY INSPECTION.

BY HON. ROBERT WATCHORN, FACTORY INSPECTOR OF PENNSYLVANIA.

SINCE the days when the Earl of Shaftesbury immortalized himself by becoming the champion of the factory operatives in Great Britain there has been a ceaseless agitation going on not only where the cry first arose, but in every manufacturing country in the world.

Massachusetts was the first state in the United States to take up the question of regulating the hours of labor for children, the first law being passed in 1842. It provided that no child under twelve years of age should be employed for a longer period than ten hours per day. In 1876 the legislature further provided that no child under ten years of age should be employed in any manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishment; and more recent legislation has fixed such a standard as may reasonably be expected to remain in force without material change, until other states and countries shall have "done likewise," and it is by no means outside the range of immediate probabilities that others will imitate the very good example shown by the "Bay State."

It has been said that nations take rank in civilization, as they legislate for women and children. If this is true (and we are assuming that it is) then there is no question more vital for the consideration of good citizens than that which is embodied in the various statute laws regulating the employment of women and children. The following American states have passed in one form or another factory inspection laws: Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri, Minnesota, Illinois, Tennessee; many of which have been directly the result of agitation by labor unions, and their appeals to the various state legislatures not infrequently en-

countering discouraging, and almost insuperable, obstacles, but with that zeal which invariably characterizes men and women who become engaged in a labor of love, the battle has been successfully pressed to the gates. The objections raised to such legislation are not very numerous, nor do they differ very much in the various countries in which they have been made; the most formidable or at least the one most frequently used by the opponents of such measures is that of competition. They have used it everywhere, and always in a forcible manner, and their language might be embodied in the following sentence: "*Place us under legislative restrictions as to the employment of women and children, and our competitors will undersell us, and you will drive capital out of the state.*"

Who is there who has appeared before the proper legislative committees while proposed legislation of this kind was being considered, who has not heard this wail of impending woe? Such persons are only too familiar with the serious countenance it usually gives to such legislators, both in committee, and on the floor of the House, as are bound to respect nothing but capital, and no one but the capitalist. Writing as I do from Pennsylvania it by no means follows that this form of objection is peculiar to the opponents of factory legislation in the Keystone State, for the cry is as universal as the attempt to legislate. There is an increasing sentiment manifest in all civilized countries in behalf of such industrial reform movements as tend to lighten the burdens of women and children in factory life. The most signal triumph gained by the friends and advocates of these measures was the congress or conference held several years ago at Berlin under the auspices of the German emperor. Prince Bismark, in inviting other countries to participate in the proposed conference, stated that the object was to mitigate if not remove evils admittedly existing, and as they could not be cured by any one nation, without incurring a net loss thereby, it therefore became expedient that there should be something approaching unanimity among the nations, in order to do effective work. The remarks of Prince Bismark are strictly in keeping with the stereotyped objections which have always been made, and which

many prominent and able men still urge against further improvements, but I am bound to say, I by no means identify myself with such sentiments, practical experience having demonstrated to my entire satisfaction that no manufacturing country can eminently succeed by employing infants and women at long hours of daily toil.

The outcome of said congress is a very fortress of strength in defense of this position, for notwithstanding the fact that the countries represented were many, and their respective customs and usages of great diversity, yet it was agreed that no child under twelve years of age should be permitted to labor in any factory and even the half-time rule for children under twelve, who have passed a certain educational standard in England, was not reserved. Germany has since got in advance of England by passing a law under which in three years' time, employment of children under thirteen years of age will be prohibited. France has gone still further and not only fixes the limit at thirteen years, but it is further provided that unless said child shall produce a certificate as proof of physical fitness (said certificate to be gratuitously furnished by the physician charged with the supervision of youth) it cannot obtain employment. The following extracts from the French factory inspection law, will show with what carefulness the inquiry has been made into the wants and requirements of the employees in the manufacturing and mercantile establishments of that country :

SECTION I.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.—AGE OF ADMISSION.—DURATION OF WORK.

Article 1.

1. The labor of children, of minor girls and of women, in workshops, manufactories, mines, quarries, wood or timber yards, factories and their dependencies, of whatever nature, whether public or private, secular or religious, are included in the provisions of this law.

2. Foreigners working in establishments above indicated are included under this law.

3. All employment in families when only members of the family, under the father or mother or a tutor, is excepted ; provided that such establishments are not classed as dangerous, unhealthy or injurious, or that the work be not done by aid of steam or mechanical force.

The third clause in the foregoing extract shows how carefully

the sweating system is guarded against. This system is already gnawing like a canker worm at the very vitals of tens of thousands of our people, and must sooner or later be abolished, or the evils it will leave in its trail will be of greater annoyance to the state and nation than the most conservative may contemplate or the most radical predict.

The first four sections of Article 2 of the law from which I have already quoted are a model of precision, compared with the unsatisfactory enactments of some of our state legislatures. On this line Section 4 grants the right to the inspector to re-examine any child under sixteen years of age, and they shall have the right to require the dismissal of said child if medical experts agree that the burden is too great for its physical condition, as the following extracts will show :

Article 2.

1. Children cannot be employed nor be admitted to the establishments enumerated in Article 1 before the completion of their thirteenth year.

2. However, children with a certificate of primary instruction established by the law of 28th of March, 1882, can be employed from the age of twelve.

3. No child under sixteen can be admitted to work in the establishments above indicated, unless supplied with certificate of physical fitness furnished gratuitously by the physicians charged with supervision of youth, or one of the medical inspectors of schools.

4. Inspectors of labor may require a re-examination of all children under sixteen years of age already admitted to the establishments under inspection. They shall have the right to require the dismissal of a child from an establishment, upon consultation with a physician charged with the oversight of youth or of schools, if the physical condition of the child should not seem to be equal to the tasks with which he is charged.

Some of the manufacturers of Pennsylvania have not yet become reconciled to the attentions paid them by the factory inspectors, and they daily complain of the rigor of the law, which is mildness itself compared with the foregoing extracts. They make a pretense of being wounded, too, because the inspection savors too much of paternalism, a very undemocratic thing, and they are not alone in this attitude ; for many men of prominence, who have nothing in common with the manufac-

turers, affect to be offended at what they are pleased to term state interference,—the exercising of a paternal power. But such men have no little ones who are compelled to stand five consecutive hours in mill room, on their tiny feet, diligently plying their industrious hands at the looms, spindles, bobbins, etc., then take a hasty lunch in half an hour,* and return to the same old task and stand five hours more, after which they are often too tired to walk home and are too poor to ride. When the freedom of which some manufacturers boast, so wearies, blunts, stultifies, and ultimately reduces to a state of semi mental and physical impoverishment the infants of the Commonwealth, I do not hesitate to boldly affirm that a so-called paternalism that protects the helpless from such degrading influences and almost unbearable burdens is a desirable and beneficent innovation.

The French law has an eye to the children's welfare, moral and physical, and it provides as follows in relation to the meal time.

Article 3.

1. Children under eighteen years of age, minor girls and women, cannot be employed in actual labor more than ten hours daily.
2. The hours of work shall be divided by one or several periods of rest, of which the entire duration shall not be less than one hour, and during which work shall be forbidden.

Two meal times of half an hour could be, and I believe are, taken under this provision, and as a result the French working children are healthier and stronger as a class than are the children who are compelled to endure the conditions already cited.

The whole question of factory inspection is one of progression, not a backward step in such legislation having been taken by any country where it has once been adopted. Pennsylvania was very late in taking the matter up and in consequence she is very far behind her sister states, having a department which is

* The law in this state calls for forty-five minutes, but many manufacturers plead for half an hour. Thousands of children have petitioned me to grant them thirty minutes for noonday meal, instead of forty-five minutes as required by the factory law, and they often say they prefer to eat in a hurry so as to get home before it is so late, and others say they would like to make an hour and a half extra time by the week end, so as to quit that much earlier on Saturday.

inadequate and unable to do the work necessary to be done. France has thirteen male and thirteen female inspectors. Massachusetts has a like number, though only two are females. Ohio has half as many, while Pennsylvania has only seven.

Many of the states and countries give the factory departments jurisdiction over public school buildings, theaters, hotels, etc., and they also have power to inquire into the earning capacity of the factory hands, but these states have had factory laws on their statute books for a decade or more, while the Pennsylvania department is only a little over three years old.

That some such department should have power to collect accurate statistics on the wages of the employees is beyond doubt to my mind, for scarcely a week passes that I do not, without effort, learn facts which prove that the present system of collecting such statistics in Pennsylvania is very unsatisfactory. The head of the Industrial Bureau has only two assistants and so totally insufficient is this number that he is driven like many others to the necessity of sending blank sheets to the manufacturers and thus rely on them to fill them out and furnish him with data from which he compiles his reports, hence there is little wonder that reports are unreliable; for, while we do not charge that employers make false returns, we do not hesitate to say that the returns might be more complete and still contain truthful figures. I have found small children working sixty hours per week in Philadelphia mills for one dollar and twenty cents per week, or two cents per hour, but I have never seen any account of such a condition in the report on industrial statistics, because the employer will not make note of them. It is clearly the duty of the Commonwealth to *go after* (not send for) this important information, and tabulate it in such a way as to be easily understood. I know of no department so fully competent to attend to these duties as the factory inspectors, inasmuch as they are daily on the mill premises, face to face with employer and employee, and surely if the state wishes to inform itself as to the physical and moral condition of the women and children while at work, it ought to

know what remuneration they receive for their labor, not merely what their employers see fit to report on the matter. No well-informed person ever questions the necessity for such work as devolves on the factory inspectors' department, the ill ventilated rooms, the abominable sanitary arrangements, and the general uncleanness of some of the factories cry out for reform, as loudly as the cholera scourge cries out for cleanliness and sanitary improvements.

But only a very small percentage of the general public is aware of the real need for said reforms, they seldom or never visit the mills, they are not in touch with the wants and deservings of these people and as a result indifference on the subject is prevalent, and by some people opposition is manifested.

Those employers who have given us the most opposition are among those who have presumably given little or no thought to the subject, and it is very often quite noticeable that those who resist the law to the last ditch are in business solely to make money, all other considerations are cast to the winds and there is scarcely a visible spark of the humane left in them. They avow that to pamper the women and children (as they claim this law does) is to spoil them, that the state has no right to step in between them and their hired help, and as for the children, to give them plenty to do is to keep them out of mischief, and that many of them have been given plenty to do is fully attested by the plaintive little missives that many of these little ones have addressed to the factory department. The following is a sample :

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

FACTORY INSPECTOR,

Dear Sir :—I have been told that you can help me if I write to you, and I do so for I need your help. I am compelled to work till nearly nine o'clock at night, and I don't want to do so any more, I am so tired when I get home. If I refuse to stay over time I shall be discharged, and then I can't get work, please don't mention my name, or I shall be discharged. I am yours truly,

I have omitted the misspelling, etc., and for obvious reasons withhold the name. This is only one of many letters we receive

during the interval between visits to certain mills, and clearly shows what would be done were it not for the factory law. As a result of these investigations several prosecutions and many compromises have been effected. The whole blame is not with the manufacturers, for I have many appeals from children, and I am sorry to say from their parents, too, pleading that they may be allowed to work at ten and eleven years, and in many instances parents unhesitatingly swear falsely in order to secure the necessary certificates to obtain employment for their children. Recently it became necessary to order the discharge of several children under eleven years of age from a hosiery mill, and the manufacturer pleaded for one boy to be allowed to remain, saying that he knew they (the family) needed the money he was earning (twenty-five cents *per diem*), because he discovered that the child would not eat his meals with the other children, he investigated and found that the lad had only dry bread and water to eat and drink, and he was ashamed to let the others know it. What a commentary on our industrial system! Thousands of men out of work, while infants are in great demand.

To lower the age of employment is only to enlarge this evil, while to increase the standard tends to place the burden of the day on stronger and abler limbs, giving to the mothers and fathers of the future an opportunity to develop and thus prepare the way for a stalwart muscular and intelligent race, instead of the puny, half-developed race which must follow in the wake of the pernicious employment of infants.

The golden rule applied to the industrial question would do more good than the most advanced legislation we could desire. We have a few examples which if followed by others would leave nothing for the inspectors to do, for they are as far in advance of the law as the drones are behind it. The following is a true picture existing in this state and I have twice personally inspected it. Everything is in perfect order, the very acme of cleanliness is manifested from cellar to garret, the exits are models of perfection, everybody in the establishment is trained to move with the ease and precision of a well-drilled military

company. Were a fire to break out, instead of wild commotion, every one of the girls (more than 100 in number) would await the forelady's orders and follow her. The manufacturer furnishes each girl two dresses and caps a year, they go to their work well-dressed and each has a very nice, clean, and inviting dressing room, there are elegant wash rooms, a number of private bath rooms, a most charming dining room, reading room, and library. Dinner is served every day at noon, a very good kind of china ware being used; the dinner is always good, the foreman and forelady dining with the girls. The meal is furnished free. Eight hours per day is the maximum day's work, and every summer an extended trip is taken for two or three weeks without cost to the employees, the manufacturer taking them to his private pleasure resort more than a hundred miles from the factory.

I asked the manufacturer how he managed to pay such good wages, maintain such desirable conditions, and yet compete with his rivals. He replied, "I never know any rivals." I said, "Will you allow me to publish an account of my observation?" and he replied, "No, sir; no reporters are needed here. I do not do these things for notoriety or advertisement. It is simple justice as I understand my duty to my employees." Were it not for his request to the contrary, I would here give his name and address, but if any one reading this brief account of factory inspection doubts its accuracy (and I wouldn't blame any one for doing so) I will gladly accompany him to the place and enable him to see for himself.

Breathe a little more humanity and less so-called practical politics into these reforms and cheers will supplant tears, blessings and honor will supersede complainings and woe, the Commonwealth will be richer, and her people models of health and happiness.

To make a factory inspection department a success it should not be considered a political office; it should be most decidedly under civil service rule (I can heartily urge this course without being charged with selfish motives, as there is no danger of my becoming the beneficiary of such a change). The work to be

well done requires that it be given to those who will fearlessly perform the work to be done, and public opinion should be so cultivated as fully to understand the vital importance of this work, and, when that has been done, no state senator will dare deliver himself as did a Pennsylvania state senator (in place) on the 27th or 28th of May, 1891, as follows :

"*Mr. President:* Regarding the bill entitled, An Act to amend an Act relating to the employment of women and children, I desire to say that it passed its third reading in the lower House by virtue of an agreement entered into by the friends of the measure, that they would support a measure relating to the pension of certain judges in the county of Philadelphia. I say the factory bill passed with that understanding, the agreement has not been kept, the pension bill was defeated this morning, in consequence of which, I move the indefinite postponement of the factory bill."

The motion prevailed ; the amendment to the factory law was defeated, and the senator will henceforth have the consciousness of having left thousands of women and children only partially protected, while they may be oppressed, ill-treated, and in need of help, because, forsooth, a measure in which he was interested failed to receive a constitutional majority, and a "deal" in which he took part was not consummated.

The International Association of Factory Inspectors founded and fostered by that pioneer, and I might safely say prince, of factory inspectors, Rufus R. Wade, of Massachusetts, will maintain and improve the standard fixed by the Berlin conference, and it will not be many years before fifty-five hours' work per week in factory life will be the maximum the world over, and thirteen years the minimum age of employment.

ROBERT WATCHORN.

ODDS AND ENDS.

BY A. J. PALM.

OUR CURRENCY.

The remarks of Senator John Sherman on the currency question, in a recent political address, will attract wide attention after the present campaign is over and the attention of the people can be engaged in something else than inventing and denying the campaign arguments of their respective political organizations. The subject is by no means a new one, but the solution proposed by Senator Sherman was hardly to be looked for from his direction. In speaking of money, he said, among other things :

"Experience has demonstrated that money issued directly by the United States, promising to pay coin and resting upon the honor, wealth, and resources of 65,000,000 people, made a full legal tender and receivable for all dues and obligations, is the kind of money the people want."

He goes on to say that these notes would be at par in every country of the world and that we need no banks or corporations to interpose between us and our promises, but in our own name may stamp our credit on the money of the world. He would continue the national banks as banks of deposit and exchange, but not as banks of issue.

This has been affirmed for years as sound financial doctrine by "soft" money men both in and out of Congress, but has been denounced by men, of whom Sherman was supposed to be chief, as the idea of "financial" cranks; but coming from a man who, at least since he was secretary of the treasury, has been regarded by the old school of money theorists as one of the ablest financiers of the country, it will be interesting to see how it is received. One side will be likely to regard it as an evidence of

weakening senility, while the other will hail it as an honest confession of an able mind.

Senator Sherman's remarks on the subject were made while discussing the plank in the Democratic platform favoring the repeal of the tax on state-bank issue of money. This plank, by the way, is entitled to a place among the literary curiosities of the age. No man with any regard for his reputation either as a partisan or a statesman would dare propose such a financial heresy as permitting the individual states to issue bills of credit to be used as money, especially so long as the bitter fruits of such a system are still fresh in the minds of middle-aged men. There was no demand for any such thing. No member of Congress has had sufficient courage, even if some may have the cupidity, to ask for a repeal of the tax that annihilates state banks of issue. No one seems willing to stand as sponsor for the resolution in the platform; no newspaper is willing to defend it, and it is even too preposterously absurd to hurt in the least the candidates who were nominated upon the platform containing it. No sane man believes for a moment that any Congress would be so foolish as to remove the restriction against "wildcat" banks, nor does any one believe Grover Cleveland or any other man who could ever be even remotely thought of as a candidate for President would sanction such a measure.

It is true that the respective states might be relied upon not to pass laws so idiotic as to permit state banks of issue, but the safe way and sure is to allow the matter to remain settled once for all and not take any risks as to what some of over forty legislatures might or might not do; for while it is scarcely possible that any legislature would be so stupid as to authorize private corporations to issue a species of counterfeit money, it is possible that some might be corrupt enough to do so.

There may be honest differences of opinion on the questions of the tariff, taxation, force bill, and other questions that agitate the public mind, but there surely is no chance for honest men to disagree on the proposition that all the money of the United States should bear the impress of governmental authority and

that every dollar should be a full legal tender, thereby making every dollar equal to every other dollar.

TREASON.

The impression produced upon the average intelligent mind on hearing the term treason is about the same perhaps, as that caused by the word heresy, for both arouse a feeling bordering on disgust. In their name many of the most atrocious legal barbarities that disgrace the history of our race have been perpetrated. And he who is conversant with the horrible crimes that have been committed under the plea of punishing treason and heresy is willing that both terms and all the legal enactments ever made to punish the offenses they name might be blotted out in utter oblivion.

The charge of treason that has been made against the Advisory Board of the Homestead strikers is likely to bring the crime of treason again to public attention in a new light, if not a more creditable one, than that in which it has usually presented itself. There are two points of view from which to look at the charge of treason as made in this instance: First, as a question of policy, and second, as a matter of right or justice. It may be thought that I should reverse the terms and put "right" first and policy second, but I am simply taking it as I have reason to think questions are usually regarded by the politicians who are chosen to make our laws and enforce them; policy first.

I am safe in assuming that so far as both law and fact were concerned a case of treason could have been sustained against Jefferson Davis, but for reasons which, so far as the public knows, were based only on public policy and the sensible conviction that it does not need executions to make treason odious, he was never brought to trial, and the general verdict of conservative, thoughtful men is that aside from the creditable magnanimity of the government the course pursued in regard to Jefferson Davis was conservatory of the public welfare.

Anything at this time that tends to widen the gulf of ill-feeling between employer and employee is bad public policy and

cannot but prove detrimental to the public welfare. There is no use in trying to disguise the fact that there is a widespread sympathy with the Homestead strikers, not only among working-men, but it exists among professional men as well ; and while all good citizens condemn their acts of violence and are willing that they should suffer according to their guilt, yet a large majority would be glad to see them win by any fair and legal means the fight that they are waging in behalf of organized labor. This being the case, the public will be inclined to consider the charge of treason, following that of murder and riot, as intended for persecution and revenge rather than to satisfy the demands of justice. The national government has always been loth to prosecute those charged with treason, and there is perhaps but one or two cases in which any state government has undertaken to do so since the adoption of the Federal Constitution ; and the chief result in this case will be to intensify the feeling of working-men of the state against the authorities and add color to the assertions made by anarchistic orators, that law and capital are working together to degrade and enslave the working-men.

As to the rightfulness of the charge of treason in this case. There are but few who believe that the Homestead strikers were guilty of treason, either as commonly understood or as defined by the statute under which Justice Paxton of the Supreme Court found them guilty in advance of a hearing. His charge to the grand jury reads infinitely more like the speech of a prosecuting attorney than an impartial charge of a court, and will help to add force to a remark that has been frequently made that he is a "corporation judge." His Honor should refuse to sit in judgment on the merits of the case, should an appeal be carried to the court of which he is chief ; for, after his radical utterances, the people of Pennsylvania would not believe that he could act with that freedom from prejudice and feeling that should characterize a court.

Justice Paxton says in his long address to the jury : "The moment they (the working-men) attempted to control the works and to prevent by violence or threats of violence other laborers

from going to work, they placed themselves outside the pale of the law." Very good; but that does not argue that they were guilty of treason. The man who commits murder places himself outside the pale of the law, and may be considered in one respect as disloyal to the state by making war against its law and violating it, but it has not occurred even to General Snowden, who claims the doubtful honor of suggesting the prosecution of the Advisory Board for treason, to hold that the man who commits murder is guilty of treason.

In treason as in other crimes, the intention must be taken into consideration. A higher authority than Judge Paxton says: "It is certain, too, that the overt act which is alleged to be a treasonable act must have been done with a treasonable purpose." Another authority, the United States Supreme Court, says: "A resistance to the execution of the law of the state, accompanied with any degree of force, is not treason; to constitute that offense the object of the resistance must be of a public and general character."

No man of judgment, not even Judge Paxton himself, believes that the Homestead strikers who fired on the Pinkertons had any treasonable intent or desire to subvert or overthrow the authority of the state. It is far nearer the truth to say that they were acting from the impulse of self-preservation, than that they were intentional traitors to their state.

If they had fired on state or national troops, or even on a legally organized police force, their offense might be made to look more like treason, but their war was against the Pinkertons, a body of men collected from all quarters of the continent, the very mention of whose name rouses a warlike feeling in the breasts of thousands of law-abiding citizens—a body of men who are not permitted to enter some states in their mob-provoking capacity, under penalty of law.

Hold the violators of law responsible for their acts. Punish the Homesteaders according to their guilt, but do not try to impose, by an unwarranted stretch of authority, a penalty for a crime of which they are not guilty and which public sentiment will not sanction.

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A PLEA FOR A DIPLOMATIC CAREER.

BY SHERIDAN P. READ, OF THE LIBERAL SCHOOL OF POLITICAL SCIENCES.

DIPLOMACY, like music, is both an art and a science. It is an art because it is dependent upon the talent of the individual. It is a science because it demands of the individual a profound knowledge of the rules of conduct which govern nations, in their dealings with each other, a thorough appreciation of the fallacy of these rules, the errors that have arisen from following them too blindly, and a clear conception of their present uses.

Diplomacy, therefore, is not a fixed science like astronomy or physics, but is as variable as is our conception of right or wrong, for it is this very conception which is the great regulator of the law of nations. It is consequently public opinion which may change to-morrow the present accepted law of nations.

Public opinion rarely keeps pace with advanced thought. It therefore devolves upon the jurists, statesmen, and philosophers of a country to put forth their influence to stimulate public opinion that its sanctions may be from a high standpoint of knowledge. It often happens, owing to the advanced ideas of a few men, that the public opinion of a nation may formulate certain principles of international law, and may clothe them with necessary authority. This authority, however, does not extend beyond the frontiers of that state, though its moral influence may reach very much farther, if that state has succeeded in formulating the latent conviction of the whole civilized world.

A remarkable instance of one state formulating an act of this nature occurred during our civil war, when Prof. Lieber, a noted jurist and philosopher, put forth a project reviewed by a committee of officers and ratified by President Lincoln. Reference is made to "Instructions for the Government of the Armies of the United States in the Field," in which we find laid down certain rules as to the extent and limit of the rights of the victors in a hostile country over enemy's property, public and private; as to the protection of citizens, religion, arts and sciences; as to deserters and prisoners of war; as to safe conducts, treaties, and a variety of other subjects relating to war.

Inasmuch as these instructions contained general rules which were in accord with the ideas of humanity as to the manner of waging war, their effect has spread beyond the frontier of our own land, and has contributed powerfully to determine the principles of the law of war.

Here is an instance of the expression of the public opinion of one nation on one of the most vital questions of international law, and the governments of Europe could not remain behind this country without being placed under the ban of public opinion, and being stigmatized as not attaining to the height of the progress made by international law, as it is being understood and interpreted by the civilized world.

It is entirely due to the wisdom of Lieber in perceiving that our country was ready to formulate its convictions in this manner, that the above-mentioned stride toward perfecting the law of nations was made, and it was the accident of war which brought this idea to the mind of that eminent man.

Our convictions when once formulated are in general good, since they result from the spirit of reform which is ever prevalent among us.

In a short article it would be impossible to give even a *résumé* of the progress made in formulating and perfecting the law of nations since the peace of Westphalia—the recognized starting-point of modern international law—or even to endeavor to discover what nation has contributed most toward this progress.

This, at least, is very certain, that the United States has made its presence felt among the nations of the world, and has in several instances expressed its convictions with such emphasis that the rest of the world was forced to give ear.

The old world looks involuntarily to the new for reforms, social and political. It is on the territory of the new world that the problem of the equable adjustment of capital and labor, both being here fresh and vigorous, will eventually be solved for all civilization. And there is, at present, a growing tendency on the part of our nation throughout its length and breadth, to take up the study of political economy and political science, knowing that a "sufficient knowledge of these sciences will enable us to use our powers wisely, in relieving the labors and misery of mankind."

We are at present however, owing to our unsettled tariff laws, which Republicans have rectified according to their ideas, and Democrats are anxious to alter according to theirs, in a measure cut off from the commerce of the old world, thus having time for the moment, to discuss and possibly to solve, the great social and political problems of the day. Is not this, then, one of the best things that can be said in favor of Protection?

Now, if ever, is for us the time to solve them, in order that, when our country shall be so wonderfully developed that we shall be compelled to seek beyond the seas—and the time is even now at hand—an outlet for our produce, and when we shall be thrown into still more direct and fiercer competition with the rest of the world, we may extend with our influence the reforms we shall have instituted among ourselves.

There should be, therefore, scattered over the world, our fellow-countrymen learned in the political and commercial status of our own and of other countries, who may protect and further our commercial interests abroad, and lead the public opinion of these nations to our own ideas—and history shall point to America as the great advancer of liberal ideas.

Let us hope that these liberal ideas when subjected to the critical search light of coming centuries may be found to have such an inherent moral authority that they shall not require to

be upheld by exterior force. This is the pacific development of international law.

Looked at in this light the question naturally presents itself: is it not of sufficient importance even now to our nation to realize that we are an ever-increasing factor in the march of human progress, and that we ought to maintain a corps of men thoroughly instructed in the knowledge of the political, social, and commercial science of the world, not for the purpose of taking undue advantage of others, but to uphold and defend in the international arena, whatever is good and just in our new civilization. In other words, is there room in our government for a diplomatic career *per se* for young men to enter upon?

There came to the notice of the writer of this article when discussing the possibilities of such a career for young men, the following very discouraging view of the matter:

"I fear these hopes of a diplomatic career will prove disappointing. Politics gives but poor promise of permanent employment, and unfits a man for other occupations. Official life as represented in our country is seldom a satisfactory one, and leads men too often to be treacherous, insincere, and dishonest. I would not advise any young man whose future I valued, to attempt a so-called diplomatic career in our country."

These were the opinions, some seven years ago, of no less a man than our present secretary of state. That such a diplomat—by many considered our only trained diplomat—and such a statesman as the Hon. John W. Foster, should be forced to admit so unsatisfactory a state of affairs, shows that there is something radically wrong.

Upon those of us who long for something higher in our political life, and do not strive to seek it, should rest the blame for this condition of things.

It is often said in extenuation of our inefficient and inadequate diplomatic service, that we rarely come in diplomatic contact with other nations. It is true that we are so geographically placed, that our relations do not *often* assume strained proportions with the governments of other countries; but it must not be forgotten that we are a nation made up of other nations, and that the foreign elements which we are daily absorbing

come to us bringing their nationality, their poverty, and even their crimes with them; that they expect to become American citizens, and to look for protection at our hands. We are therefore brought into very close contact with the citizens of all nations, and there are arising continual disputes on the questions of nationality, naturalization, extradition, etc., which have to be settled by treaties and conventions, in accordance with the principles of international law. Events of recent date are still fresh in the minds of all to illustrate the above assertions.

Since these treaties and conventions are supposed to be made for the welfare of the nation as a whole, as well as for the welfare of the ingrafted foreigner, they should not be intrusted to unskilled hands. The head of the State Department, who is the exponent and guide of the foreign policy of the United States, should be kept officially informed on all questions of detail affecting the intricate parts of every dispute to be settled by men who know thoroughly not only our policy but the policy and political workings of the countries to which they are accredited. To accomplish this end requires a corps of trained diplomats.

These foreign elements who come to our shores are imbued with the all-absorbing idea of bettering their material condition, and in doing this they help to develop our country. They do not, however, forget their native land, and are naturally inclined when they have improved their condition, to bring about commercial dealings between the country of their birth and the country of their adoption. Thus they extend and develop the peaceful pursuit of commerce with other nations, and our intercourse with foreign peoples. Each wave of the great and increasing tide of population setting in to our shores brings with it the possibility of an immense addition of wealth to our country, and of an immense extension of our commercial and political dealings with other nations.

As has been already intimated we have been so occupied in developing our own country that until recently we have not striven to push our commerce with other countries, but we are

being forced more and more to give to the world a larger quota of what we are so bountifully producing on that principle of political economy that every nation is endowed by nature to produce certain things better than other nations. This principle is the mainspring of commerce.

In proportion to the development of our commercial relations the importance of our consulates is augmented, and the efficiency of our consular system must be commensurate with its importance. With our increasing internal wealth, an increasing proportion of our people is spreading over the globe in pursuit of education, science, art, and pleasure, lingering for a time in foreign lands and entering into relations with strangers. It is the duty of our paid servant in foreign lands to protect the varied private interests of his compatriots, while thus engaged, and to assist them in case of need by whatever influence he may possess with the authorities of the country, and in strict accordance with the power vested in him.

In former times a consulate was a reward for a commercial career which the recipient was proud to accept for the honor the office brought with it; the more so, as the duties of such a position were very light.

But now the duties have become so varied and complicated, and the knowledge requisite to fulfill such a position so great that a consulate should henceforth be regarded as a special vocation included in the diplomatic service of the country, since in many cases a consulate is quasi-diplomatic in its nature.

A consular position in these days must be a career in itself, not the partisan reward or emolument of a former career.

In process of time war, it is believed and hoped, will become a relic of the past. Especially shall this be true in our country, remote in situation, serene in habit, absorbed in the arts of peace rather than in the science of warfare.

We have schools established by our government devoted to the training of young men for military service both on land and sea. Do we not rather foresee in our future with its vast spreading commercial enterprise and consequent social relations a greater need for schools consecrated to the goddess of peace, than

for those dedicated to the god of war? Schools where young men shall be trained to represent our country abroad in a thorough, skillful, and able manner, and who shall thus protect and foster our interests, while at the same time winning for us wholesome respect and approbation throughout the whole civilized world.

It is to be feared that many of our representatives in the past have not won in foreign lands those laurels that our country has merited at their hands.

To send a man to represent us who has made no study and has no well-grounded knowledge of political science, and the traditions of the diplomatic history of the world, who cannot even speak intelligibly the language of the country to which he is sent, is to expose not only the representative himself, but the government which shields him to the secret, if not overt, ridicule of the court to which he is accredited.

We do not here intend to underrate the several brilliant and efficient men who have been and who now are representing us abroad. But the fact that a few out of many have worthily filled their positions does not leaven the whole foreign system.

No nation trusts to chance that in time of war generals may perhaps be found competent to command her armies. But every nation whether of warlike or unwarlike habit establishes military schools as sources to supply leaders for the moment of action.

There are young men graduating from our principal colleges who have been devoting their time to the study of political economy and political science with a view of dedicating their knowledge to the amelioration of our own social disturbances. Why should there not be an equal number of young men encouraged to devote their time to the study of the great international problems of the day? The young man who studies the latter must have studied the former, for if he is to have any influence upon international questions he must not only be able to read but to rectify, if called upon, the public opinion of his own country. He should be able to assist in directing the national conscience. He must be a careful student of sociology.

To encourage young men in the study of international affairs, political and commercial, it is evident that there must be created

a diplomatic and consular career, independent of political partisan influence. To make such a career possible is the duty of the state. And it is the duty of wise men to force upon the notice of our national legislators the wisdom of creating the possibility of such a career. When such an opening is made a reality and a young man demands instruction in those subjects with which he should be acquainted, there is no doubt our country will hasten to supply him with the necessary instruction.

In France the great training-school for aspirants to the foreign service is the Liberal School of Political Science. This school is at present entirely independent of the French government. The government has made a diplomatic career possible for young men, and this school has answered the demand of aspirants.

The object of the school, says in general its little program, is to give instruction in those branches of knowledge which are the natural crowning of all liberal education, and of which no cultivated man should be ignorant.

Its special object is to prepare young men for diplomatic and other political careers. It numbers in its corps of professors such well-known men as Léon Say, senator and member of the French Academy, Lavasseur, Renault, Albert Sorel, Funck, Brentano, Pigeonneau, Le Bon, and Le Roy Beau-Lieu. Those who enter upon the studies of the diplomatic section are obliged to take the following courses :

Diplomatic History from the Peace of Westphalia (1648) to 1789.

Diplomatic History from 1789 to the present time.

Geography and Ethnography.

Economical Geography.

International Law.

Constitutional International Law.

Commercial and Maritime Legislation Compared.

Oriental Affairs since 1856.

Commercial History.

English, French, and German.

Constitutional History.

Political Economy.

To complete such a course of study requires at least two years of hard, conscientious work, at the end of which time the young aspirant for diplomatic honors is barely ready to enter the diplomatic service of his country at the lowest rung of the ladder, and his promotion in the service depends upon his fidelity and ability.

This is the only school of diplomacy in the world, and to its cultured shades are sent young men from every civilized and semicivilized country on the globe. Even China and Japan contribute candidates, indicating that these nations—semi-enlightened though they be—yet feel the need of able representation among the nations of men.

It is perhaps needless to say that only two young men from the United States have ever studied at this school. (The other republics of America, however, so unimportant that we in our virile strength almost forget their existence, send each its quota of students, thinking it of sufficient importance to be represented by men who have been trained for their duties.) And it is wholly unnecessary to state that these two United States citizens were in no wise induced to take up these diplomatic courses through any encouragement from their home government, although their government alone will be benefited if the knowledge here obtained is to be employed for the good of their native land.

The foregoing remarks are prompted by a deep interest in our country's welfare, and in the hope and confidence that our country shall become the most powerful lever in the pacific development of international law, which in its highest sense is the law of humanity and brotherhood.

To labor for the perfect fruition of this law should be the noblest career open to mankind.

SHERIDAN P. READ.

IS PROHIBITION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC PRACTICABLE?

BY M. FILLMORE BROWN, OF THE BUFFALO BAR.

I AM not a defender of the liquor traffic. As an American citizen I have the welfare of my fellow-countryman at heart. If I thought for one single moment that a prohibitory law would stop the sale of intoxicating liquors to be drunk as a beverage, no man would any quicker trample beneath his feet party convictions and past political affiliations, and be found marching shoulder to shoulder with those who are attempting to make Prohibition a part of the organic law of this republic. I believe a man should be a slave of no political party. He has the right as an American citizen to reason out in his own way his own governmental creed, and then vote with the party that voices such creed; and at all times to express his sentiments. If he believes that efforts to obtain Prohibition are useless, futile, and foolish, he has a right to say so, and give the reasons for the faith that is in him, and no one should question his privilege or impugn his motives.

Now this question is not to be discussed in the light of sentiment. To use the language of Grover Cleveland, "It is a condition, not a theory that confronts us." For instance, when a river captain proposes to float his steamer down an unknown river he does not ecstatically dance about and say, "I will float her whether there is water or not; God will float her, she will float in some way." He knows very well that he cannot float his craft unless there is a sufficient depth and width of water; so the first inquiry he makes is as to the amount of water, the current, and the draft of his vessel. So in discussing this question we must not lose ourselves too much in the abstract *right* of the question, but we ought carefully to examine the present con-

dition of the liquor traffic and the condition of society in reference to it, and then we can tell something as to whether a prohibitory law could be floated. The day is past when one man or a few men assuming to themselves a divine superiority of opinion over all other men can say that a principle is right and must be law. A law is a dead letter, when the people of such community are not ready to receive the law, yield obedience to it, and be governed by it.

From earliest times, liquor in some form has been made, sold, and drunk as a beverage. As society has grown, commerce increased, civilization flourished, in just the same proportion the sale and drinking of intoxicating liquors have increased. The business has kept even pace with all of the other great manufacturing and commercial interests. In the business, millions of men are employed, a vast amount of products are consumed, millions upon millions of dollars are invested in property used to manufacture and sell liquor. It has been stated by various temperance speakers and in the Prohibition press, and coming from so highly respectable a source the statement must be true, that in this country there is annually paid for liquors the sum of \$900,000,000. This does not include the cost of manufacturing, the value of the products used, and the amount of money invested in the manufacture and sale.

In the year 1884—I take this year for I have no figures for any later year—the total amount of revenue derived from the sale of spirituous and malt liquors amounted to \$95,000,000, defraying more than one half of the expenditures of the government. This does not include the amount paid in license fees. For instance, in the year 1890 the license fees paid in to the treasurer of the city of Buffalo amounted to \$292,660. During that year there were 5,076 licensed places. I do not mention these figures as a defense of the liquor traffic, but simply to illustrate, in a way, the enormous business that is carried on. What is more remarkable, the growth of the liquor traffic has more than kept even pace with all of the other business interests, in spite of the most wonderful condemnation and opposition. From early times the moral tone of society has thundered against it. One

of the most concise and most expressive of temperance lectures that ever came from the pen of man was written by King Solomon three thousand years ago: "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his color in the cup. . . . At the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder."

The teachings of temperance have always been inculcated by all moralists throughout the civilized world; the press has lent its giant influence to disseminate its blessing; and the ministers of religion have mingled its precepts with the glad tidings, "Peace on earth and good will toward men." In contrast, the evils of intemperance have been most vividly portrayed. The choicest figures of rhetoric and the liveliest images of poetry have been evoked, and the pencil's mimic power has with startling fidelity thrown back from the canvas the terrible effect of the excessive use of intoxicating liquors. Yet the saloon, the bar, and the brewery have kept even pace with the schoolhouse, the church, the store, the factory, and all other business enterprises which engage the attention of men.

This to-day is the condition and strength of the liquor traffic, a traffic which the friends of Prohibition must meet and overthrow; a traffic that has been in existence for three thousand years, that has always been able to overcome the assaults of its enemies, and still continues to have as strong if not a stronger hold upon society than it ever had. It cost four hundred thousand human lives, and millions upon millions of money to extirpate from our land the curse of human slavery; and for a long time in that contest it was a serious question whether our republic as a republic would remain on the map of the globe, and the stars and stripes would continue to float in the skies over a united nation. And the question was only answered in the affirmative by reason of the fact that the American race was able to send out an army of boys, who, without any military education, were able to march to battlefield, stand up in front of the curling line of smoke, out of which came thousands of death-laden bullets, close up the ranks and steadily march on until their flag was planted upon the ramparts of the enemy. But

slavery was local ; it was confined to a minority of the states south of Mason and Dixon's line.

The liquor traffic is not local ; like the grip—it is everywhere—it is nestled in all over, and intimately connected with all business interests.

Now how is this traffic to be prohibited? Not only must the sale be stopped, but the manufacture of it. I ask my Prohibition friends, "How is this to be done?" If done at all it must be done by law, by constitutional methods. In answer to this question we have a right to look at the platform of the National Prohibition party. It says "by a constitutional amendment" which shall declare in so many words "that it shall be unlawful to manufacture or sell intoxicating liquors in this country." But the Supreme Court of the United States, a co-ordinate branch of the government, all-powerful within its province, has already held that the matter of the sale of intoxicating liquors is a police regulation, a part of the sovereign power of the state, and the general government has no more to do with the business of manufacturing and selling liquor in a state than it has to regulate how streets shall be paved in a city.

But, for the argument's sake, suppose that the people of this republic have a right to amend the constitution and put into it a clause prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage. Before such an amendment can become a part of the constitution such an amendment must receive the assent of three fourths of the states. There are now forty-four states ; thirty-three states must pass a prohibitory amendment. Can the consent of these thirty-three states be obtained? This republic has been in existence for more than one hundred years. During all that time the question of temperance has been a burning one. It has been the subject of debate at the fireside, on the streets, in the press, in the pulpit, and on the rostrum. Over the question great political parties have divided and contended for the mastery at the polls. During that one hundred years just five states have passed and kept on their statute books a prohibitory law. Can it be expected that

the next century will see better results? We must also remember that our voting population is rapidly changing. Foreign emigration is rapidly outnumbering the descendants of the early settlers. We are again becoming a nation of mixed races. Will Prohibition stand a better chance in the future, when a much larger portion of our fellow-citizens are men of foreign birth, who came to this country with fixed ideas in regard to the temperance question not at all favorable to Prohibition? Under the influence of this foreign emigration what has become of your American Sunday, that day of old-time rest and quiet? It has now become a day of jollity, amusement, and recreation. If you cannot preserve your New England Sunday, how can you pass a prohibitory law? Could a prohibitory amendment be passed in New York State? What would be the probable majority against it in our large cities, like New York, Brooklyn, and Buffalo? For a good many years we have had on the statute books of our states a local option law, giving to each town the right to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors by a majority vote of the people. The rural districts have always been the stronghold of temperance. For years in each town election the question is hotly contested and a full vote is polled; but during the last three years, after a practical trial of local Prohibition, in most of the towns, nearly two thirds of them have elected license commissioners. For instance, take the village of Le Roy, my own home, a beautiful village; a community of schools and churches. In its midst is the Ingham Ladies' College, a revered institution of learning, that for fifty years has overshadowed the community with its cultivating and refining influence. For the last two years the voters of this town, a majority of whom are for temperance, morality, and sobriety, have elected license commissioners by a majority of 150. Why? They tried local Prohibition. They saw just as much drunkenness, just as much crime and pauperism resulting from the business illicitly carried on as when it was carried on under a license system from which there was derived a revenue to defray the expenses resulting from the use of intoxicating liquors. This is the verdict of the most of our

towns where local Prohibition has been tried. The trouble is, Prohibition does not prohibit.

Now, having shown the condition of the traffic, the impossibility of ever passing a prohibitory law, let us proceed to ascertain who are the friends and supporters of the traffic. Who consume this \$900,000,000 worth of liquor annually? Drunkards, loafers, and criminals? No. By no means. These classes consume but a small amount of it. The amount of liquor sold would be very small if it depended for its consumption on these classes. A large portion of our society men, business men, well-to-do laboring men of every description and kind patronize the saloon, and to a certain extent drink intoxicating liquors; men, who in no sense are drunkards. It is but a very few of the men who drink intoxicating liquors who use it to excess. Now in no sense am I attempting to defend its use in any form. I am not upholding any one in the use of liquor. There is danger in its use; yet thousands of men drink, without any harm either to themselves or their business interests. It is the exception where a man becomes a slave to the intoxicating bowl. Go into any reputable saloon or club house where intoxicating liquors are sold. Go to any first-class hotel bar; a bar that probably takes in from \$300 to \$500 a day. Who are the men who pay this money for drink of all kinds? Merchants, contractors, bankers, clerks, lawyers, judges, officials of all kinds, men representing all branches of trade and business. Men who consider it their personal right and privilege to take a drink if they feel like it and that it is a matter which concerns no one else.

Now, this being so, this being the condition of society in reference to this business, what would be the fate of a prohibitory law if one should be passed? Would it not be a dead letter? What about your Sunday law? Do you enforce it? Since 1859 there has been a section in our license laws in New York State which declares in so many words, "that all saloons on Sunday shall be closed." Some years ago, as prosecuting attorney in my native city I convicted a saloon-keeper for keeping open on Sunday. The only evidence I had to show a violation of the law was that

his front door was unlocked and people were seen going out and in ; and it was shown that one man bought a cigar and a glass of ginger ale. Ginger ale upon Sunday, especially when you attempt to prosecute for Sunday violations, is a very favorite drink, so I found. But he was convicted, fined, and his license forfeited. An appeal was taken to the higher court ; the conviction was sustained, the court holding that the statute meant just what it said, "that every saloon on Sunday should be closed for business." But is the Sunday Prohibition law enforced ? No one claims that it is.

Why is it impossible to stop Sunday drinking ? For the reason that there is a large class of our fellow-citizens who consider that they have an absolute personal right, which infringes upon no law of society or morality, to take a drink upon Sunday if they choose, as well as any other day. They demand this privilege. The saloon-keeper, cheerfully, for the sake of revenue, yields to this demand. By the force of this solidified public opinion, largely sympathized in by public officials, the prohibition with reference to drinking upon Sunday is trampled under foot and becomes a dead letter. There would be the same public sentiment, only in a much larger degree, with reference to a prohibitory law, and this would make one a dead letter if it should be passed.

Prohibition would not decrease the amount of crime, pauperism, and misery from which society now suffers by reason of the sale of intoxicating liquors. Under a prohibitory law illicit saloons would still continue to exist ; and the men who will drink, waste their fortunes, impair their health, and destroy their homes would patronize the illicit saloon just as frequently as they would the licensed saloon. The man who craves liquor does not inquire as to whether the place where he drinks has a license. For instance, for years and years there has been a law in all our statute books declaring it to be a state prison offense for any person to be an inmate or a frequenter of a house of ill fame. In the support of these places there is no public sentiment whatever. The man or woman, especially the woman, who enters such a place, publicly, is thus placed beyond the

pale of decent and respectable society. Is this law obeyed? Has it ever been? I presume that to-day right here in the city of Buffalo, there are over five hundred such places in full blast. Could you create a stronger feeling against the saloon than you have created against these places?

Under the prohibitory system, with the same feeling existing in society with reference to the drinking of intoxicating liquors, how many saloons would there be? Therefore the question simply resolves itself down to this, "Is it wiser to have a prohibitory law, which means that any person who chooses has a right to sell intoxicating liquors, or a 'license system' regulating and controlling the traffic and making it pay a revenue?"

It has been urged that a license system legalizes the business and makes it respectable; that if the license were taken away from it the business would cease to become respectable, and that a prohibitory law could more easily be forced.

But how about your Sunday prohibitory law? Under the Sunday prohibitory law the amount of liquor sold upon Sunday has increased from year to year. A Sunday prohibitory law has had no influence whatever in decreasing the amount of liquor sold upon Sunday, but rather to increase the amount.

Therefore, what has been true ever since the commencement of the world is equally true now; that men will drink intoxicating liquors, and will in all probability continue to drink intoxicating liquors until the days of the millennium. There being a demand for the article man's ingenuity or cunning will never fail to supply the demand. Since the days of the Roman Empire all governments have recognized this fact; have attempted its overthrow and failed, and have thought it the better part of wisdom to adopt some kind of an excise system. Our present excise system is but borrowed, it is no new system, having been introduced into England in 1643. We may possibly be morally wiser than the generations of men who precede us in respect to legislating the liquor traffic out of existence, but it would seem to me that it should be shown that the moral condition of our society is better than it was in the past before the experiment can be safely attempted. Until the general tone of society can

be changed with reference to the sale and drinking of intoxicating liquors, I believe that a Prohibition law would be a failure and a dead letter. Prohibition has never been enforced in Maine, Vermont, Iowa, or in Kansas; for instance, in Burlington, Vermont, the common council passes an ordinance regulating the time when saloons shall be closed. In all of the larger cities in the state of Iowa the Prohibition law is openly and publicly violated. I know this of my own knowledge. In the smaller towns and villages there is a show of enforcing the law, but yet a man can get a drink of intoxicating liquors at any time. It has been publicly declared by temperance orators that the law was enforced with great vigor in the state of Kansas, but the other day it was publicly announced in the associated press, and it has been published in all the newspapers that in a small town in the state of Kansas a woman had been elected mayor; that there were eleven saloons in the place, and that she had closed every one of them, or was attempting to close every one of them. It seems that the saloons had been in existence ever since the Prohibition amendment had been passed. The law must have been enforced with vengeance, where in a small place consisting of a few thousand inhabitants eleven saloons had been open and doing business.

Not until the moral tone of society has been completely changed with reference to the sale and drinking of intoxicating liquors, and it becomes disreputable to be seen going into a saloon, just as disreputable as it is to go into a house of ill fame, can a prohibitory law be passed and enforced. A prohibitory law passed in such a condition of society only puts a free rum sale in the place of our present excise system. Therefore, just as long as society continues to regard the drinking of intoxicating liquors as respectable, barring no man from any public position of emolument, I am in favor of a strong, clean excise system that makes the business pay into the treasury just as large a sum of money as possible, and at the same time controls and limits the traffic just as much as possible.

M. FILLMORE BROWN.

THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

BY PROF. CHAS. S. WALKER, OF MASS. AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

THE close of the 15th century finds Spain, France, Holland, and England looking out upon the mysterious ocean with wonder and increasing eagerness to defy its storms, penetrate its darkness, solve its enigmas, and seize upon its treasures.

The times are ripe for new enterprises and a startling development of the pent-up forces of civilization. The Mediterranean Sea has served its purpose as a school of seamanship. The boat has developed from the canoe to the galley, and from the galley to the coaster, and from the coaster to the caravel with its lofty stern, its decks and its sails and masts fitted for ocean voyages. The science of navigation has produced the mariner's compass and the astrolabe by means of which the vessel may be safely carried far out of sight of land. The idea of the rotundity of the earth has, in spite of long opposition, become established in the minds of the well-informed. The discovery of the trade winds and of the trend of ocean currents has revealed nature's pathways over the hitherto trackless main. Voyages along the western and southern coast of Africa, around tempestuous capes and athwart dangerous currents, through the midst of the torrid zone, whose fabled fires had long frightened timid sailors, and other journeys to the Canaries, to the Madeira Isles, and even to the Azores, halfway across the Atlantic, had produced a body of seamen fit for daring deeds of great moment.

The facilities at hand, powerful motives were not wanting to spur men on to great effort. Europe, emerging out of the dark ages, had in its new beginnings been brought into relations with the older civilization and great wealth of Asia. The crusades had revealed the treasures and wisdom and power of the East to

the poverty and ignorance and weakness of the West. The travels of Marco Polo and of Mandeville, described in glowing colors, had inflamed the minds of men with visions of oriental magnificence. Trade with the Indies had brought to the nations of Europe the appliances and commodities which men coveted. Those who controlled this commerce with India were greatly enriched. Venice and Genoa prospered marvelously. But in this source of wealth and power the nations looking out upon the Atlantic had little share. They must pay tribute to the Italian and Venetian traders. Indeed this trade really impoverished them, draining them of gold which must be exported year after year to balance the account with India.

These times produced one man who in himself represented the age. He comprehended the exigency and appreciated rightly the demands of Western Europe. He interpreted the age to itself, showing it what it most wanted and how its great want could be supplied. Columbus was master both of the science and the art of navigation. But he was more than a sailor. He was a scholar. He was a man of one purpose, but of many ideas; his outlook was as wide as his insight was keen. He was master of the learning of his time and of tradition so far as it related to the great end he set before him.

He was a man of faith. His own ideas were so clear and his convictions were so profound that he would risk anything and everything upon their truth. Doubt never paralyzed his action. So sure and certain was he of the grandeur of his projected enterprise that he could afford to wait patiently: and he was therefore also resolved to insist upon his price for the service he should render. England, Holland, France, and Spain with Portugal were maritime nations, each anxious to discover new worlds and especially eager to find a new route to India which it could control and so wrest from others the prize.

Columbus knew that he was the man for the times, that he possessed that which the nations demanded, that he commanded the situation. He would not spoil everything by premature action. He would not enter upon the enterprise until he should be supplied with the necessary outfit to secure success,

nor before he should have his own reward amply guaranteed.

He could well afford to wait. But in the meantime he would excite more and more the demand for his services by appealing to the love of riches and glory to be acquired through his new route westward to the East, and by appealing also to the religious motives which in that age always added a strong incentive to the love of gain and the possession of glory. When Henry of Portugal received his share of slaves from the coast of Guinea and sold the mother to one town and the child to another province and the father to a distant nation, it gave him great joy to console himself with the thought that by his profitable mercantile enterprise he was making Christians of these poor savages and saving them from eternal punishment. So Columbus knew how to interest the priests and the princes and the king and the queen in his undertaking by the powerful motive that great good must ensue to the church. Indeed Columbus himself insisted all the more strenuously upon his pecuniary reward because of his own purpose to devote a large share of it to the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher from the hands of the infidel.

But while he sent his brother to England and he himself had negotiations with other nations, his own preference was to enter the service of Spain. At last the Moors were conquered and the Spanish king and queen were ready to close an engagement with Columbus. But they were not yet ready to pay his price. He turns his back upon them and sets out for France. He has not gone far before he is summoned to return and all his demands granted. He is to have the outfit he asked, he is made admiral for life of his new world and the office is to descend to his son; he is appointed viceroy and governor general, he is to have for himself one tenth of the wealth realized and he is to have and enjoy still other honors and emoluments.

Four hundred years ago this man of destiny sailed with his little fleet across the unknown sea, the real discovery of America began, and the human race entered upon a new era of existence.

I say the discovery of America began; centuries have passed since Columbus disembarked upon the outer islands of the Western Hemisphere and during all these years new discoveries

have been made, but still America is known only in part. We have mapped out portions of its surface, we have navigated its lakes and rivers and tapped some of its reservoirs of oil and gas and opened a few of its mines; but let us not imagine that we have ever yet discovered the half these continents contain of treasure and of opportunity. In spite of the millions that have emigrated to these shores the Old World contains millions more who have not yet discovered America; and of the millions living in South and North America comparatively few have any adequate idea either of what this Western World is or of what it is yet to be. I rejoice in this Columbian celebration, in which so many of both hemispheres participate, with so much enthusiasm, for so many days, because it must result in the stimulus which shall influence this generation to discover for itself the goodness and the wisdom of the Providence that has reserved for these days an environment in every way fitted for the wondrous development and startling achievements of the human race at its best.

As to the civil and political bearings of the discovery of America the experience of four hundred years has taught us some things of great importance which, if clearly comprehended, cannot but guide us in the right paths for future success.

The Northman, the Spaniard, the Frenchman, the Dutchman, and the Englishman each discovered America. Each gained what he sought, but all did not equally profit by that which was found.

The Northman, a thousand years ago, sailed to Iceland, thence to Greenland and thence all along the shore to Cape Cod and to Rhode Island, perhaps even to Florida; but he sailed to gratify his curiosity and to satisfy his love of adventure. These ends once gained he returned to Northern Europe to tell tales and sing songs. He was content.

The Spanish loved gold, the symbol and efficient instrument of wealth. In spite of his religious enthusiasm, which often deceived and beguiled his soul, Columbus set out from Spain moved by the passionate love of wealth. All the treasures of

the Indies were to be his. When he brought back gold and spices and slaves to prove his stories of untold wealth, yet to be acquired, he was received with joy. But when after other voyages he came back with empty hands, chains, ignominy, neglect, were all that Spain had to give her Admiral of the Western Seas. For centuries the Spaniard has been discovering America but at all times the motive has been the love of wealth. Shipload after shipload was carried into Spain, but the Spaniard's track, everywhere throughout the New World, is marked by rapine and ruin. The civil and political institutions planted by Spain in the New World have proved to be failures because their one end and purpose was to enrich the mother country at all hazards and at any cost to the aborigines and to the colonists. Because of her conquests of America, Spain became the richest nation of Europe, but her gold and silver, thus gained proved her ruin. From a first-class power Spain rapidly degenerated until now she is no longer abreast of the leaders of the human race. Columbus and Spain with wonderful genius both sought in America gold : they both got what they sought, but little real good did it bring them. The love of gold as the motive to action brought woe untold to others and to themselves curse after curse.

The dominant motive of the Frenchman is love of glory. The Frenchman was not far behind the Spaniard in the discovery of America. I know of no more fascinating story than that of the exploits of the Frenchman in the New World. There is no more daring navigator than he, no soldier more chivalrous and brave than he, no pioneer more heroic, no missionary more self-sacrificing. The Frenchman sought for glory and he found it. He seized a great empire. His flag, his language, his commerce, his religion entering at the northern ports ascended the St. Lawrence, took possession of all Canada, navigated the Great Lakes, discovered the Mississippi and gained for France the whole valley of the Father of Waters and its tributaries. The Frenchman seized the heart of America. The Indians throughout the broad land were his subservient vassals. He has stamped his name upon our fairest scenes. Glory gilds every

page of his history ; but his hold on America was only transient. "The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

The Dutchman was a trader. Amphibious in his nature, his grasp upon terra firma was but slight ; but on the salt water he was at home. Shut out from agriculture and from conquest by land, he found in commerce a source of great prosperity. Give him a ship and a rocky island somewhere in a foreign land upon which to establish his trading post and he was sure to increase his riches and multiply his wealth. If a new route to India was to be found, or a new world was to be opened to commerce, the Dutchman must not be left out. It was not long then before the Dutch sloop was vexing the waters of the Hudson and the Van Dycks were running through Hellgate to appropriate Manhattan Island as the site of a Dutch factory where beaver skins and hogsheads of tobacco might be collected and loaded on their vessels.

But America was not for the Dutch. They took Holland and by means of their dikes kept it. They took Manhattan Island, the key to the commerce of the New World, but they could hold it only for a day. Commerce enriches an old established state, often by impoverishing a new and weak nation, but it has of itself little power to create new and abiding states. The Dutch cared more for the peltry of the colonists than they did for the hunter and trapper himself.

There were castles in Spain, there were palaces in France, there were ships in Holland, but there were homes in Great Britain. The Anglo-Saxon was not insensible to the allurements of gold, he was stirred by the love of glory as by the blast of a bugle, he was not ignorant of the advantages of commerce ; but prominent in his character was a love of home, brought with him no doubt across the channel from the German forests. The home was the dwelling place of the family. The home was an organism of which the individual was a living part. He lived for the sake of his home and his home existed for him. Out of the organism of the home came an organizing power. Gold, glory, commerce were valued so far and so far only as they enabled the Anglo-Saxon to enrich and beautify and strengthen his home.

The family grew to be a tribe, the tribe became a nation. The hut became a hamlet, the hamlet a borough, or city. But in all, the family idea and the home life prevailed. As the house inclosed and sheltered the family, so institutions, laws, the state itself, environed and developed the home.

Out of all these Anglo-Saxons came in due time the Puritan, the man who valued his home and his family life all the more because he recognized God as the Father of all. The Puritan's ideal of the home was the most exalted of all. To realize this ideal was the purpose of his being. England no longer furnished him the proper environment for his destiny. He escaped to Holland; but its lowlands and commercial spirit would not let him fulfill his destiny.

In due time the Mayflower crossed the stormy seas and America was again discovered. But these discoverers came not madly seeking for gold, nor rashly for glory, nor selfishly for the profits of commerce to be spent presently in the luxury of Spanish castles and French palaces: they came seeking homes in a wilderness where they might worship God after the dictates of their own conscience and give themselves and all they had to America. They too found what they sought. They found the wilderness and they planted there the Christian home.

The genius of the Anglo-Saxon for organization out of and around the home, God's best gift to humanity, needed a new environment. Asia would not answer. Europe was not fit. America with its broad prairies and lofty mountains, its magnificent climate and exhaustless treasures, America with its infinite possibilities, alone was adapted to supply man's greatest need.

You are familiar with the wondrous story of liberty in the New World. Civil and religious freedom has here found an abiding place. Freedom of motion is ours. Out of a free home has come clear-eyed science and with it rapid transit, which measuring by time makes our continent smaller than the petty principalities of olden time. Freedom of thought is ours. With free speech and a free press and free schools have come the overthrow of superstition and a bursting of the barriers of

ignorance. Freedom of labor is ours. For a time the foul blot of slavery seemed to doom millions to the rod of the taskmaster, but those who gave themselves to America poured out their blood until its red current cleansed all the stain. Freedom of religion is ours. The stake and the dungeon are no longer instruments of the soul's salvation.

But our freedom does not mean license and lawlessness : but rather knowledge of truth and voluntary obedience to all that it commands.

What constitutes America of this closing century ? So many square miles of land and water ! So many millions of human beings ! Something more, much more than all these !

America is the hope of the world. It is the meeting place of the children of men. It is freedom's home. It is the opportunity of science. It is religion's sanctuary. It is the environment in which the mightiest material and spiritual forces are to work out the destiny of man.

The lesson of the centuries is this. America is not for the lover of gold. America is not for the lover of glory. America is not for the transient trader. He who comes seeking America to make it his means of selfish gain can never prosper here. He is not wanted. Shipwrecks and disappointment await him. But to him who comes to *give himself to America* ; who says not "America is mine," but "I am America's" ; who comes to make for himself a home in which he may serve God and his fellow-men to the best of his ability, a hearty welcome is given. To him America opens wide her doors of glorious opportunity, whether he come from Asia or Europe, whether his skin be white or black or yellow.

And the same principle applies to those of us who glory in calling ourselves native Americans. What right have we to this land ? The redman was here centuries before us. The Northmen, the Spanish, the French have equal, if not superior, rights of discovery with us. Our only just claim to America is that we realize our high calling and having been intrusted with this kingdom of God continue to bring forth the fruits thereof.

CHAS. S. WALKER.

"HOW TO REBUILD OUR MERCHANT MARINE."

BY EDWIN MEAD.

SUCH is the title of a most remarkable article by Theodore Cox in the October number of this magazine. Protectionists, as a rule, have had little or nothing to say about the decline and almost annihilation of our merchant marine. This article by Mr. Cox is remarkable by reason of his reckless use (not to say abuse) of historical facts, but its most amazing feature is the assertion that our shipbuilding has not been protected; that while all other interests have had the benefit (?) of the government's fostering care "our merchant navy has been left out in the cold to wilt and die."

Here is a unique and startling proposition. Many people have been laboring under the impression that shipbuilding was a thoroughly protected industry. Our woolen industry is protected by a tariff of 100 per cent and upwards. But as we continue to import woollens (some sixty millions of dollars' worth in 1891 including wool unmanufactured) this tariff is only partially prohibitory. Would Mr. Cox venture to say that the woolen industry was not highly protected?

Now suppose in place of this partial prohibition by tariffs we substitute absolute prohibition by special law, would the woolen industry cease to be "under the fostering care of Protection"? On the contrary would it not become most completely protected from all foreign competition?

Well, this is exactly the case with the shipbuilding industry.

We are absolutely prohibited from buying foreign vessels and have been for over a century, and yet Mr. Cox tells us our merchant marine has not had protection and has died for want of it.

After 100 years of prohibition of imports (absolute protection

of shipbuilding interests) we need a high power magnifying glass to discover our merchant marine engaged in the foreign trade. Do we need further proof that Protection is a dismal failure? If so, turn back to the history of our country during the administration of Jefferson. When England was committing all sorts of depredations which threatened, and finally resulted in, the War of 1812, Jefferson urged Congress to lay an embargo on English shipping as a retaliation. Congress did so, and with what result? That America was injured even more than England. Jefferson here *unintentionally* showed the fallacy of the Protectionist idea of trade—especially foreign trade. The adoption of his plan of retaliation proved that trade is a mutual benefit and its destruction or restriction must be a mutual injury. If, then, complete Protection is an injury and a failure, is it possible that partial Protection such as our present tariffs give, is a benefit?

But our shipbuilding interests are not satisfied with a monopoly of the home market; they would also like a direct government bounty in the shape of a subsidy. So Mr. Cramp engineers a bill through (or partially through) the 51st Congress to subsidize steamship lines. After enduring absolute Protection for a century it is now proposed that we go down in our pockets and pay these shipbuilders a direct bounty besides. The monumental effrontery of such supplicants is enough to make ordinary beggars turn green with envy. Surely Protectionism is a greed that knows no limit; is an appetite that increases the more it feeds.

Mr. Cox says our merchant marine "prospered under the fostering care and protection" of our absurd navigation laws by means of which (with the aid of a high tariff) we have accomplished for ourselves what Great Britain through lawmaking and by lawbreaking so long tried but failed to accomplish—the destruction of our merchant marine.

But our "merchant navy prospered," says Mr. Cox, "until the low tariff of 1846 brought ruin upon our iron and steel industries—from which date the decline in our merchant marine can be traced." I do not know what records Mr. Cox has used

in his "tracing," but the reports of the government (the Bureau of Navigation) tell quite a different story. Such reports give the tonnage of our merchant marine engaged in the foreign trade in 1810 as 981,000 tons. In 1846 after thirty-five years of the "fostering care" (under which Mr. Cox tells us it prospered) its registered tonnage was 943,000 tons.

Strange prosperity that shows a loss of 38,000 tons after thirty-five years of "Protection"! It may or may not be a significant fact that the tonnage of our merchant marine, engaged in the foreign trade, reached the lowest point, since the first of the century, in 1830 when the duties on dutiable goods amounted to 61 per cent (the highest with one exception of any year in our history). But it is certainly significant (and entirely contrary to Mr. Cox's statement) that such tonnage began to *increase* with the adoption of the tariff of 1846 and steadily increased during the fifteen years it was in force reaching nearly 2,500,000 tons in 1861. This is almost treble the tonnage of to-day and is the high water mark in the history of our merchant marine. That this was due to the relief afforded by the low tariff is proved by the records of the following years. After the enactment of the higher tariff of 1861 a decline in the tonnage set in that has continued until the present. The reports for the year ending June 30, 1891, give but 988,719 tons engaged in the foreign trade, about the same as it was eighty-one years before! Protection, in this instance seems to be only another name for suffocation—a slow death or gradual annihilation.

The total tonnage of our foreign export trade last year, 1891 (clearances from all ports), was 18,260,000 tons. Our merchant marine carried only about 24 per cent or 4,445,000 tons! The inability of Protectionists to see the folly and failure of their mechanical scheme to produce something out of nothing and their remarkable vision for seeing immense subsidies paid to foreign merchant marines is truly amazing. Such subsidies are largely a myth—exist only in the diseased imagination of Protectionists. The steam merchant marine of Great Britain has a tonnage of over $8\frac{1}{2}$ million tons—more than three times

the combined tonnage of similar vessels of all the rest of Europe and America combined. And yet England pays no subsidy to shipbuilders or steamship lines except for postal and naval purposes. She pays for carrying the mails as does the United States and she also pays for having her merchantmen so built as to be available for naval service and requires them to be registered under such provision that she can put them into the navy if occasion demands.

Our government has at last concluded to do the same and the two Inman Liners to be shortly registered under the American flag, as well as those to be built by the same company, will be registered under such postal and naval provisions as are the vessels built on the Clyde.

The recent Free Ship bill whereby the Inman Liners were admitted to American registry—though after our usual pernicious custom of favoritism—marks a new epoch in the history of our merchant marine. If it be a fact that we cannot build ships, why in the name of common sense should we be prohibited from buying them? And it is here we can see clearly the fallacy of the protective theory—for if we have any advantages for making certain articles we certainly need no act of Congress to compel us to do so; and if we have no such advantages it is surely idiotic to prohibit us from buying or to make it more expensive to buy such articles.

For the benefit of those, who, like Mr. Cox, are still worshipping at the shrine of high tariffs I will give the testimony of one who has been a lifelong Republican—a secretary of the treasury under three administrations—Mr. Hugh McCulloch. Speaking of the decline in our merchant marine he says it is due chiefly to the high price of materials caused by our high tariff and cites the "barbarous prohibition" of buying vessels elsewhere. He goes on to say that not only shipbuilding but the general prosperity of the country demands "That the *protective* policy be abandoned. A *revenue tariff* we MUST have. *Absolute Free Trade* is among the things hoped for when we are ready for direct taxation." *

* "Men and Measures of Half a Century." By Hugh McCulloch. Scribner: 1888.

These are the words, not of a Democratic Free Trader or of a college professor, but of a man of high standing in the Republican party, who not only witnessed such party's birth and growth but served in the cabinets (as financier) of three of its Presidents, Lincoln, Johnson, and Arthur.

But Protectionists are apparently unable to conceive of anything growing naturally. Everything must be developed by artificial stimulant. A child housed up from the invigorating influence of the fresh air and sunshine and kept from growing either physically or mentally by continued restraint will be a weak, sickly thing ready to expire upon the slightest provocation. A doctor of the Protectionist school is called in and instead of freeing the child from its bondage, giving it a chance for its life, an opportunity to grow and become strong under natural conditions, he prescribes some strong medicine and *more* restrictions. Now it is natural for a child to grow up healthy and strong (all other results are caused by unnatural conditions—transgression of natural laws) and it is just as natural for any industry, which society demands, to become strong and great. It is no more natural for a vigorous and healthy man to have great muscles than it is for an energetic, intelligent, and wealthy nation to have *great industries*. The effect of protective tariff on such a nation is like the effect of alcohol on a man. Instead of giving strength they both lead to intoxication and rashness.

Mr. Cox repeats the favorite fallacy of Protectionists about the high labor cost of production in America, and is apparently imbued with the chronic superstition that "high wages imply a high labor cost."

The effort to blame wage-earners (or their high wages) for our inability to compete with foreign rivals instead of placing such blame where it belongs—on the foolish, idiotic, and injurious legislation of Congress—constitutes one of the most malicious and outrageous slanders in present politics. The inference from the talk of some of our politicians and of such writers as Mr. Cox is that nothing would ever prosper without the assistance of government and that such aid is all that is necessary to make the most unprofitable business a success. In their insane

partisan zeal they have exalted a "protective tariff" to the position of an almighty creator, which has created all our prosperity, and to this political fetich they bow down and give all the praise now and forever. They give no credit to the bounty of nature, which has given us a soil and a climate which will grow almost anything; timber, iron, coal, copper, gold, and silver in most extravagant abundance; natural means of transportation unequalled in the world. They give no credit to the intelligence, the energy, the capacity for work, and the marvelous achievements in the invention of labor-saving machinery for which the American people are so famous the world over.

The plea that our high labor cost hinders us from meeting the competition of Europeans, cannot stand. Mr. McCulloch after a six years' residence in England and after a careful study of production abroad says, "A dollar will purchase as much service in manufacturing in the United States as in England." And England, be it remembered, is our chief foreign competitor.

Further proof indorsing the same conclusions is furnished by all scientific students of the subject. I will cite but one—a man who has probably made the most careful and elaborate study of the cost of production, both here and abroad, of any investigator.

Mr. J. Schoenhof, a New York manufacturer, in his State Reports as consul and special United States commissioner to inquire into the economy of production, as well as in his more elaborate works upon economic subjects, furnishes abundant proof of the correctness of Mr. McCulloch's statement. Investigating a long list of the principal industries he finds that the *labor cost* in manufacturing is usually as low in the United States as in England. In many instances it is lower, notwithstanding the fact that the rate of wages here is much higher than abroad. This is due to our improved machinery and methods used in production and the intelligence and consequent effectiveness of American workmen. Is any further proof necessary to show that our high tariff is not and cannot be for the benefit of the wage-earner; that whatever stands in the way of progress it is not the wage-earner or his high wages?

EDWIN MEAD.

THE FOUNDATION OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL INDEPENDENCE.

BY ALLEN R. FOOTE.

"Self-preservation is the first law of nature."
Self-perfection is the supreme duty of life.

THE possession of manly attributes, natural or acquired, that render an individual superior to his fellows is, for him, a means of protection. The possession of such attributes enlarges the area of his sphere of freedom and establishes his independence. In the contact of man with man, that man is best protected whose individual powers or resources are such that he needs no legal protection. The statement in its briefest formula is : *He is best protected who needs no protection.*

The rights and duties of a nation do not differ in principle from the rights and duties of individuals. If self-preservation is the first law of nature, and self-perfection is the supreme duty of life for individuals, the principle of perpetuating and perfecting existence is also the fundamental law of nations. A nation is a legal person, a group of individuals organized into a body politic for the purpose of serving in the most practicable manner the well-being of the individuals of which it is composed.

A nation must achieve political independence in order that it may exist. Having gained political independence, its duty of self-preservation demands that it shall use every means it can command to acquire industrial independence ; in no other way can it serve in the most practicable manner the well-being of its citizens. In efforts to achieve or maintain political independence, all loyal citizens fuse their individual powers and interests and stand as a unit for the integrity of the nation. In efforts to acquire or maintain industrial independence, it is no

less a patriotic duty for all citizens to fuse their individual interests and stand as a unit for the vital principle that every industry shall be fully protected. This principle is as vital to industrial independence as the principle that every citizen shall owe allegiance to no other nation is to political independence. A system of national economy can be founded only upon the principle of national protection for the industries of the nation.

A system of American economy is as essential to American industrial independence, as was, or is, a system of American civil government to American political independence.

An American economic system, based upon the principle of protection for American industries, will so equalize the economic conditions under which commodities are produced and exchanged that an undue advantage cannot be gained over commodities of domestic production by the importation of similar commodities of foreign production. The practical application of an economic principle to secure a definite object is both a science and an art. Properly to apply the principle of American protection for American industries, economic science must show what industries are unable to protect themselves and the degree of their disability. Economic art must devise the best means of supplying the protection required and making it effectual.

The factors of industrial protection may be grouped into three grand divisions and known as *natural*, *legal*, and *American protection*.

Natural protection may include, not only the primal conditions fixed by nature, but the acquired conditions resulting from progress made in science, art, government, the accumulations of the past, and all collateral effects of legislation and administration, especially the stability of the currency and the maintenance of the principle of protection.

Legal protection may include only the direct import duties imposed by law.

American protection is the result of economic conditions so equalized that the production of domestic commodities shall be at no disadvantage in the American market, through the impor-

tation of similar commodities of foreign production. American protection may be wholly natural, wholly legal, or a combination of natural and legal protection. Commodities produced under conditions requiring no legal protection, enjoy American protection that is exclusively natural. This is the most stable and effective form of protection; it is established by conditions that are sovereign to legislative enactments. When legal protection is granted to an industry in order to supply an existing deficiency, the object is to enable such industry so to perfect itself that it can gain the conditions of full natural protection. To secure such an object, the legal protection granted must be ample at the outset, and there must be no uncertainty as to its continuance. The perfection of an industry is a gradual development; the degree of legal protection granted should be lessened as the degree of perfection increases, until the degree of full natural protection is reached, at which point all necessity for legal protection will cease. This process may be illustrated by the following diagram:

Natural Protection	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Legal " "	100	90	80	70	60	50	40	30	20	10	0
American Protection	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The principle of protection is fundamental; without its application the forms of life cannot exist. If being is living, then every living thing is compelled by the natural laws of its being to use every means at its command not only to perpetuate its existence but to develop its being to the best of which it is capable. Laws, customs, and opinions designed to protect individuals in their rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are measures for the application of the principle of protection. Such laws, customs, and opinions have been found necessary because experience has demonstrated the fact that individual rights are best protected when exercised with a due regard for the similar rights of others. Governments are instituted with the intention of so controlling unequal individual powers that they may be exercised without abridging equal individual rights. That government which induces the

fullest exercise of unequal individual powers, while permitting the least abridgment of equal individual rights, secures the greatest individual freedom.

The power of government is the collective power of all individuals and groups of individuals subject to its authority. A government cannot fulfill the purpose for which it is instituted unless individual interests are served through the promotion of public interests. There is no difference of opinion regarding the desirability of American political independence. There should be none regarding the desirability of American industrial independence. There is a difference of opinion regarding the methods by which American industrial independence may be attained. Those engaged in the production of commodities enjoying full natural protection, object to legal protection because individual interests are served through such a promotion of public good. They fail to see that American industrial independence cannot be acquired and maintained except through securing the industrial independence of individuals, just as American political independence was achieved and is maintained through relieving its citizens from allegiance to other authority. Industries are individual. When an American industry is developed so that it enjoys full natural protection it is fully Americanized, just as a foreigner, who, after residing in this country a sufficient time, on renouncing allegiance to his native government and subscribing to an oath of allegiance to this government, becomes a naturalized citizen. This transfer of citizenship serves individual interests and promotes public interests; but for this, it would not occur. The individual needs to secure industrial as well as political independence.

No measure can be properly applied for the legal protection of industries that does not consistently and continuously adjust the difference between the economic conditions under which commodities are produced. The degree of legal protection must vary with the variation in the degree of natural protection. Under such a system commodities will be continually dropping out of the list of the legally protected, while other commodities will be continually entering the list, commencing

their course of development, to be pursued until they can graduate with the degree of full natural protection.

The adjustment of economic differences, like the settlement of trade balances, is an ever-recurring contingency and can be properly done only by the assistance of a thoroughly organized and permanent commission of proper authority to investigate and verify the facts. Fiat adjustments can never be productive of the highest degree of good because they must necessarily be uncertain and unequitable. So long as there is an industry in need of any degree of legal protection, the granting of legal protection, must be the settled policy of American people, if such industry is to become Americanized, and if America is to become industrially free. Complete American industrial independence will be achieved when all commodities used in America, the domestic production of which is not prohibited by natural causes, are produced in America *without legal protection*.

American protection for American industries, adopted as the unchanging policy of the American people, will inevitably lead to American industrial supremacy. For such a consummation the support of every loyal American citizen may be consistently requested.

American protection is the result of the application of legal protection, granted to make good any deficiency in natural protection, for the purpose of securing the development of each individual industry to the full stature of American independence, that condition in which an industry requires no legal protection because it needs none. An American system of economy can be founded only upon an unchanging policy of American protection. The fact that legal protection is needed, the degree of such protection required, and the rate at which it may be reduced until it entirely disappears must be established by scientific investigation. The administration of legal protection for the benefit of the people and those interested in the industry must be the perfection of economic art. Every reason given for needing the protection must be noted, every method indicated by which differences in economic conditions may be overcome must be fully developed, every degree of progress gained must

be announced by a corresponding reduction of the legal protection granted. All statements upon which such action is based, all facts by which such a policy is guided to its consummation, are proper subjects for determination by a commission. They pertain to economic conditions, not legislative principles. The determination of fact is a judicial, not a legislative function. The findings of a commission properly organized and equipped to collect evidence regarding the degree of legal protection needed for any specified commodity in order to establish its production in America, and the rate at which such legal protection can be reduced in order to keep pace with the progress made in establishing the industry, will be a safe guide to proper action. The recommendations of such a commission will be based on a full knowledge of economic conditions scientifically investigated, and in accordance with well-defined principles of American economy. The commission will always be accessible to the people and will be devoted to the study and exemplification of a definite economic policy of vital interest to the whole country. It should be above sections, and uninfluenced by the exigencies of party politics. Its *personnel* should be such as to command, not only the respect of Americans, but the confidence of the world. The importance of such a commission to the industries of this country is beyond computation. It is second only to the irrevocable affirmation by the American people that they will protect the honor of the American flag, the dignity of American citizenship, and the independence of American industry on all occasions and in all proper ways. The value of such a commission is in the stability it will give to the conditions under which the production of protected commodities can be developed because of its ability to satisfy the people that such conditions are just and right.

Clearly defined principles for carrying out a fixed economic policy of American protection will be a triumph for the people second only in importance to the establishment of manhood suffrage, and a gold currency. When an American economic policy is so fixed, then the American people will first realize the full measure of their strength, the true prestige of the triumphs of

the republic. Induced by the proclamation of manhood suffrage, acknowledging no authority except laws enacted, and that may be repealed by authority of the people, individuals have come to America by millions to stand with uncovered heads and uplifted hands and receive their baptism of personal liberty; subjects no longer, they have become men among men. Kings and subjects are buried together at all entrances to this realm of manhood. Through this movement of the producers of wealth, all nations have paid tribute to America. Induced by the proclamation of a settled policy of American protection for American industries, not individuals alone, but masters of industries with all their belongings will come to America to gain positions of advantage from which to command the markets of the world.

Protected by oceans on the east and oceans on the west, the commerce of a hemisphere is ours by right of location. Protected by freedom from traditions, bequests, and hereditary titles that bind the present to the rule of the dead past, the best intelligence of the ages is ours by right to learn and to utilize it. Protected by a national conservatism resulting from the ownership of the government by the people, inspired by aspirations for national perfection as a means of securing individual well-being, American ideas, American institutions, and American industries will become solidified, multiplied, and expanded, until their influence is felt by all nations.

The commercial and industrial supremacy of the world is ours by right of our ability to acquire it. Our conquests will be made, not by force of arms but by gifts of food and raiment; not by subjugation to foreign authority, but by example of larger liberty; not by sword and flame, but by transferring the burdens of labor to nerveless machinery and bringing the light of prosperity to the peoples who exchange commodities with us on the basis of equalized economic conditions.

The power to achieve political independence gained us a place among nations. The power to maintain national unity gained us a rank equal with the greatest. The power to pay our obligations in gold, gained admission for our securities to the favor of the ablest financiers of the world. The power to protect our in-

dustries, if properly used, will gain for us industrial independence and supremacy.

With a gold currency and the command of a volume of commerce on this hemisphere large enough to utilize to their limit all economic processes of production, we can equalize economic conditions with competing industries wherever they may exist.

With domestic peace assured and foreign wars impossible; with the increasing respect for man by man, and the recognition of true principles of government and sound economy by the people, we are ready to commence the industrial conquest of the world.

The end of government by kings and emperors is proclaimed by the success of government by the people. A subject dies when a free man is born. The policy of manhood suffrage is no longer a debatable question in America. Neither should be the policy of American protection for American industries. With this policy definitely settled, the work of applying the principle to existing conditions can be undertaken with the confidence of an assured success.

The legal protection afforded by existing laws is well designed to form the basis for scientifically developed system of American protection and American economy. Starting with conditions as they now exist, no further example of granting or removing legal protection by fiat enactments without proper investigation should ever be found upon our statute books. Each commodity should be individualized and dealt with solely with the view of defining the economic conditions which govern its production in this and foreign countries.

The first action should be properly to adjust the rate of legal protection so as to secure the necessary American protection, no more nor no less. The second measure should be to determine within what period of time those interested in the production of a commodity can perfect their industry so as to transfer it to the list of commodities enjoying full natural protection and thus proclaim its independence of legal protection; its industrial freedom.

Domestic commodities produced under economic conditions

freed from legal protection will at once enter into competition with similar foreign commodities in the markets of the world. The more such commodities are produced, the greater their variety and the larger their volume, the greater will be the power of American exports and imports to control the carrying trade of the oceans. The more we produce to better advantage than other nations, the more we can buy from them of those things which we cannot produce. Closely allied with cost of production is cost of exchange. Every gain made in economic internal transportation and terminal charges, every gain made in placing ocean carrying trade under the American flag, every gain made in the stability of American currency and economic conditions as affected by governmental action, is a gain for industrial independence. Natural protection, *that protection which exists independent of governmental interference*, includes, not only the primal conditions fixed by nature, but the acquired conditions resulting from progress made in science, art, and government, and the economic strength resulting from the accumulations of the past. This is the most stable, the most effective form of protection. It is the protection afforded by superior intelligence, skill, and resources. It is the protection of which manly men are justly proud.

Legal protection is a cover for weakness. The greater the degree of such protection demanded, the greater the weakness confessed. What more worthy the united effort of American citizens than the patriotic duty of eliminating all weakness from American industries and assisting them to reach, within the shortest time possible, the degree of full natural protection, in which there is no element of legal protection, no element of weakness? To do this the principle of American protection for American industries, must be established as a fixed feature of an American economic policy, unchangeable as is the feature of manhood suffrage in American political policy, and the application of the principle must cease to be used as the football of party politics. This can be done by the creation of a commission to collect information for Congress, and to indicate, as the result of continued scientific investigation, what the rate of

legal protection should be properly to equalize domestic and foreign economic conditions, and the rate at which it should be decreased to keep pace with industrial development.

Viewed in its logical meaning and sequence, the demand for American protection for American industries is a demand for American industrial independence. To the consummation of such a result, the co-operation of every loyal American citizen may be consistently requested and should be enthusiastically given.

ALLEN R. FOOTE.

CHASING A POLITICAL PHANTOM.

BY E. F. HOWE.

IT is nothing new in the history of American politics for various classes of people to be in full chase after legislation especially to the supposed interest of the classes as against the remainder of the world. It is not remarkable that occasionally the workingmen and the farmers have felt called upon to organize for their own advancement through political parties, and we are not astonished even at the alliance of these two classes, for, with all that is to be said in favor of them, it must be conceded that both classes are too busy in their everyday vocation to master the mysteries of politics or to follow out to their logical conclusions the various theories which ambitious men hold out to them to win their support.

Just now, while the farming and laboring classes are allies in the support of the People's party phantom, it is worth our while to analyze the issues presented by this new combination and learn whether or not they are worthy and susceptible of execution.

The People's party is composed mainly of three classes of men, to all of whom we will accredit honesty of purpose. We cheerfully make this concession, for never has there been an issue presented of so odious a nature that there was wanted a company of people ready to indorse it honestly.

The main element in this new consolidation of the discontented is the farming class, and they come forward with demands for class legislation that implies nothing less than the welding of the whole farming element into a commune whose prosperity shall be fostered at the expense of all other classes of people. They are as loud in condemnation of class legislation as any other portion of our people. With very much discrimination they

point to the evil consequences of the special legislation for the benefit of manufacturers, the railroads, the banks, and other favored classes, but instead of demanding the cessation of the evil of class legislation, they demand the extension of such legislation in its rankest form for their benefit.

Another prominent class of people who have flocked into the People's party is the workingmen of the cities. They have gone into the party for a purpose, but unfortunately their demands are not clearly defined. While they constitute an important element in the army of discontent, few of them have ever advanced far enough in reasoning to learn their own views. They have an undefined idea that things are not just as they should be, and because their education has never reached the investigation of the principles of civil government, their views are the more dangerous. Like the farmers, who indorse the subtreasury scheme, they are communists, but their view of communism is of a far more radical character than the farmers' conception of it. Not only would they have warehouses established by the government; they would also have the government hire all the men of the nation, paying them uniform wages, whether or not the government has use for their labor. The great majority of them even go to the extreme point of wishing the government to seize every acre of land in the country and divide it among all the people. The writer of this article judges the principles of the workingmen by the associations of fifteen years of membership in typographical unions. It is believed to be within the truth to say that three fourths of the members of trade unions are radical communists. Then it seems the height of absurdity for the farmers to ally themselves with a class of men whose main object in the alliance is to prevail on the people of the nation to confiscate the farmers' land.

But even if we ignore the differences between these two people on the point of communism, it will seem that the two classes are naturally and inevitably arrayed against each other. The principal product of the farmer is wheat, and the principal competitors of the American farmers are the people of India and Russia. To succeed and prosper, the American farmer is forced

to keep wages down to the point admitting of competition. The laboring man has no income but his wages. His whole prosperity depends on his ability to keep up the price of labor, just as the prosperity of the farmer depends on his ability to keep down the price of labor, and as the matter of labor is of the utmost importance to both classes, we could expect to see an instantaneous and complete rupture in the People's party the very moment it undertook to execute the principles which it has indorsed.

There is a third element in the People's party that adds to the complexity of the question of the stability of the party. Reference is had to the silver miners, and consistently enough they come forward with a communistic scheme to induce the government to buy all the silver they may produce at a fancy figure, regardless of whether the government has need of the silver.

Thus the People's party calls our attention to three classes, each class armed with legislation which it demands at the expense of all other classes, and each class demanding that it be organized into a commune to prey upon all other classes.

We believe that the principles enunciated by the leaders of the People's party, while advocated by honest men in the interest of honest men, are the most odious ever presented by any American party, and we believe, moreover, that the classes are inevitably antagonistic and the party based on a foundation which must of necessity give way at the very instant any strain is made upon it. This is why we believe that the members of the party are chasing a phantom.

But we believe that there are grave errors to be corrected, and those errors are almost without exception based upon class legislation. No physician would feed his patient cholera germs to cure the cholera. No statesman should prescribe class legislation as a specific for the evils resultant from such legislation. Let us first of all set ourselves the task of repealing the laws specially designed to contribute to classes at the expense of the general public. How can we do this? We cannot do it through the Democratic party, for loud-mouthed as that party is when out of power, it is as subservient to the money rings when

in power as any party. We cannot do it through the Republican party, for the policy of that party has been to placate to the utmost the greed of great corporations. We cannot do it through the People's party, for that party comes into existence with the avowed purpose of advancing class legislation.

But there is a party coming into power which represents the best and highest type of American citizenship, and which makes its advances upon the broadest and soundest platform upon which any party ever stood. It can be done through the Prohibition party, and that party alone ; a party which represents no class, but a whole and united nation.

E. F. HOWE.

THE MODERN PEACE MOVEMENT.

BY ALFRED H. LOVE, PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION.

AS magnetism and electricity may be considered by scientists the coming forces, the problem being their application, so the divinity and spirituality of God's creation, as found in man, may be regarded as the undeveloped dynamics of practical and universal peace.

The marvelous advance made in science calls for commensurate progress in morals. With a higher civilization comes the demand for a clearer recognition of true religious principles, which some may call Christian, but which all will recognize as the revelations of truth within every human being.

The more knowledge we have of each other, the more we discover there is a magnetic influence among mankind; we suffer the same pains and rejoice in the same joys; and common sympathy and brotherhood awaken the strongest force of our nature, the very electricity of peace.

In this spirit of an inspired and vitalized manhood and womanhood, the common sense of the day has declared for the removal of mere profession, and demands the application of reason and affection, with which to realize our ideals and professions.

WHAT IS PEACE?

The highest thought of the age is that peace is the sum of all virtues, and the boldest and bravest position of the peacemaker is that the right is always possible. The Creator would not endow us with power to conceive a condition better than that in which we live, without giving us ability to attain it.

The teaching of the philosopher, the song of the muse, the prayer of the preacher, long ago paid all homage to peace. Peace was regarded alone of the angels and for some fancied

millennium. It had been *cozened* with sickly sentimentality and almost killed with kindness. In the utilitarianism of the nineteenth century, there comes a downright positive demand to be what we approve, and if peace be the ideal of perfection, we must harness the common sense of the period and employ the actual agencies that we possess, for its realization.

The modern peace movement therefore says : The Utopias of yesterday are the actualities of to-day and the possibilities of to-morrow. Our ideals are our choicest treasures, and, when invested with reason and tact, bear compound interest. The modern peace movement saw in the testimonies of the religious Society of Friends, announced over two hundred years ago, the awakening of conscience to the necessity of peace principles.

ORGANIZATION OF PEACE SOCIETIES.

The first peace society was organized in America by William Ellery Channing and Noah Worcester in 1814, and soon after the English Peace Society was formed by William Allen and Joseph Tregelles Price ; a direct result of a declaration of independence that comprehended an independence of ideas, that William Penn had already announced, when he placed in the Bill of Rights of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania : "No human authority can in any case whatsoever control or interfere with the rights of conscience." These were followed by the treaty of peace signed in Paris, 1815, and by peace societies in New York and Ohio in 1815, Massachusetts in 1816, Rhode Island and Maine in 1817, which societies united in 1828 as the American Peace Society, of which Benjamin F. Trueblood is now the faithful secretary.

In 1816 a peace society was formed in Philadelphia, of which Thomas Jefferson was a vice president. In all these a sentiment was created which was needed as a forerunner of that bolder enunciation of principle, whose advocates were regarded as non-resistants and among whom were found William Lloyd Garrison, Eihu Burritt, Lydia Maria Child, Henry C. Wright, Adin Ballou, William Ladd, and Lucretia Mott, and which gave birth to peace societies in different parts of the United States.

While this was going on in America there was on the continent

of Europe a corresponding awakening to the new civilization. In France "*La Société de Morale Chétienne*" was organized with the Duc de Rochefoucauld-Liancourt as its president, with Lamartine, Guizot, Carnot, Duchâtel, and others as supporters. In Brussels, Paris, and Frankfort, Peace Congresses were held. Daniel O'Connell and Richard Cobden were declaring for peace principles and the work was carried on by Henry Richard, M. P., of England, who visited in behalf of peace and arbitration the cities of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Pesth, Dresden, Leipsic, Munich, Frankfort, Brussels, Antwerp, Bremen, Cologne, The Hague, Amsterdam, Genoa, Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, Turin, etc.

PEACE PROFESSION TESTED.

All this peace sentiment was to be tested. With the Civil War in the United States came a trial. While there was no hesitation as to the right, as between North and South, and no disposition to undervalue the devotion and sacrifice of those who took up the sword in vindication of what they considered to be their duty, there was higher ground presented to those minds that had been educated in the school that peace was the wisest, cheapest, purest, and surest method of success; that it was within the province of the intelligence of man, as it was universally admitted to be the will of God.

How to secure and maintain it became the question. Great purposes involve profound thought and profounder determination. Neither was wanting. There was the inspiration of the right on the one hand and courage unto martyrdom on the other.

The latter half of the nineteenth century witnesses the putting in force certain agencies which may be called the Modern Peace Movement.

The demand for soldiers by the Union and Confederate forces developed the fact that there were some who would not take up carnal weapons under any circumstances whatever; who would die rather than kill, and suffer rather than cause suffering. In North Carolina, Friends were conscripted into the army and dragged to the battlefields, but they refused to fight, and were found at Gettysburg and cared for in Philadelphia. In the New

England states, in Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and other states, there were numerous instances of the refusal to take up arms or to comply with military law. True there had been the testimonies against war of the religious Societies of Friends, Shakers, Seventh-day Baptists, Mennonites, Bible Christians, and a few other religious bodies of limited membership; and there had been the confiscation of property, because of a refusal to pay militia fines, all of which were needed to prepare the moral resistance to the behests of the military power. The London Peace Society and the American Peace Society were in existence, but they failed to meet the issue. The latter defined the Civil War as the North using a great national police in putting down a rebellion, and hence for the time suspended its meetings.

Too much credit cannot be given to those who had stood forth firmly in the past. It was the inspiration of the present, and enabled me to say when drafted and during my three days of trial, and when threatened to be shot as a deserter: "I will not serve; I will not pay the \$300 commutation fee; I will not accept a substitute; I will not put in the plea of physical disability; but I am ready to submit to the penalties for my conscientious convictions."

It was at this time that the United States government showed its supreme greatness. The question of what to do with men who refused to obey military law because of conscience became an important one. President Lincoln said: "Get rid of it the best way you can. Don't take the lives of these our best citizens." Secretary Stanton said: "My grandfather was a Quaker, and when he put his foot down he would not budge. These men will die before they will serve." Congress speedily passed an act excusing such persons if they would care for sick and wounded soldiers or aid the freedmen. All of which was cheerfully accepted. Some of us were already doing this. For myself, I may say, I was going from hospital to hospital caring for sick and wounded soldiers, irrespective of the part they had taken in the war. And as for the freedman, I had a large room fitted up for the reception and forwarding of supplies for the freedmen.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION.

The war over, a call was issued for a convention of the radical friends of peace. It was held in Boston and there were present Adin Ballou, Henry C. Wright, Samuel May, Hon. Amasa Walker, Joshua P. Blanchard, Thomas Haskell, Levi K. Joslin, Elizabeth B. Chase, E. H. Heywood, myself, and others. There was no wasting of time. Garrison opened his *Liberator* to the appeal, and it resulted, in 1866, in the organization of the Universal Peace Union, with the following preamble :

"Whereas, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are natural, inalienable rights, subject to no human governments, but superior to all ; and, *whereas*, whatever is absolutely wrong can never be practically right or be innocently encouraged, neither can persons perform collectively what is unlawful for individuals, nor serve self and country to the injury of mankind ; and, *whereas*, peace is self-control, and the abnegation of carnal weapons ; and the recognition of all the principles of love, justice, charity and purity make for peace ; communities and states permanently unite by attraction and consent, never through coercive violence ; and the sword is not an essential element of our social system, but like dueling and slavery, a relic of barbarous times, and owes its prevalence to popular delusion ; and, *whereas*, wise advocates of truth, believing in God, believe also in man, overcome evil with good, choosing to die rather than kill ; and, *whereas*, war destroys life, invades liberty, subverts good morals and the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ, retards and defeats rather than insures progress and the common welfare, and is a standing reproach to human nature."

It has been chartered, and has over thirty branches in the United States, with a larger number in Europe as corresponding societies.

New life was now infused into the other peace societies, and into such religious bodies as had openly avowed peace, as part of their testimonies. In 1867 the tocsin cry went forth through Europe for peace, and the Universal Peace Union embodying in its name the desire for universal peace and unity, has been in harmony with every well-devised plan. The principle that animated the founders of the Peace Union was that the sentiment of the age must be utilized into a living reality ; that if there be a profession of peace in the church, in the schoolhouse, in the home teaching, by at least the mothers of our race, in the laws of the land and in human consciences, then there should be

practice equal thereto. The text was and is: Remove the causes and abolish the customs of war, establish the principle and live the conditions of peace. It means: Begin at the beginning; peace at home; self-control; peace in books, in histories, in pictures, in illustrations, in playthings, in ornaments. It means that every one can do something good and at all times. It means never strike a child—never strike any one, much less a child.

The Peace Union comprehended all the reformatory movements of the day. It regarded peace as the living and life-giving force and not merely a sentiment; a universal desire and not merely a local interest; essential to all nations and not confined within geographical or genealogical limits.

This proclamation met a response throughout an enlightened world. Anything that touches human hearts, expands the vision, gives liberty, inspires humanity, and reverences God is sure to find appreciation. Hence there came from various quarters of the globe cordial approval; the gifted and the brave devised measures for carrying out the great plan. It was evident that where the obstacles in the way of peace were removed, peace triumphed, and it was equally evident that war was the result of causes. Hence the necessity of examining the conditions that make peace as possible as desired. Here was discovered the secret: Deserve peace and peace will reign. But if the conditions of a warring spirit exist, with its selfishness, anger, and those elements incompatible with peace—peace cannot be secured and ought not to be expected.

THE TIME OPPORTUNE.

The Universal Peace Union was born at the right time; it came from a parentage of so much virtue and strength that it had a healthy beginning, and upon its faithfulness must depend its victories. The emancipation of oppressed humanity had been secured in England, Russia, and the United States; republican ideas were taking deeper hold; the people were being recognized; temperance was gaining; the relations of capital and labor were being adjusted; the education of the masses was demanded; the gradual abolition of capital punishment was

taking place and sectarian prejudices were giving way. The Peace Union of France, with Bielfield and Santallier, promptly applied for a concert of action, and the two societies merged into one. Since that time, over a quarter of a century ago, we have seen established the International Code Committee with Hon. David Dudley Field as president, and some forty peace societies in America, among them the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, making prominent a department of peace and arbitration. There had been *La Ligue Internationale de la Paix* founded by M. Frederic Passy in Paris; *La Ligue Internationale de la Paix et de la Liberti* by M. Charles Lemonnier at Geneva. At Havre they had *La Ligue du Disarmement*, and a movement for peace by the workingmen of France and Germany. In 1868, Signor Mancini brought before the Italian Parliament propositions for substituting arbitration for war, and soon after similar action was taken by M. Van Eck at The Hague. Peace societies were organized in Amsterdam by Miss Bergendahl; in Italy by Signor Moneta; in Sweden by M. Hedlund; in Denmark by Frederick Bajer; in France by M. Godin, Pasteur F. Fallot, Edmond Potonie, M. Desmoulins, and many others. The International Arbitration and Peace Association of Great Britain and Ireland, with Hodgson Pratt, chairman, forwarded the peace work by starting peace societies throughout Europe, among the workingmen and others, notably that at Brussels under the presidency of Laveleye. These efforts have been greatly aided by Ladies' Auxiliary Peace Societies through Mrs. E. M. Southey, Mrs. Henry Richard, Miss Peckover, Mrs. M. Bright Lucas, and others in England, and on the continent by Madames Fischer-Lette, Marie Gregg, Greis Traut, Toussaint, Baroness Von Suttner, of Vienna, and others.

Then followed sacrifices for the peace principle; prominent among them was the retirement of John Bright from the House of Commons, because he would not participate in the Egyptian war measures. Arbitration gained ground. Religious demonstrations, chambers of commerce, labor organizations, commercial partnerships, and even individual contracts now insert

clauses for the arbitrament of any differences that might arise; and international treaties are regarded as incomplete if they do not contain a special reference to arbitration in case of disputes that cannot be adjusted by the ordinary process of diplomacy.

The Universal Peace Union does not claim all the credit of bringing about this reformation, though doubtless it has been largely instrumental in developing the higher thought of the age. It simply went forth practically to mould the best impulses of mankind, and with confidence in the power and support of the Divine hand.

WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED.

The results are evident in the successful arbitration of over sixty cases of international difficulties within twenty years, fifty of which took place in ten years, whereas previously to this modern peace movement there were not ten in fifty years. The Parliaments of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Denmark, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Sweden and Norway, and the Congress of the United States have adopted resolutions in favor of International Arbitration; and the Modern Peace Movement can note among its victories the introduction in Congress of at least a score of bills in reference to arbitration; the visit of a large delegation from England representing two hundred and thirty-four members of Parliament to this country in the interest of peace, and the present proposition of similar bodies from other countries, especially from France; and now through Senator Sherman, the following Act of Congress, which has been adopted and President Harrison has acted in the matter:

"That the President be, and is hereby requested to invite from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any difficulties or disputes arising between them, which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency, may be referred to arbitration, and be peaceably adjusted by such means."

The Universal Peace Union was instrumental in having a resolution similar to this passed by the Senate and House of Representatives in 1874, and it came very near becoming a law. It early planned definite work through argument, appeal, petition, and prayer. It recognized three gradations in securing

peace: First, intervention; second, arbitration; and third, conciliation. It appealed for the release of Mason and Slidell that war might be prevented with Great Britain; it petitioned the United States and the British governments for the Treaty of Washington and then for the Geneva Tribunal of Arbitration; it took active measures against a war with Spain on account of Cuba; it suggested to Peru and Chile a plan for the settlement of their disputes, for which prompt acknowledgment was received from the President of Chile, who accepted; it proposed to President Diaz of Mexico to release the disturber Cutting under certain conditions, to avoid war with the United States; it recommended an electoral commission to settle the presidency between Hayes and Tilden; it interposed in the execution of the Modoc Indians and successfully saved a number from death. President Grant indorsed the efforts of the friends of peace, and on a memorable occasion meeting with them, after his tour around the world, expressed his confidence in arbitration and his high regard for the principle of the radical peace movement; it asked and received the care of Indian children and fostered the schools among the Indians.

It was at this time that the wise "Indian Quaker Policy" was inaugurated, and the plan adopted by the chain of peace societies to apprise each other of any threatened danger, and have those nearest thereto investigate the trouble and then petition their government for an amicable adjustment. The Peace Union aided in 1876 the amendment of the constitution of Pennsylvania, whereby peace men are exempted from performing military service. It has protested against capital punishment. In 1871 it presented a petition to Congress to take the war clauses from the Constitution of the United States. A resolution was adopted and referred to a committee.

MEANS EMPLOYED AND HOW THE PEACE UNION HAS ACTED.

It started out to utilize the wonderful network for peace that nations have unwittingly woven for many years, in the diplomatic and consular system, by commerce, the postal system, the telegraph communication, the rapidity of transportation, the

frequent intercourse and intervisiting of rulers, the great international relations, the intermarriage relations, the wide charity, the toleration of religious belief and the recognition of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God. All this brought about closer relations between the people and the rulers, delegations to crowned heads of Europe, interviews with presidents and petitions to Congress ; it secured the introduction of the study of peace and arbitration in the curriculum of schools and colleges, prominent among them, the professorship on this subject in Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, and the notable educational movement at Bonn on the Rhine, under M. Herm Molkenboer. It obtained the plank of arbitration as a substitute for war in five of the political parties of the United States, and the formation of political peace organizations in several European countries for the control of the politics of their governments.

THE LATEST VICTORIES.

Among the greatest triumphs of the Modern Peace Movements are the Universal Peace Congresses and the Parliamentary Peace Conferences, held in Paris in 1889 and in London in 1890, Rome in 1891 and Berne in 1892, to which the Universal Peace Union sent delegates. At Rome one of its delegates presented the Flag of Liberty and Peace, adopted at Independence Hall, Philadelphia. It was at this Congress that the Peace Bureau was resolved upon, and the following committee was appointed to carry out the said resolution : Hon. Frederick Bajer, of Denmark ; Hodgson Pratt, of England ; A. Mazzoleni, of Italy ; Elie Ducommun, of Switzerland, and Alfred H. Love, of the United States. This International Peace Bureau is now firmly established, the first in the history of the world. The mission of Mr. Stollmeyer to Venezuela which prevented a war between that republic and England saved, it is estimated, \$60,000,000 and the Peace Union received many letters of commendation for this action of its vice president.

The International American Peace Conference of 1889 and 1890, when the republics of Central and South America adopted at Washington a treaty of peace with the United States and

with each other, which may serve as a model to other nations, may be regarded as the most memorable event of the history of peace.

The Peace Union has now in course of erection in a ten-acre grove a Peace Temple in Connecticut for the conventions of peace societies, and President Harrison sent a message to Congress, June 2, 1890, covering a letter of Secretary Blaine, recommending the erection by the nation, of a hall at Washington in which future Congresses like the Maritime and American may meet. This is carrying out the proposition of the late International Congress for a great Latin-American library of historical, geographical, and literary works, maps, manuscripts, and official documents. President Harrison recommends that Congress appropriate \$250,000 for a suitable building, and adds these remarkable words: *"And contain a hall or assembly room for the accommodation of such international bodies as the two conferences that have just adjourned."*

The Maritime Conference was not confined to America and hence the idea is thoroughly international, and is in the direction of the establishment by this government, and we hope by others, of what the Universal Peace Union has long recommended—a peace department.

In the latter part of the year 1884 remarkable gains were made, by the Peace Union arbitrating difficulties between capital and labor, resulting in restoring to work over thirty thousand workingmen and women in various industries, and the adoption of twelve cardinal rules for the settlement of such difficulties. In a number of places these rules are framed, hung up in shops and factories, and referred to when disputes arise.

1. The employer should have the right of selecting, without dictation, the person he employs.
2. The person seeking employment should have the right of seeking that employment wherever he believes his services will be best appreciated and remunerated.
3. The right to organize for beneficent purposes belongs to all alike, and whether employer or employee belong to any particular organization, should be no obstacle to forming a labor contract.
4. Persons not members of an organization should have the right to seek employment and to continue employed without molestation or interference by those connected with an organization.

5. Labor contracts, whether made for a week, a month, or a longer period, should be considered binding by employers and employees, to be amended, canceled or renewed only with the consent of each contracting party.

6. Employers should not be required to abide by regulations or laws of organizations in the construction of which they have had no voice.

7. Due notice of any change in work or time affecting prices of labor, and cessation of, or discharge from employment, should be given by the employer to the employed.

8. Due notice of leaving employment should be given to the employer by the employed.

9. Violence of any kind on the part of capital or labor is never conducive to the best interests of either.

10. Misunderstandings, not otherwise adjustable, should be submitted to a tribunal of arbitration, and each contract should contain a clause providing therefor.

11. Pending the adjustment or arbitration of difficulties, employers and employees should continue their relations as before, and any settlement, not otherwise agreed upon, should date from the beginning of the difficulty.

12. Corporations employing thousands of employees should recognize the representatives selected by such employees.

Where differences occur, aim at a reconciliation by the parties meeting each other personally, or by representatives. Failing in this, invite the mediation of a disinterested, discreet person. Should this fail, refer the whole matter to intelligent, impartial arbitration, which should be final.

The success that has attended these methods whenever fairly tried, both in Europe and America, has proved the practicability thereof.

Capital and labor, instead of being at enmity, are indispensable to each other. They cannot confer on humanity their respective blessings without working together, and consequently not controversy, but harmony, should exist between them.

This course was repeated on several occasions with the employees of the Reading Railroad, and on the 1st of April, 1886, it was eminently triumphant in averting a threatened railroad strike in Philadelphia. This same year it appealed to President Cleveland for a commission on labor and capital and was rewarded by his favorable action in this direction, so far as to recommend it to Congress; efforts in regard to the fisheries

question with the United States and Great Britain were positive and unremitting, and the whole matter has now been referred to a commission of arbitrators and is in course of adjustment.

August 14, 1885, a permanent court of arbitration was established in Philadelphia, under the auspices of the Universal Peace Union and it remains open for the adjustment of difficulties.

In an interesting correspondence on the water ways of the world, the Peace Union laid down the principle that the Suez, Panama, and any other canals should be free from warlike demonstrations or provisions, and should be neutral to all nations.

One of the most notable events has been the visit of a large delegation of members of the British Parliament and friends of peace in England to this country in 1887 bearing a memorial in favor of international arbitration, signed by 234 members of Parliament. This was presented to the president of the United States.

The exhibit of the Peace Union in the World's Exposition at Paris in 1889, received the award of a handsome diploma and gold medal.

In Rhode Island an effort was made to introduce military drill into the boys' department of the high school. The representatives of the Universal Peace Union were given a hearing and successfully defeated the proposition.

In 1890 Conrad F. Stollmeyer, of Trinidad, a vice president of the Peace Union, went to Europe as minister of peace to visit the European courts and principal men of the different governments; to avert the threatened war over Alsace and Lorraine; to bring about closer relationships by mutual visitation and to create a deeper interest in arbitration and disarmament. The Universal Peace Union furnished him with handsomely prepared credentials on parchment, drawn up and signed by the president of the society and countersigned and approved by Hon. Edwin H. Fitler, mayor of Philadelphia; His Excellency James A. Beaver, governor of Pennsylvania, and Hon. James G. Blaine, secretary of state of the United States, the last-named giving a

letter of introduction to the diplomatic and consular officers of the United States. This mission was successful in creating a pacific sentiment throughout Europe and in strengthening the hands of the friends of peace.

It was repeated by Mr. Stollmeyer in 1892 having in addition the credentials of Hon. John W. Foster, secretary of state. This time still greater gains have been made in behalf of international arbitration, the freedom of trade, reciprocity, and the establishment of peace departments in governments.

The treaty of arbitration between the United States and Denmark marked further efforts of the Peace Union, mainly by its vice president, Frederick Bajer of Copenhagen, for he in Denmark, as Chas. Lemmonnier in France, Hodgson Pratt in England, E. T. Moneta and Señor Mazzoleni in Italy, Arturo de Marcoartu in Spain, have, with many others, been very active for our work across the Atlantic.

The Behring Sea dispute assumed alarming proportions and the Peace Union remitted no effort to bring about a settlement, and it has been rewarded by a temporary adjustment, which without doubt will be permanently arranged to prevent war. This and the Venezuela question may be classed as great triumphs for peace for this period.

Especial efforts were made by the Peace Union for the interests of England and Ireland, and testimonials of appreciation were received from prominent Irishmen.

It took advanced ground for the Indians, as the outbreak in the Sioux reservation caused the friends of justice and humanity to act. This work extended into 1891 with encouraging results.

The Chilian troubles engaged attention and the Peace Union did what it could to avert war. Secretary Blaine replied favorably to appeals for sending a mediator, and his plan succeeded.

During the centennial year of American independence, the Peace Union held for five days a large peace convention in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, where the first Continental Congress had assembled one hundred years before, and had declared war against Great Britain. From this convention a declaration of peace to all mankind was issued, and was sent to various nations

and read and re-read to large assemblages and signed and indorsed by prominent persons on both sides of the Atlantic. At this memorable gathering several swords were presented to the Universal Peace Union by army officers who had carried them in battles. They were turned into a plow and pruning hooks which were sent to the Paris Exposition, of 1878, and afterwards presented to the city of Geneva, and the plow now rests on a dais in the immortal Hall where the Alabama question was settled. This was followed by the Iowa Branch Peace Society being presented with swords by military men who had been converted to peace principles, and they were made into pruning hooks.

The next important move is to hold in Chicago, in August, 1893, an International Peace Congress and to establish a Peace Bureau for America. The invitation has been accepted by the peace societies of Europe and considerable interest is manifested.

There is no mistaking the signs of the times that there is a hesitation to engage in battle, and that arbitration is being accepted as the rational economic and honorable substitute for war. That which disturbs the peace of the land is condemned, while that which increases and maintains it is commended. The fact is emphasized that if there be no peace breaker, there need be no peacemaker.

ALFRED H. LOVE.

BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS AS RELATED TO THE FUTURE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL WEL- FARE OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY SEYMOUR DEXTER, ESQ.

WE are developing in the United States a marvelous civilization. It is unlike any that have preceded it ; first, because of the new factors of steam and electricity, which now enter, in some form, into nearly all matters that pertain to the material development and achievements of the present time ; secondly, because in the evolution of social institutions, we are further advanced than any civilization prior to this era.

Guizot tells us that European civilization was unlike the earlier ones recorded in history : that in the earlier civilizations, some one class, caste, or power, was dominant and supreme over all others ; while in European civilization, no one class, caste, or power had been able to achieve complete control ; each was seeking supremacy, and each had been unable to attain it.

In European civilization, however, the individual stood for little by himself. He was simply a member of a class, as the religious class, military class, or land-holding class ; and the great mass of men were of no account, save as they performed the labor and drudgery imposed upon them by the ruling powers.

In this great western civilization, the individual becomes a power regardless of his relation to any particular class. The government is founded upon the idea that "all men are created free and equal" in the sight of God, and should be in their rights in the sight of man and the law.

Sovereignty is transferred from a ruling class or classes to the individual units, and each unit expresses his will as a sovereign through the ballot.

Our political fabric is founded upon the conception that the units composing the social body should co-operate to form and adopt such organic laws and such legislative enactments as shall conduce to the best interests of all, a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

Under such conditions and influences it is but natural that co-operations should come to pass and develop in all that pertains to the material, social, and moral welfare of the community. Free schools are a part of the development of this spirit of co-operation for the public good : the great majority of all citizens agreeing that if free government in its purity is to be maintained, its citizens must be educated.

Certainly, next in importance, even if not superior to free schools, is the question of the *home life* of our people ; and especially, of the children, the oncoming generations that shall have in their keeping the future destinies of the republic.

The results of steam and electricity, as evolved in our railroads, telegraphs, and machinery, whereby the tendencies in manufactures have been, of necessity, toward centralization, have brought together great numbers of wage-earners about the great manufacturing plant, and railroad center, usually in or in close proximity to some city.

This tendency, increased by a like centralization of commercial activities and our rapid increase of wealth, has rapidly, during the last decade, advanced the ratio of city population. This has meant in the past an increased ratio of our population becoming tenement dwellers instead of home owners.

Thus far in our experiment of free government, the only place of conceded failure has been in our large cities, and in these cities the cause of failure has not arisen in wards occupied largely by home owners but in those localities filled with tenement dwellers. We use the term "tenement dwellers" not solely with reference to those who occupy tenement houses, but as well those who occupy "upper rooms" in the very centers of commercial activities. The "home life" of this part of our population comes short of the kind required to insure the stability of free institutions.

Before "rapid transit" in and about our cities became a possibility, the massing of the wage-earners in the vicinity of the store, the shop, the railroad center, the mill, and the manufactory, in tenement houses and upper rooms seemed a necessity; but with rapid transit such a necessity no longer exists.

The wage-earner may live twenty miles away from the place where his daily labor is performed, and yet easily reach and be prompt at the place of his daily toil: especially is this practicable in view of the fewer hours of work per day which the humane sentiment of the present era demands of men who labor with their hands.

With the opening up of suburban real estate, for occupancy, at prices within the ability of wage-earners to purchase and build a home thereon or purchase one already built, it is not only possible, but practicable, to increase the ratio of home owners among the wage-earners of our country.

The conditions are ripe for stimulating the desire for a home of their own in the thoughts and ambitions of all and pointing out to them a way that is practicable to obtain one. The local building and loan association movement does all this in a high degree.

These associations are not experimental, a new scheme, the wisdom of which is to be tested. Their merits have been tested through a period of sixty years, the first having been formed in Philadelphia in 1831. That city has been their "breeding ground."

Of their influence in that city, Albert Bolles, chief of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics of Pennsylvania said in his report for 1890:

"In Philadelphia more people own their homes, and enjoy a greater degree of comfort and independence and possess a more healthful conservatism than the people of any other city. A home owner and a taxpayer is a conservative citizen, he will never become infected with the spirit of anarchy. One of the best proofs of this in recent years is, when so much of agitation and disquietude have existed in many places, Philadelphia has been as peaceful as a country village. The existence of so many home owners there is due in no small degree to the influence and methods of building and loan associations."

The spread of these associations from Philadelphia into other

localities and states in their early history was sporadic in character and usually the result of immigration. So quiet was their spread and growth during the first forty years of their existence, that the great mass of the people had no knowledge concerning them and in those localities where their numbers were the greatest, few persons took note of them, outside of those who were members or directly interested in their financial results.

Until recent years there was no literature relating to them, brought to the attention of the public and little was accessible to one who was diligently seeking it. It was not until about 1886 that the press or writers upon economic topics gave them much attention.

Since about that time no movement of its kind has ever attained such marvelous growth and development as has marked its progress during the last six years. Their development is no longer sporadic in character, but an organized movement in nearly every state and territory; the press generally giving them prominence and encouragement, while there are many journals devoted solely to their interests and several books have been published, describing their methods and giving information as to their history, manner of organization, and how to conduct them.

Leagues in sixteen states have been formed, which hold meetings at least annually, and in April last a United States League was formed, thirteen states being represented, which will hold its first annual meeting in Chicago, during the Columbian Exposition, and at the same time a World's Congress will be held under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the Columbian Exposition.

A few statistics seem appropriate. The last report of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics of Pennsylvania, relating to these associations was May 1, 1890; showing in the state 1,200 associations, having assets of about \$95,000,000. We have no doubt that their assets at this date exceed \$120,000,000. Little New Jersey had, January 1, last, 272 associations, with assets of \$25,600,000; Massachusetts 108, called in that state "co-

operative banks," with \$11,874,530 of assets; New York 400 associations and assets of about \$28,000,000. A conservative estimate for the United States shows over 6,500 associations, with assets approximating \$550,000,000 and 1,500,000 shareholders. We predict that on the first day of January, 1894, the accumulated assets of these associations in the whole country will exceed the capital invested in all the national banks of the United States.

Each of these associations is a growing influence in every community where it is located, stimulating the building and owning of homes.

Not alone this but it is an influence tending to develop four habits in the life of every shareholder, namely, promptness in the matter of meeting financial engagements; industry, the finding and performing of labor, steadily, whereby the money shall be earned to meet the dues that should be paid; frugality, not parting with their money when earned in careless, foolish ways; and lastly, saving, or in other words, the habit of accumulating. Develop in any young man these four habits and continue them through a term of ten years, and his future material and moral welfare are assured.

When the shareholder is a man of family without a home, the association opens to him a practical method to obtain one and stimulates a desire in that direction. He perceives that as soon as a sufficient sum can be accumulated to make up the margin between the purchase price of the home and the sum the association will loan upon the property, he can borrow the money, purchase the home, and his dues and interest will but slightly exceed the amount he has been paying for rent. This inspires hope, not alone in him but in his household; they are content to make little self-denials from week to week, if the savings thereby go directly into the purchase price of the coveted home.

A man who has earned, saved, and paid for a home will be a better artisan and clerk, a better husband and father, and a better citizen of the republic. The wife will be a better wife and mother in her own home than in a tenement.

There is no pride in caring for, improving, or beautifying a

tenement or rented house ; shall we say home ? No, it is not a home ; it is but a stopping place ; a shelter from cold and storms. No tendrils of the heart's affection cling to it ; it is all the same to the tenant if he moves to another house the next month, except for the labor and expense. Children born and reared in tenements do not have a fair chance for life and strength ; their possibilities cannot be developed as when in their own home, with its grassplot, flower beds, and the fresh air. It is in the true home of this kind that the family, in all of its better phases and possibilities, will thrive the best ; that worthy ambitions will stir the strongest, that morality will find the surest welcome, temperance its ablest advocates, and patriotism its purest development.

Our free government and this western civilization will not depend so much upon the grandeur of its cities, its manufactories, its railroads, its great material achievements of every kind, as upon the character of the men and women which it shall develop ; and their character will be molded in a great degree by their home life, and the highest form of the home life can only be obtained in a home owned by those dwelling therein.

What has been done in Philadelphia by building and loan associations, can be done elsewhere. This movement is well under headway in nearly every city in the northern states. It deserves the cordial support and encouragement of all employers of labor as well as those devoting their energies to moral, patriotic, or philanthropic purposes.

Make the republic pre-eminently a nation of home owners and taxpayers and its future is assured, as well as the morality of its social life.

SEYMOUR DEXTER.

WANTED, A POLICY.

BY LAWRENCE IRWELL.

IT seems a most remarkable fact that in this age of universal education and the easy acquisition of general information so little is known in the United States concerning the Dominion of Canada. While the United States, exclusive of Alaska, covers three million and thirty-six thousand square miles, the Dominion extends over three million four hundred and seventy thousand square miles and comprises about forty per cent of the British Empire.

In timber, in minerals, in fisheries, and in agriculture, Canada possesses more than her share of the natural resources with which most countries are endowed. Nor can the climate be said to be a drawback to this colony as a place of residence, during either the winter or the summer ; the cold is, no doubt, severe in the northwest and the heat in some parts of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec may be unpleasantly great during the months of July and August, yet neither is of a sufficiently serious character to inconvenience any person in ordinarily good health. But notwithstanding the numerous advantages to be obtained by settlers coming to the Dominion, the census returns of last year (1891) show that the natural increase of population is not retained in the colony, and the exports and imports—the true guides to the commercial position of a country—are much the same both in quantity and in value as they were ten years ago. For this want of progress, which presents a strange contrast to the increase in the expenditure and the debt, a cause must certainly exist, and to ascertain the reason for the unsatisfactory condition of the country is, of course, necessary before attempting to suggest a remedy.

That the Dominion is not making the progress which is

desired will be admitted by all impartial observers. In order, however, to make the facts perfectly clear, a few statistics must be given :

	Population.	Debt (Net).	Expenditure.	Imports.	Exports.
1871.	3,485,761	\$ 77,706,517	\$15,623,081	\$ 96,092,971	\$74,173,618
1881.	4,324,810	155,395,780	25,502,554	105,330,840	98,290,823
1891.	4,832,679	237,809,030	36,343,568	119,967,638	98,417,296

To those optimists who express satisfaction with the state of affairs, it may be desirable to say that in the state of New York, adjoining the Dominion, the increase in population in the ten years from 1880 to 1890 has been from five million and eighty-two thousand to five million nine hundred and ninety-seven thousand, three hundred thousand more than in the Dominion. Surely this evidence alone is sufficient to prove that there must be something amiss with the methods adopted by the government of this colony.

A short sketch of Canadian history from 1873 to the present time will not be out of place here.

In 1873 serious charges were made in the House of Commons concerning the dealings of some of the members of the ministry at that time in power with Sir Hugh Allan, in reference to negotiations for a transcontinental railway, the result being clear and distinct proof that "several members of the government had accepted large sums of money from a public contractor, and had used this money in corrupting the constituencies of Canada. The ministry had been retained in office (at the general election of the previous year) by the free use only of the cash which Sir Hugh Allan had advanced. They had bought their way to power and the money of a contractor for the Pacific Railway charter had enabled them to carry seats which might otherwise have gone against them." *

Early in November of the same year, after a week's debate upon a vote of censure in reference to the above-named charges, the administration resigned in order to avoid defeat. The Reform party then took office and was sustained by an overwhelming majority at the general election in 1874, the fiscal

* Extract from Mr. George Steward's "Canada under Lord Dufferin," pp. 187 and 188.

policy of the new government being that of a tariff for revenue purposes only. Toward the close of 1878, a general election again took place, the Reform party advocating the free trade principles which it had carried out while in power, and the Conservatives adopting the cry of protection to the native industries. This contest resulted in the defeat of the Reformers, due, in all probability, to the ignorance of the voters upon questions of economic science.

For some few years prior to this election, owing to causes beyond the control of financiers, the trade of Canada had not been making progress and the minister of the Reform government having control of the exchequer (Mr., now Sir Richard, Cartwright) had repeatedly stated, what all economists know to be correct, that it is not within the power of the executive of a nation to permanently benefit trade by any form of legislation. Sir John Macdonald, who had now been out of office for five years, declared that he could bring prosperity by an act of parliament, and in March, 1879, Mr. Tilley, the Conservative finance minister, brought forward the protectionist program known as the "national policy."

The British North America Act of 1867 provides that a census of the inhabitants of the Dominion shall be taken every ten years; that the province of Quebec shall have the fixed number of sixty-five members; that there shall be assigned to each of the other four provinces such a number of members as will bear the same proportion to the number of its population ascertained at such census as the number of sixty-five bears to the number of the population of Quebec as so ascertained.

The census of 1881 showed Quebec to contain a population of 1,359,027, which, divided by sixty-five, gave 20,908 as the unit of representation. Ontario with 1,923,228 inhabitants, was entitled to ninety-two members, and it was determined to give Manitoba, with 62,260 souls, one representative.

The new franchise act which was brought before the House of Commons by Sir John Macdonald in 1882, was strongly opposed by the Reformers, who accused its author of adjusting the constituencies with the sole object of obtaining the return of a

majority of Conservative members. Mr. Goldwin Smith went so far as to describe the measure as "a blunder as well as a crime." The least that can be truthfully said is that, had the Premier desired to pass an impartial measure which would give equal weight to the ballot of each voter, he would have referred the question of the boundaries of the constituencies, together with all matters concerning the redistribution of seats, to a commission, not composed exclusively of his own supporters, instead of introducing, as he did, a measure entirely the work of partisans. Notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Reformers, the bill became law in due course.

In May, 1882, Parliament was prorogued, the object being to obtain the opinion of the people upon the commercial policy of the administration, and also to bring into operation the measure for the readjustment of the representation of the people in the House of Commons. The Conservative party was united in its advocacy of protection. The Reformers, unfortunately for themselves, were divided, their leader, Mr. Mackenzie, assuring his supporters that any policy but that of free trade was pernicious, and Mr. Blake asserting that the policy of free ports was impossible. Needless to relate, the Conservatives were re-chosen by a majority of about seventy.

Since this time two general elections have been held, at both of which the Conservative party has continued successfully to advocate the "national policy." In 1887, however, their opponents adopted a new program which they have named "unrestricted reciprocity" with the United States. This change of policy has since caused the retirement from public life in Canada of one of the ablest of the Liberal leaders, Mr. Blake, his explanation of the course which he pursued being that commercial union with the neighboring republic would necessarily lead to political union.

The reasons given for the abandonment by the Reformers of the policy of a revenue tariff, and the substitution of free trade between Canada and the United States, with a tariff against the rest of the world, the mother country included, were twofold, viz., (1) that the policy of free ports would not give the Canadian

farmers, who constitute nearly one half of the entire population, access to the American markets; (2) that the debt of the country, as well as the expenditure, was so large that no sufficient revenue could be raised with which to pay the interest upon existing liabilities and the necessary expenses of government, if imports from all countries were placed upon equal terms. The latter reason is not tenable as a cause for a protective, rather than a revenue tariff.

This paper is not written with the object of showing that a colony is in any way bound by any ideas of sentiment to refrain from commercial discrimination against its mother land, but it is my desire to demonstrate that the policy favored by the Reformers cannot be carried out so long as Canada remains in her present position and with her existing powers. Further, my purpose is to show that, even if commercial union with the United States were inaugurated, the troubles from which the Dominion is suffering would not be remedied.

Dealing first with the constitutional question, I must point out that Canada has not any power to make a commercial treaty with a foreign country, and that, even if the government succeeded in negotiating an informal reciprocity treaty with the government of the United States, it would be the duty of the Imperial Cabinet to refuse to ratify any arrangement which would violate any obligation already existing between Great Britain and other European countries. This fact is of importance in consequence of the visit of the Canadian ministers to Washington some months ago with the object of negotiating a reciprocity treaty with the American republic. The announcement made upon their return was to the effect that the American government was willing to consider the question upon the understanding that the Dominion should discriminate against the mother country, but not otherwise.

In 1862 Great Britain entered into a treaty with Belgium by Article 15 of which the whole British Empire is bound to admit all Belgian produce at the same, or no higher, duty than is imposed upon goods of British origin. Again, in 1865 a treaty was signed by Germany and Great Britain, the substance

of Article 7 being that German commodities must not be more highly taxed upon entry into British colonies than goods from the mother land or other foreign countries.

During the past ten years Canada has always been consulted in reference to the acceptance or rejection of the "most favored nation" clause in any treaty affecting her interests, and she has generally decided not to avail herself of this treatment. Although the two treaties I have referred to above, being of earlier date, may have been enacted without any choice being given to the Dominion, this cannot make them any less binding upon this colony, and the incontrovertible fact remains that a great nation, having made compacts for her own benefit and that of her dependencies, will not stultify herself by allowing a possession with only five million inhabitants to disregard obligations of so important a character.

To this statement of the actual circumstances involved, the rank and file of the Reform party usually answer, "Then so much the worse for British connection." In giving this reply, however, they lose sight of an event which has recently happened. I refer to the commercial treaty between Germany, Austria, Italy, and Switzerland, which is reciprocal as regards the products of the countries concerned, but highly protective as regards the products of the rest of the world. The effect of the "most favored nation" clause of the British treaty with Germany is that Canadian produce is placed upon as favorable a footing in the German, Austrian, Swiss, and Italian markets as if she were a beneficiary in their new reciprocal treaty.

The following figures illustrate the growth of Canadian trade with Germany :

	Imports to Canada from Germany.	Exports to Germany.
1871.	\$1,176,478	\$ 76,553
1881.	1,019,198	84,932
1891.	4,336,232	532,142

By the action of the Canadian Senate in October of last year, an address was transmitted to the colonial office praying that Her Majesty would take such steps as might be necessary to terminate the "most favored nation" clauses of the two treaties I

have mentioned. In the course of his reply, Lord Knutsford, the colonial secretary of the Conservative administration, which has since suffered defeat at the hands of the electors, made the following observations, to which too much importance can hardly be attached:

"In so far as the right here claimed consists in fixing rates of customs duties applying equally to all foreign nations, the mother country and British colonies, Her Majesty's government do not contest the statement. But if the statement is to be taken as extending to the claim of the right to establish discriminating treatment between different foreign nations or against the mother country or in favor of particular colonies, Her Majesty's government are obliged to point out that the claim is stated too broadly, for no such general right has hitherto been recognized, nor is it clear that it would be admitted by foreign countries. . . . I have to point out that the denunciation of these two treaties would not of itself confer upon the Dominion the freedom in fiscal matters which it desires to obtain, and I am disposed to doubt whether the extensive changes that would have to be made had been fully realized in putting forward this proposal."

In concluding my remarks upon the constitutional aspect of this subject, I must remind the advocates of commercial union that in 1872 the Imperial Parliament passed an act enabling the Australian colonies to discriminate in favor of each other. If the Dominion is yearning for power to create a customs league with either the United States or any other nation, the first step in the proper legal process by which such a result can be attained is the introduction to the Imperial House of Commons of a bill embodying principles similar to those contained in the Australian Colonies Customs Act. The passage of such an act, however, would not affect the position of Canada as regards Article 15 of the Belgian treaty, or Article 7 of the treaty with Germany. Treaties cannot be denounced piecemeal; international law requires that they must be wholly abrogated, if at all, and Canada can only obtain this favor—if it is to be regarded as one—by the interference of the imperial government.

The Reform party in the Dominion consists of two branches, the one advocating "unrestricted reciprocity" with the neighboring republic, the members of which profess to believe that their policy would benefit the country commercially, and would destroy all desire for political union. The second, and smaller

portion, demands continental free trade upon the ground that the future of this colony is inevitably interwoven with that of the states, and that annexation must take place sooner or later. As a political union between Canada and the states is not within the range of practical politics at the present time, I do not propose to devote any space to the latter section of the Reform party.

In the practice of medicine the usual process selected by the profession is that of first making a diagnosis and afterwards prescribing a remedy. There exists a method of attempted healing, named homeopathy, the theory of which is founded upon the motto, "*similia similibus curantur*." The Reformers, having discovered the complaint from which Canada is suffering, and having carefully diagnosed it as excessive protection, aided by that omnipresent companion, corruption, appear to have embraced the principles of the homeopaths and propose as a remedy for the ills which the Dominion is enduring, to unite her, as far as tariffs are concerned, to the most highly protectionist nation upon the face of the globe.

Like all other supporters of import duties for the benefit of infant industries, the leaders of this project frequently masquerade in free trade garb; they are also sufficiently audacious to claim that commercial union with the United States is the greatest measure of free trade within the reach of Canada, utterly ignoring the fact that free trade, as understood by Peel and Cobden, simply means the absence of taxation at the ports for the benefit of home manufactures.

The policy of "unrestricted reciprocity" might answer admirably, if the producers of the country were the only persons to be considered, but the consumers—and the farmers, like everybody else, are consumers—have been entirely ignored by those who have framed the Liberal program. No doubt Canadian grain, eggs, horses, fruits, and other commodities would find a readier sale if the American tariff were removed, yet the increased competition in cities, especially along the border of Canada, would necessarily cause the prices of these commodities to be lower than they now are. In reference to the sale of barley, of which so much has been heard, it should not

be forgotten that chemical science has now enabled the American brewer to make lager beer from barley grown upon the black soil of Nebraska or Iowa, equal in quality to that brewed from the Canadian grain. This advance in the chemistry of brewing probably explains why so little anxiety exists among those brewers who make their own malt to pay a higher price for the imported than for the home-grown article. The result is that, when western barley is plentiful in the eastern states, the Canadian grain sells at no higher figure than that produced in the states, notwithstanding the tariff, and the farmer in this country, in reality, pays the duty. This state of affairs is altogether in accordance with the teaching of economic science, which tells us that in exporting to a country any commodity of which the importing nation possesses a sufficiency, or a superabundance, the duty is paid by the producer. To further discuss a policy based upon the assumption that a country can be made prosperous by an increased sale of barley, eggs, etc.,—commodities already existing in the neighboring republic in abundance—appears to be unnecessary. But the position of the Canadian consumers, supposing that the Liberal program was carried out, is quite worthy of notice. The cost of the necessities of life in the United States to-day is somewhat higher than in the Dominion. As, however, the commercial unionists have not asserted that the inauguration of their proposed fiscal system would lower the cost of any of our daily wants, no discussion upon that point is required. That the population of Canada is now heavily taxed for the special benefit of the manufacturers is quite true, but how would the new policy lighten the burdens of the people? A sacrifice of about seven and a half million dollars of revenue would be involved, and the advantage derived would not go to the taxpayers, but to the American manufacturers, who, being protected in the Canadian market against the only competition which they fear—that of Great Britain—would be under no obligation to lower their prices, and would therefore appropriate the sum which the revenue would lose by the abandonment of the duties upon their goods. Moreover, new taxes in some form would have to be resorted to in order to pay the expenses of gov-

ernment. Thus, the actual position of the inhabitants of this half of the continent would be positively worse with commercial union than under the present protectionist tariff, as they would be doubly taxed, once for the purposes of their own government and again for the exclusive advantage of the American manufacturer, who with his large resources would quickly destroy his over-coddled Canadian rival.

The largest annual importation to the Dominion is ten million dollars' worth of woollen goods from England, as against one hundred and thirty thousand dollars' worth from the United States. These goods are expensive as it is, the tariff being ten cents per pound and twenty per cent *ad valorem*, and the quality of them, generally speaking, is not of the highest class, yet with the McKinley tariff in operation, the cost would be still further increased.

The Liberal leaders complain bitterly of the corruption which is so widely prevalent, and which they attribute to the protective policy of their opponents; they have not, however, made it clear that political morality would be cleansed by extending protection in the markets of Canada to the manufacturers of the United States. Until these questions are satisfactorily answered—and I venture to claim that they cannot be—neither the eloquence of Mr. Laurier, the invective of Sir Richard Cartwright, nor the logic of Mr. Mills, even with the able assistance of Mr. Goldwin Smith and other annexationist friends, will induce the electors to place a so-called Reform government in office.

The Conservative party, which has held the reins of power for fourteen years in succession, favors a highly protective tariff as long as the republic to the south levies duties upon Canadian imports. But a section of this party, seeing that the country has failed to make the desired progress under the "national policy," urges the mother country to tax foreign imports while admitting colonial products free. In return for this discrimination in her favor, Canada is willing to admit British goods, not without taxation, but at a lower rate of duty than that imposed upon imports from foreign countries.

Sir Charles Tupper, the Dominion commissioner in England, has propounded a scheme for the federation of the British Empire by fiscal measures, involving a reversal of the established free trade policy of the United Kingdom. In supporting the policy of preferential trade within the empire, this gentleman, at a meeting in London on July 23, is alleged to have made the following astounding assertion: That "even if Great Britain by a trade policy antagonized all of the other food-producing countries of the world, the mother country need not be short of the amplest supply of food. Canada was quite capable of supplying the empire with food" (*Toronto Mail*, June 24, 1892). Canadian provisions being admitted at British ports without duty and upon exactly the same terms as those from all other countries, it is fair to assume that the Dominion exports to Britain all she can spare of every commodity for which a profitable market exists. And to what extent did Canada assist in providing for England's requirements? In 1891, out of a total import to Britain of eighty-three million hundredweights of wheat and flour, this country supplied less than five; the quantity of butter imported was over two million hundredweights, but only forty-six thousand were Canadian. Over two million hundredweights of cheese, an article of diet in which Canada certainly excels, was sent to the United Kingdom from abroad, but not one half of it came from Canada. The total number of live animals imported for food purposes was 850,000; less than 150,000 were the export of the Dominion, although she possesses privileges in the cattle trade, in consequence of the absence of pleuropneumonia from this colony, not enjoyed by any other country.

The exports of food from Canada (to all countries) between the years 1880 and 1891 show satisfactory increases as regards eggs and cheese, but such necessities of life as beef, pork, bacon, hams, and butter have not made any progress whatever, the trade returns displaying a marked decrease.

Again, Sir Charles Tupper, writing in the *Fortnightly Review* for October, upon "The Question of Preferential Tariffs," penned the following words:

"In 1890 England took from the United States £97,000,000 worth of

their products without the imposition of a farthing of duty. . . . And how much did they take in return? £32,000,000, or not one third of what they sent into this country, and they required to be paid the value in cash because they would not make an exchange."

"Cash" is defined in Webster's dictionary as "ready money, especially coin or specie, but also applied to bank notes, drafts, or bonds."

According to the British Board of Trade Returns for 1891 (pages 36 and 37), the actual value of gold and silver coin and bullion exported to the United States the previous year was £1,640,665! Any comment upon these statements seems almost superfluous. Nobody would for one moment think of accusing Sir Charles of willfully distorting the facts, but is it possible that he, the Canadian representative in Great Britain, has so little knowledge of these questions as to suppose that Canada has, in any one year, produced a surplus of food sufficient to take the place of the vast quantity now provided by the American republic? Is he in earnest in writing this absurd declaration that the United States demanded and received £32,000,000 "in cash" in exchange for goods, or is it some new form of joke? However this may be, the working classes in the British Isles must be convinced that more expensive food will produce more regular employment at higher wages than they now receive, before they will be willing to assist the "fiscal federationists," and as no English statesman of even the second rank has been bold enough to advocate the taxation of the necessities of life, Sir Charles Tupper and his Canadian friends must be content to wait until they have converted a majority of the voters of the United Kingdom.

In the meantime the inhabitants of the Dominion may perhaps realize that a third alternative in fiscal policy is at their disposal.

Sir Robert Peel, himself originally a Protectionist, in 1849, in a speech in reply to Mr. Disraeli's assumption that hostile tariffs cannot be combated with free imports, said: "I so entirely dissent from that assumption that I maintain that the best way to compete with hostile tariffs is to encourage free imports."

The system of free imports enables a country to produce that

which is produced in large quantities and of good quality, and the only method by which a government can assist trade is by refraining from hindering it by legislation. Protection in Canada, as elsewhere, has brought into existence industries which manufacture goods poorer in quality than similar goods made in other countries, reliance being placed upon an artificial law instead of upon brains and skill.

The upholders of the "national policy" are most desirous of increasing the exports without adding to the imports, yet the actual effect of protection during the past ten years has been to increase the imports without causing any change in the position of the exports. These worthy gentlemen forget that the actual supply of gold is limited, not three per cent of the international trade of the world being carried on in it. Further, even if this were not the case, no advantage could be obtained by a nation insisting upon the importation of gold in place of merchandise, because, as goods from abroad are required by the inhabitants, the precious metal would have to be re-exchanged for them. In a few words, trade must be reciprocal; no appreciable increase can be made in exports unless a like increase occur in imports, consequently in obstructing imports by tariffs, the exports which pay for them are also retarded.

Without stopping to consider whether it is a part of the duty of a government to prevent the inhabitants of a country from buying the best goods in the world's market at the lowest possible price, I would urge that the McKinley bill has given the Dominion an exceptional opportunity. The policy of a tariff for revenue purposes only would enable the people to produce such commodities as the country is suitable to yield at far lower prices than they could be produced in the protectionist republic where the inhabitants are taxed for the benefit of the manufacturers. Thus, notwithstanding import duties, Canada would be able to compete in foreign markets.

Free Traders do not condemn the taxation of imports for legitimate purposes of revenue, but they insist that when any article is taxed upon entry at the ports, similar goods if produced in the country, shall contribute the same amount of

revenue as is paid upon the imported articles. Here appears to be a simple and practical method of raising such a sum as may be required for the expenses of government.

I cannot, humble as is my position as a student of Canadian politics, conclude this paper without appealing to both political parties to bestow more consideration than has hitherto been given to the system of free ports, established in England with signal success through the action of such illustrious representatives of the people as Peel, Cobden, and Bright, and more recently inaugurated with equally satisfactory results in India and in New South Wales.

LAWRENCE IRWELL.

THE SECRET SOCIETY QUESTION: A REVIEW OF MR. BLANCHARD'S ASSERTIONS.

BY FRANK T. OLSAVER.

THE article from the pen of Chas. A. Blanchard, published in the July number of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS, under the title: "The Folly, Expense, and Danger of Secret Societies," is not in harmony with the advanced thought of modern times.

An abusive, unwarranted attack on any creation or institution—human or divine—is always repulsive and is ever looked upon by thinking people with contempt. Calumny, like the slimy reptiles of the jungle, we instinctively shun and it is always with regret that we see the natural aversion to it melt away when it attacks those on the other side. But then it must be considered that some men would die unheard if they were forbidden to speak evil of others—and well of themselves!

There was a time when this world was buried in ignorance and superstition. Then the people, daring not to think for themselves, accepted the statements of the "wise men." In those dark ages abusive attacks against opposing institutions were not unveiled. The "wise man's" argument was accepted as the inspired word of a god, and the masses bowed to the commands.

Those times are past! The people of to-day will not accept the claims of the "wise man" simply on his say so. In the church those in the pews are doing the thinking; in politics the voters, and in the fields of commercial and professional life the employed masses are solving the problems for themselves.

In the Dark Ages, when Europe was priest-ridden, when learning was buried in religious superstition, the claims of the "strong and the wise" were all-powerful. Outrages were com-

mitted against the innocent, and there were none who dared to interfere. But in these days of liberal education, of higher civilization, the meanest outcast cannot be condemned without a trial.

In urging his abuse against secret orders Mr. Blanchard has skillfully avoided the societies of which he writes. In the name of human progress he assails societies that count as members our best citizens. He pleads morality and assumes a friendly feeling for the young men who are, as yet, outside the lodge. But I would impress upon Mr. Blanchard's readers to beware of him who greets as a friend, and, in the midst of the greeting—in the very act of giving friendly counsel—seeks to avoid your glance.

I do not consider it necessary to defend the secret societies against the attacks of Mr. Blanchard, it is rather necessary to defend the uninitiated from his mock friendship.

Our secret societies: the Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, etc., are lodges, as was said before, which claim as members our best citizens. To the "outsider" this fact must certainly have great weight. Not being a member of any of these orders, I lay my defense of them on the intelligence, the integrity, and the usefulness of those who know the secrets of the lodge room.

Mr. Blanchard begins his assault on the secret societies by rudely classifying them as religious, political, industrial, insurance, and social. He groups with the Masons and Odd Fellows, the Jesuits. This cannot for a moment be considered a proper classification. The Order of Jesuits was organized and is kept in existence by the Roman church, its sole purpose being the support and advancement of Catholic interests. This, to say nothing of its bitter feeling for all secret societies, is enough to rank the Order of Jesuits distinct and separate from the other orders. We therefore waive all consideration of that society and pass to those institutions generally known as secret societies, and before taking up Mr. Blanchard's assertions it would be well to define fraternal secrecy.

In the home where husband, wife, and children, through

mutual affection confide to one another their trials and their joys ; where the sacred songs of home and love are brightened by the laughter of the child, there lies the germ from which springs fraternal secrecy. The family circle is a secret society and the lodge is a family circle.

The lodge room is a home and its secrets are as sacred as are the secrets of the family fireside. We must certainly recognize the right to the family circle to hold in secret its personal affairs, and to bar from its private meetings, conversations, joys, and sorrows the intruding stranger. We must recognize the closed doors and respectfully await an answer to our signal for admission.

The lodge room is as private in its way as is the home, and its rights are as sacred. Such secrecy is the foundation of success, the keystone of progress. It is the friend of love and hope and the mother of civilization.

Further than this, when men assemble in lodge rooms to transact in secret the business of the order, they imitate the infinite Creator, to whom their meetings are dedicated. God works in secret. His infinite realms are secret lodge rooms.

Nothing could exist free from secret influence. Were it not for secrecy, business would be checked, homes shattered, and our magnificent civilization thrown into hopeless confusion. Therefore it must be admitted that secret societies are the natural outgrowth of God's divine laws and methods !

Mr. Blanchard gives us some startling information when he cites the birth of secret societies in the fables of the ancient tree worshipers, wherein Adam and Eve concealed from God the fact of their "disobedience." In hanging to the mythical Adam and Eve, this enemy of secret societies makes plain his assertion, the one with which he opens his article, *i. e.*, "there is nothing new under the sun !"

If, perchance, there is nothing new under the sun, it is very evident that there is a great deal of the old that Mr. Blanchard has never heard of.

"There is [he writes] one difference between the ancient and modern orders. . . . The old were manipulated by priests and were exclu-

sively religious ; the modern are in most instances composed of men in the various industrial pursuits."

Does Mr. Blanchard not know that at one time everything was manipulated by priests? Does he not know that religion was the power that ruled all things? Does he not know that the Dark Ages were the ages of priestly control? Does he not know that, when the priest ruled, learning was dead and civilization asleep? Does he not know that the birth of the Protestant church brought a change? And, above all, does he not know that everything for the past three hundred years has been advancing with the one exception of the religious faith that kept the world in darkness for fifteen hundred years? Does he not know that for three hundred years that faith has been dying? Does he not know that modern secret societies are based upon modern ideas, framed to meet modern needs? If he does not know these things, he should not assume the responsibility of a teacher.

Continuing, this very positive writer protests against the initiatory obligations of the various orders. He complains because the lodges do not open up to the candidate the innermost secrets of the society.

"All secret societies [says he] require persons coming to their membership to assume obligations which are unknown to the candidates. . . . Of course, no society can be secret which frankly tells those whose membership it solicits just what is expected and required."

The initiatory ceremonies and obligations are open to the candidate as step by step he enters the workings of the order. He does not take and is not required to take, any obligation that he does not clearly understand, accept, and *live up to* and to the very last is permitted to withdraw should he meet an objectionable barrier. The initiatory ceremonies are so open that they may be read by any person who cares to pursue "Manual of the Lodge" [Masonic] by Mackey; "Odd Fellow's Manual" by A. F. Grosh, or the manuals of all similar orders, K. P., I. O. F., etc.

"The first degree, or that of the Entered Apprentice [writes Mr. Mackey], is intended in its symbolic signification to furnish a representation of youth just entering on the struggles, the trials, and duties of

an earthly and responsible existence. On his first admission into the lodge, the candidate is reminded of the weak and helpless state of man on his entrance into the world—unprepared for the exigencies of the present, ignorant of the vicissitudes of the future, and dependent for his safety and very existence on that God in whom alone, in all trials and difficulties, is there any sure and abiding trust."

This quotation outlines briefly the first or initiatory degree of the Masonic Order. Very similar are the first degrees of the other societies under discussion. There is nothing but beauty and refinement in these obligations, and yet Mr. Blanchard says :

"Of course, a rude, uneducated rowdy may pass through this manipulation at the hands of a company of his kind, and retain his wits so as to comprehend, in part, the obligations he is assuming. It is entirely safe, however, to say that a self-respecting gentleman would be so full of shame, astonishment, indignation, and a desire to get away from such an experience, that he would almost certainly fail to understand or remember the oaths which are given to him to repeat, sentence by sentence."

Can it be possible that this writer regards the reading public as a congress of fools, and does he intend to leave the inference that secret society men are rowdies? In defense of his silly claim—a claim as false as it is silly—Mr. Blanchard writes :

"The Masonic candidate is stripped of his clothing until he has on only his shirt and drawers. He has one foot bare, and the other slippered. His eyes are bandaged, and he has a small rope about his neck and arm. In this condition he is led about, halted here, caused to kneel there, questioned in a third place, and finally brought before the altar, and put in position to take his oath."

Now, this may be true and it may not be. Giving the lodge the benefit of the doubt can any reasonable man reconcile Mr. Blanchard's statement with the beautiful and elevating prayers and emblems, obligations and forms of the initiatory degree? Granting that he has based his claim on a truth, is there any way for him to sustain his coarse and vulgar interpretation of it?

There can be no fear but that the secrets of a lodge room are pure and elevating when the lodge is based on the methods of the Divine Creator Himself.

When Mr. Blanchard wrote that "no matter how sincerely the candidate may believe that the oaths he has taken are inconsis-

ent with duties to home, church, or state, he must not utter his conviction to warn his fellows," he knew—that is if he knows anything about secret societies—that he was writing what is not true.

The initiatory degrees of every lodge under discussion are open to such an extent that the outsider knows, with a certainty that leaves no room for doubt, that he will come in contact with nothing repulsive to a man of refinement and honor.

The secrets of the lodge room cannot depart from the beautiful passages outlined in lodge manuals. In support of this statement we need no stronger proof than the fact that men who stand on honor's summit, recognized leaders of commercial, religious, and social life, wear the emblem of a lodge room.

The fact that the obligations taken are binding for life tells very plainly the nature of the obligations. Men of integrity and intelligence would not bind themselves to repulsive, degrading obligations for a moment—much less for life.

After passing the topic of the oath, Mr. Blanchard comes to the conclusion that there is another almost incredible provision which characterizes the orders under discussion: "It is the boast of lodges that members thereof will find friends in all climes and among all classes of people." It is very difficult to find anything startling in this "boast of lodges." Such a claim is but the natural outgrowth of a fraternal order. There is no reason for condemning such a claim. It is the boast of Christians that members of Christian churches and societies will find friends in all climes and among all classes of people. Would Mr. Blanchard use this claim as an indication of something wrong among the Christians?

"Mackey's 'Mystic Tie' contains [he believes] nine narratives, each showing that pirates, gamblers, murderers, and savages are members of Masonic lodges; they are prompt to recognize their lodge obligations; and that persons who are to travel and wish not to be harmed by these scoundrel Freemasons should join the order, in which case pirates, murderers, and thieves will be to them true and faithful friends."

Mr. Blanchard assumes to believe this. He simply dreamed it and places implicit faith in his dreams.

If Mackey's "Mystic Tie" contains nine such narratives it

was Mr. Blanchard's duty—if he desires to be considered honest—to quote them ; to place Mackey's words before his readers in condemnation of Masonry. If such evidence was at hand he would, no doubt, have made use of it, but unfortunately for his cause, Mackey's "Mystic Tie" contains no "narratives" that are suggestive of his claims. Therefore, Mr. Blanchard believes a fallacy.

What will honest men think of this anti-lodge champion when his assertions are unveiled ? What will honest men say when he insists that "the theory of a lodge is that fraternity depends not at all on character, but altogether on lodge relations" ?

To support his false claim, Mr. Blanchard introduces an imaginary lady with a dying father. The unfortunate man was a lodge member and his lodge insisted upon sending lodge members to watch with him, when the family desired no assistance. "And," said the mythical madame, "the persons who came and forced themselves into my father's bedroom were such men as, during his well days, he would not have wanted to sit down in his kitchen."

This story is as false as it is silly. All secret societies have what are known as "visiting committees," whose duties are to ascertain and report to the lodge the wants and condition of sick members. The obligations of the societies demand that the sick shall be cared for.

Every lodge member is entitled to his share of the sick benefits incorporated in the constitution and by-laws of his lodge. If he sees fit to return this share to the lodge, the right to do so is his, and the money is turned into the common fund. If the sick member does not need nor want lodge assistance, he does not have it. It is the mission of the lodge to stand between its members and want.

While it is true, that through circumstances that no mortal can control, the lodge has been blackened with disreputable members ; it is also true that every effort is put forth in the lodge to reform and elevate. When these efforts fail the last method is resorted to—expulsion.

About five months ago Chicago was startled by an awful crime !

A well-known physician was shot down ! The murderer was an Odd Fellow ! He was expelled from his lodge ! Odd Fellows sat on the jury that convicted him ! An Odd Fellow sat on the bench from which sentence was pronounced ! The murderer is in Joliet, and his lodge stands between his innocent wife and want. Such is the work of secret societies. Show us the church that would do more or even as much !

"In the same insurance order," writes Mr. Blanchard, "you will find sober, Christian men, and poor swearing drunkards, who are going to hell as fast as bad habits can take them there !" What a strangely pathetic picture : sober Christian men and swearing drunkards, hand in hand, on the way to hell ! Mr. Blanchard says the union is absurd. Undoubtedly he is right, but it is his own union, and he should be the last to find fault with it.

Why, in this enlightened age, should Mr. Blanchard cling to the revolting doctrine of hell ? Is he not aware of the fact that science and common sense have laid hell aside ; having found in it nothing but the worn-out nursery yarns of superstitious children ?

"The wasteful expenditure of money" is another secret society "folly" that worries Mr. Blanchard. He claims that a man's income is divided between home and church, and that nothing is left for lodges. This division is erroneous.

A man's income belongs to his family, first ; to such investments as prepare protection for his family, second ; to intellectual progress, third ; and to the church, fourth. If his income is merely sufficient to provide for his family, his family should have all. If there is any over it should go to the future protection of the family—such protection to be found in proper insurance and the lodge rooms of secret societies. The next field for his "surplus" is the progressing nation, with its advancing knowledge. He must make himself intellectually free. When these are accomplished, and he still has an extra dollar, he may give it to the church.

In placing the church last I do not seek to oppose it. I simply appeal to common sense. Man's duty is to God most certainly ;

but duty to God is not duty to a church or to any form of religious observance. The first and only duty to God is our duty to those who depend upon us: duty to home and to fellow-men. God could ask no more, and if every man would make his wife his priest, and his home his church, life would be brightened—the world would become a heaven.

"I knew a mechanic living in an humble home to sell his *own*," writes Mr. Blanchard, "in order to pay his initiation fee in an Odd Fellows' lodge." The initiation fee in the Odd Fellows' lodge is about three dollars. That mechanic sold his *own* too cheap.

Mr. Blanchard is fond of telling fairy tales. Good fairy tales always terminate with a moral, but such requirement Mr. Blanchard has ignored. Here is one of his stories that is too good to pass by:

"It is well known that lodges in general have dances and banquets to which the members are expected to contribute by the purchase of tickets. I knew of one such ball, which, being arranged by city office-holders and dry-goods clerks, was intended to be quite exclusive. Tickets were sold at ten dollars. A Mason who was earning honest bread at a blacksmith's anvil, said to his wife: 'You have never attended such a ball and you shall have a chance to go.' He bought the tickets and gave his wife a hundred dollars for her dress. He told her if that was insufficient to come for more. The man, with a true husband's pride, said to me: 'If I do say it she was as handsome a woman as there was on that floor.' But the ball had been arranged in such a way as to keep out just such persons, and the *Elite* were indignant that a 'blacksmith' should break into their aristocratic circle, and they took good care to make both him and his wife understand that they were not wanted. He said: 'I have never been in a lodge since and I shall never go again.' This fact admirably illustrates the sham fraternity of lodgism, but it is mentioned for another purpose. All over the United States such dances are held, year after year, and, while the exact truth cannot be ascertained, it is evident that the expense must aggregate a vast sum."

This story circumstantially belies itself. In the first place, what did the ball of some city office-holders and dry-goods clerks have to do with secret societies? Next, if this ball had been arranged for the *Elite*, it would have been an invitation affair, and only the ones wanted would have been invited. The balls of the "*Elite*" are not run on the style of a country circus.

Mr. Blanchard should post himself on the requirements of society before he talks so glibly about imaginary balls. If office-holders and dry-goods clerks see fit to hold balls "year after year all over the United States," I cannot see in what way the secret societies are responsible agents.

Mr. Blanchard is sure that the lodge room is the nest of crime and debauchery, and to "prove" his assertions introduces another little story :

"Only a few days ago a lady, now gaining a livelihood as a nurse, who had no knowledge at all of any movement against secret orders, chanced to pick up a copy of 'The Christian Cynosure.' Glancing at it a moment, she said: 'That paper condemns what destroyed my home. My husband was a merchant with a good business, and he was a good man. He joined the Masons, took to drink, lost his property, and is now an outcast. I do not know where he is.' This is only one case of many."

Was it Masonic influence that led this man to drink? Did the teachings of the lodge room suggest such a course? Did he receive his first glass in the lodge room? No, sir; he received in the lodge room the lessons of humanity, the duties to God, our infinite Creator—not the mythological head of some superstitious faith—the duties to fellow-man, to home, to wife, and to mother. He learned in the lodge room the beauties of an upright life, the blessings of sobriety, and the value of true manhood. He was taught all that was elevating and pure, and if he turned from these teachings and sought the downward path of crime, it was because true manhood was asleep; because desire held possession of a soul.

No man has ever yielded to a tempter who was not urged by desire so to do. Temptation never seeks the man, the man seeks temptation. But the lodge does not tempt. It endeavors to elevate and purify—a church could do no more—and if the members fall the fault lies elsewhere than in the lodge.

Mr. Blanchard brings his article to a close with a plea for the church. He says :

"That Christian churches are robbed and disintegrated by lodges is so plain as to require little more than a statement. . . . The code [of lodges] does not require men to confess or forsake sin, nor to believe in Jesus Christ. . . . Masons cannot be converted to Christian-

ity. . . The proportion of men who spend Sabbath [Saturday ?] morning at home reading the Sunday papers constantly increases. . . When we see how completely lodges are separating the male population of the United States from the Christian churches, it is a wonder that the ministry do not as a matter of self-interest, aside from their duty to perishing souls, explain to their congregations the character of these societies, which propose to send men to heaven without either repentance, confession, or faith."

Every secret society requires its members to believe in a Supreme Being. What more is necessary? What difference does it make what form of worship is followed? What difference does it make whether men believe in Jesus Christ or Buddha, Mohammed or Gautama, or any other mythical or anthropomorphic godhead? Is not a pure and simple worship of the one Almighty far superior to the inconsistent faiths built upon myths and superstitions? . . . But our secret societies do not ask men to deny Christ. They merely ask them to believe in God. If men wish to think that Christ is God their thoughts meet no opposition. On the other hand, men who understand that Christ was merely a mythical character are given the same protection in their lodge.

Does Mr. Blanchard think that there can be no morals away from Christianity? If he does he should pause for a moment and learn that all Christian morals have been borrowed from the old Pagan faiths.

When Christian ministers begin to preach progressive sermons, when they turn their attention to common sense and modern thought, leaving alone the worn-out nonsense of the Bible, they will attract the attention of lodge men. When the Sunday morning sermon is made instructive and useful it will be heard by men, but while these sermons are the mere echoes of the superstitions of dead barbarians, the Sunday paper will be in demand. The average man of to-day seeks education and the church does not educate.

There is but one requirement necessary to "save" a soul and that is embodied in that familiar quotation: "Be so true to thyself that thou art false to no man." Faith is the offspring of hope. It is the guide to the finite longings of the soul. It is

not sufficiently strong in experience to lead the soul to the infinite and if it were it would die. Confession and repentance are repulsive to every worthy soul when they crowd themselves in as saviors.

When Mr. Blanchard has brought his claims within the bounds of reason, and has proved some of his reckless assertions, it will be time to call the secret societies to account. Meanwhile they will continue to grow and to bless civilization with their noble and elevating influence.

FRANK T. OLSAYER.

THE KEELEY LEAGUE AND ITS PURPOSE.

BY JOHN J. FLINN, CHAIRMAN EX. COM. NATIONAL KEELEY LEAGUE.

THE formation of the first club of cured inebriates ever organized in the world, in the village of Dwight, Ill., April, 1891, was an inspiration. A handful of gentlemen, among whom might be found a capitalist, a merchant, a lawyer, a journalist, and an artisan—perhaps a farmer, and not unlikely a minister—were passing through that stage of the Keeley treatment where its effects were beginning to be felt in renewed vigor of mind and body. From time immemorial it had been the custom among reformed drunkards, and particularly among those just escaped from the misery and perils of a debauch, to relate their stories, to recount their adventures—to talk over among themselves their personal experiences with the whisky bottle and the saloon. Not unnaturally such exchanges of confidences as resulted from these symposiums had an opposite effect from that which those engaging in them anticipated. The harrowing tale of woe, instead of deterring the listener from taking the thorny path, very frequently led him, all unconsciously, of course, into it. The thought that others had suffered and escaped from trials greater than he had undergone, impressed him with the conviction that he was not half as depraved as he might have been—that in reality, or by comparison with others, he was far from being the abandoned wretch he had supposed himself to be. Temperance agitators during recent years had rather encouraged the “terrible example” idea. The man who could get the floor at a temperance experience meeting and prove to his listeners in words of glowing eloquence that he had been the most depraved wretch they had ever seen or heard of, was the man who got the applause and was looked upon as the hero of the hour. Indeed, during a temperance revival of a few years ago in a city

not a thousand miles from Chicago, it became necessary in order to move the multitude to enthusiasm that the person relating his experience should tell how he had served his term in jail or in the penitentiary, or had killed his man, before he had begun to see the error of his ways, and to change them. It had come to the pass that no reformed drunkard who did not leave a train of vice behind him as long and as fiery as the tail of a comet, could command a respectful hearing at an experience meeting.

It is hardly necessary to say that about this time it appeared to most men of discernment a more disreputable thing and a more deplorable thing to be a reformed man than to be a drunkard. So long as the man who drank continued to drink, he at least escaped the suspicion of being a reformed person, and all that the word "reformed" implied. If the thoughtful people who now and then attended temperance experience meetings were led to believe that the only drunkards who reformed were those of the most depraved and worthless class, it is not to be wondered at. There was no place in the temperance meeting for the gentleman who had changed his plan of life because he came to the wise conclusion that it was wrong to drink. The fact that he drank and continued to be a gentleman was not admitted, to begin with; any claim he might make in this direction only served to prove to the satisfaction of those who had the temperance cause in charge, that he was still unregenerate. There was, in a word, no hope for the drunkard, unless he had wallowed in the gutter and had led a life of utter moral obliquity.

The handful of men who organized the first Keeley club at Dwight in the spring of 1891,—this is not a historical article, hence I avoid exact dates and omit names,—were gentlemen. That they were taking the Keeley treatment is ample evidence of this fact, for there never has been a time when the rules at Dwight have so relaxed as to permit those who were not gentlemen, as we understand the term in America, to take their places in the lines for treatment. The "loafer," the "bum," the "blackguard," or the "city tough," would find the atmosphere of the Dwight Institute, or any of its branches, very unpleasant, if by any chance he found himself breathing it. He

would grow restless and uncomfortable. He would be out of his element. If there were a spark of gentlemanhood in him, it would soon be fanned into a flame by the influences around him. If he were utterly depraved, he would soon give such evidence of the fact as to make it imperative on the part of the Institute to put him on board a train.

The handful of men who organized the first Keeley club at Dwight in the spring of 1891 were not only gentlemen, but they were men of prominence in the various honorable walks of life. They were men of ability. They were men of forethought. They were men of the world in its broadest sense. They saw that there was a tendency on the part of some of the patients to mingle together and to talk over their past experiences. This tendency was not so manifest at Dwight as it had been elsewhere, but the tendency was there. To a majority of the patients the conversations certain to arise out of such conditions, were distasteful if not disgusting. They had come to Dwight convinced that drunkenness was a disease, and they were at Dwight to be cured of it. They regretted the past, but were looking hopefully into the future. The wisest among them understood that Dr. Keeley's work would be only half done if they did not help him. The sooner the old life was forgotten, the old associates abandoned, and the old thoughts buried, the sooner would the new life take possession of their souls. They wanted to check at the very outset this tendency toward the resurrection of old experiences among their associates. They felt that when they left Dwight there was work to be done in behalf of their fellow-men in the world beyond, and that it could be done better if, here and now, they laid the foundations of an association which would bind them together in a fraternal bond for all future time. They had come from every point of the compass, this handful of gentlemen; had learned to respect and to love each other; formed attachments which they felt would follow them to the grave and beyond,—and for this reason, also, they proposed to form a regularly organized association.

I need not go into details. The first Keeley club was formed. The first meeting was held in a blacksmith's shop. Hence the

horseshoe emblem of the Keeley League. In the treatment at Dwight is used what are known as "Dr. Keeley's double chloride of gold remedies." The founders of the first Keeley club wanted a name. They wanted a significant name—a name which would be closely associated and identified with the Keeley treatment. "The Double Chloride of Gold Club" would not sound well, they thought. Why not take a little liberty with Dr. Keeley's remedies and use the more euphonious term "bichloride of gold"? "Bichloride of Gold Club" sounded well. It was just the thing. It was adopted. Of course the inventors of the name and the founders of the club little dreamed that the employment of this term would in a few months have confounded the minds of the most eminent savants of France; have stricken with horror the most eminent chemists of England and Germany; have disturbed the waking and sleeping hours of the most eminent pathologists of America, and caused them to denounce Dr. Keeley on the ground that he was attempting to give to the world a remedy for drunkenness, the basis of which had no place in the pharmacopœia of medicine. They little thought that learned medical societies and learned medical journals would confuse the name of the Keeley club with the name of the Keeley remedies and make it, for a time at least, or until their premises were shattered by a simple statement, an excuse for the persistently malicious and maliciously persistent tirade of abuse, professional and unprofessional, which they heaped upon the discoverer of the Keeley remedies, who had taken the precaution to give them a proper name. But above all, these inventors of the name and founders of the club little thought that they were providing a trap for the unwary imitators who were soon to spring up throughout the country with their fraudulent pretenses and their fraudulent methods. The term "bichloride of gold" it seems, sounded as catchy to the quack doctors and disreputable speculators in human life and human happiness as it did to the patients who organized the first Keeley club at Dwight in the spring of 1891.

So we first hear of the Keeley League as the Bichloride of Gold Club. From a membership of a dozen or two, it grew

rapidly to a membership of one hundred or two and more rapidly still to a thousand or two. The cured man on leaving Dwight regretted that he must leave the Bichloride of Gold Club and its associations and influences behind him. It occurred to the Chicago graduates that they were sufficient in number to organize a club of their own, and we find the first Bichloride of Gold Club outside of Dwight organized in Chicago in the summer of 1891. This was followed by the organization of other clubs in different parts of the country. Then in Dwight in November, 1891, was organized "The Bichloride of Gold Club of the World," the first step toward the formation of a general organization, national and international in character. By this time the membership of the Dwight club had reached and passed the 3,000 mark.

This was followed by renewed activity in the formation of auxiliary clubs, composed of graduates of Dwight and branch Keeley Institutes who resided in all parts of the Union, and the public next hears of the National Convention of Delegates from Bichloride of Gold Clubs, which is held at Dwight in the spring of 1892. The total membership of the Dwight club at this time numbers about 4,000 and the outside membership about 2,000. The name of the national organization is changed to "The Associated Keeley Bichloride of Gold Clubs," and the new organization continues to grow. The public next hears of the National Convention of Delegates from the Bichloride of Gold Clubs which is held in Dwight in September, 1892. The public is surprised, perhaps amazed, to learn that the delegates present, representing every state and territory in the Union, number over 600. Leading merchants, ministers, and physicians, and citizens generally, who visit Dwight during the convention are surprised, perhaps amazed, to find that these 600 delegates are the best-looking and the brainiest body of men they have ever seen assembled together for any purpose. They are equally surprised, and perhaps amazed, to find that these are prominent men—men of high social standing in the communities which they represent, men of prominence in every department of commercial life and in every one of the professions, learned and

liberal. They find in the chair a capitalist who calls to his assistance a man who has represented his district in a state senate for four consecutive terms; they find on the floor, taking active part in debate, lawyers and doctors of large practice, ministers of large congregations, journalists representing or owning newspapers of large circulation—they find politicians of popularity and influence; men who have filled positions on the bench with credit to themselves and to the public; authors who are read from one end of this continent to the other, as well as in other continents; merchants of wealth and credit; superintendents and managers of great industries; and mechanics who have gained distinction in their handicrafts and comfortable incomes by their industry. And strangest, most surprising, most amazing of all, they learn that of this 600 there is not one who has not been cured of the liquor or the drug habit by the use of Dr. Keeley's remedies. A thing which they do not need to learn, but which they can plainly see, is that these 600 men are enjoying the best physical and mental health. There never was gathered together in any convention in any country 600 happier men than are these. They show it in their faces, as well as in their voices. They are grateful men and never miss an opportunity of expressing their gratitude to God and to the Keeley remedies. They are positive men and have formed opinions which are at variance with the notions entertained and nurtured in all other gatherings that have preceded them, where the promotion of temperance was the object in view.

At this convention was born the "Keeley League." In seventeen months the Bichloride of Gold Club with a membership of a dozen or so had grown into the Keeley League with a membership of over 10,000. In less than seventeen months the little club at Dwight had become the parent of 150 clubs scattered throughout the length and breadth of the United States. In less than seventeen months the vague ideas which the founders of the original club at Dwight must have entertained regarding its future had become crystallized into a doctrine for the promotion of which 10,000 American citizens were ready and willing to devote their time, their energy, and their means.

It was not enough for the man who had been saved from the wretchedness of a drunkard's life and the misery of a drunkard's death, that he should simply kneel and thank God for his own salvation. He felt immediately that there was something else for him to do. If he had been saved, if he had brought happiness upon a loving mother or a devoted wife, if he had brought joy to his own hearthstone ; if he had surrounded himself with the comforts and with the pleasures which follow in the wake of sobriety ; if he had regained the respect and confidence of his fellow-men, he knew that others less fortunate than he demanded his assistance. He had a mission in life, a high and a holy mission, as long as there was a drunkard who could be saved on the face of the earth. He knew that individual work would amount to little, but he also knew that the combination of individual labor, directed in a good cause, would accomplish much. Hence, he allied himself to the Keeley League.

The mission of the Keeley League "is to further the cause of temperance among all people by curing the drunkard of the disease of intemperance, and preventing the youth of the country, by education and example, from contracting it. To bind together in one fraternal bond all who have taken the Keeley treatment for liquor or other diseases ; to extend the knowledge of the Keeley remedies ; to establish state and auxiliary leagues, and by medical, moral, and Christian methods, with the help of Almighty God, to discourage and annihilate the use of liquor as a beverage in any way that may seem opportune or the occasion may demand." So says the constitution of the Keeley League.

The members of the Keeley League are not prepared to rest with the cure of the drunkard. They look upon the cure, not as a possibility or a probability, but as a certainty. They make no qualified assertions when they speak of curing the drunkard. They hold even more pronounced views than the discoverer of the remedies as to the percentage of inebriates saved by their use. It is held by the latter that 95 per cent of the patients treated with the Keeley remedies are cured ; it is admitted that about 5 per cent are incurable. The records of the Keeley

League, fortified by the personal knowledge of its members, go to prove that fully 97½ per cent of the patients treated are cured, or that 2½ per cent only have relapsed. The records and personal experience of the members have taught them also that 70 per cent of those who relapse are either young men who have never been diseased by liquor, and who consequently could not be cured, or old men in whom the liquor disease is an effect rather than a cause. Thirty per cent of the failures are among men who have never been sincere in their desire to be cured, who have other habits and vices to the growth and life of which liquor is a necessity, or who cling to the liquor habit as a matter of choice rather than of appetite.

It is an article of belief with the members of the Keeley League that the cure of the drunkard, while it goes a long way, does not go far enough toward the solution of the liquor question. Dr. Keeley cures; he does not prevent. It is sad to think that the young man who is forming the habit of drink must become diseased as a drunkard before he can be cured. There is no place in the Keeley Institute for the reformation of a bad habit or the reclamation of a wild young man. The Keeley Institute is not a reformatory. Parents who send their boys to Dr. Keeley because they are a little wild, or inclined to be wild; because they have been once or twice under the influence of liquor; because they have formed the habit of staying out late of nights; because they will not attend church on Sunday; because they swear, or lie, or steal, are sending them to the wrong place. In almost every instance, young men who have not contracted the disease of alcoholism, but who have been sent to Dwight as a precautionary measure, have relapsed into their old habits. They are not ripe for Dwight. They have been plucked too soon. It is the mission of the Keeley League to teach these young men to let liquor alone, by education and example, before the disease has fastened itself upon them. It is the mission of the Keeley League to teach them that the best years of their lives may be squandered before they are in a condition to receive Dr. Keeley's remedies. It is the mission of the Keeley League to show these young men, by education and ex-

ample, that there is nothing in this wide world to be gained by tippling, by saloon associations, or by riotous living, while there is everything to be lost.

It is the mission of the Keeley League to reach out after the hopeless and houseless drunkard in the city streets, to help him to the cure and to provide for him after he is cured, until such time as he may be able to provide for himself. It is the mission of the Keeley League to bring about a reformation in public sentiment which will close the gates of the prison against the drunkard and open to him the gates of the hospital ; to instruct those in authority that the proper way to treat the drunkard is to cure him ; to bring about such legislation as will provide for the medical treatment in public institutions of persons arrested for drunkenness, and to convince humanity that the liquor habit and drug habit, so-called, are diseases and that these diseases can be and are being cured. The Keeley League holds it as an article of faith that no man was ever reformed by punishment ; that no great vice, public or private, was ever annihilated by legislation.

The mission of the Keeley League is catholic in its scope. It has no quarrel with any existing temperance organization or with any existing temperance effort. Its aim is rather to direct than to antagonize the great temperance organizations of the day.

The Keeley League is composed in the main of men who never before have been identified with temperance or reformatory movements of any character ; of men who would not be identified with temperance or reformatory movements, conducted on the old lines. They have thus far given every evidence of the sincerity of their intentions by a remarkable devotion to the cause which they have espoused. These men have no interests in common with the proprietors of the Keeley remedies, and it is safe to say that, with hardly an exception, they would resent, and resent with emphasis, any attempt on the part of the Leslie E. Keeley Company to interfere in their organization or to dictate in the shaping of their policy. They look upon the discoverer of the Keeley remedies as their leader. They have given his name to their organization. They are loyal to him.

But they are interested more in the preservation of his discovery than they are in the advancement of his financial interests. They are interested more in the growth of Keeleyism than they are in the personal prosperity of Dr. Keeley or his associates. It is not difficult to understand how they can disassociate the Keeley movement and the Keeley Company. The one to their mind is simply the medium through which the good is transmitted. The other is the good itself. The one is the agent, the other the principal. The agent is a necessity and is recognized as being an indispensable one in this movement. They realize that without the protection which is thrown around the discoveries of Dr. Keeley by a corporation organized for profit, the discoveries would fall into the hands of persons who would speedily bring them into discredit and disrepute. They have no sympathy with the demand which has gone up in certain quarters that the Keeley formula be given to the medical profession, for they believe that the moment it becomes common property, the usefulness of the remedies will cease. The medical profession would "improve" the remedies out of existence. The public would very soon find Dr. Keeley's Cure for Drunkenness on the bargain counters. Cheap imitations would flood the market, for every conscienceless and characterless manufacturer of patent medicines in the country would feel at liberty to advertise and offer for sale any spurious, cheap, and villainous concoction which might suggest itself, as the genuine article. The spurious remedies would not cure; they would be more likely to kill. In a little while the name of Dr. Keeley's remedies would become odious. Dr. Keeley himself would become a byword, and his discoveries would be lost to science and lost to humanity. It is part of the mission of the Keeley League to protect the Keeley remedies; to expose fraudulent cures; to warn the public against the rogues who, for a few miserable dollars, would create a vain hope in the heart of the suffering mother, wife, or daughter, who is ready to sacrifice every little comfort and every little necessity to meet the cost of a treatment for some loved one, who has become diseased by the liquor or drug habit.

Nearly one hundred thousand patients have been treated with the Keeley remedies. Not all of these have been treated at the institutes; and not all of them have been cured of inebriety. The Keeley remedies have been doing their work quietly, but none the less effectively, in the homes of the country, during the past thirteen years. Thousands of liquor, opium, and morphine cases have been cured by the home treatment. These cannot, as a rule, be taken into account as available material for the Keeley League. Neither can the thousands who have been cured at the Keeley Institutes of diseases other than those resulting from the liquor habit, although many cured morphine and opium men are to be found in the ranks. It cannot be expected that those cured of nervous diseases would become active members of an association for the promotion of temperance. When all of those cured by Dr. Keeley who for one cause, or for one reason or another, abstain from active participation in the work of the Keeley League, are considered in making up the figures, together with the five per cent which are supposed to have relapsed, it is safe to say that there are at least 50,000 persons in the United States who are interested directly in the Keeley League and its work. And this number is being augmented at the rate of 1,000 every week. The Keeley Institute at Dwight and its branches are curing drunkards at the present time at the rate of 50,000 per annum. One half of this number, at a most conservative estimate, become active members of the Keeley League. To put it with all the force the statement is entitled to, for it is a remarkable one,—Dr. Keeley is turning out missionaries in the cause of practical temperance at the rate of 25,000 per annum. It is part of the mission of the Keeley League to direct the work of this magnificent force. And what can it not accomplish? Was there ever before such an army engaged in such a work? Can the reader realize the magnitude of the movement which will soon be able to number 25,000, 50,000, 100,000 intelligent, energetic, faithful advocates, every one of whom is equipped by nature, education, and experience for the work which he is to do? If the liquor question is ever to be solved, will not the solution be brought about by an army

of men who are prepared to cure the drunkard of his disease, and to prevent the youth of the country, by education and example, from contracting it? If the liquor question is ever to be solved, will not the solution follow the stopping of the demand for drink on the part of those who have become addicted to its use, by curing them of the appetite, and by rousing a public sentiment which will make it as disgraceful and ruinous for a young man to be found in a whisky shop, as it would be to be found picking a pocket?

And what will follow the work of the Keeley cure and the Keeley League within the next ten years? The sight of a drunken man reeling through the streets of a city will soon be a rare thing, and be as shocking as rare. Nearly 4,000 drunkards who formerly either habitually or periodically reeled through the streets of Chicago, have been cured. They are missed, deeply missed, in the drinking places. They are sober men now, every day in the year, making happy homes and happy lives for those who love them. The Chicago employer, who, two years ago, would tolerate the occasional or steady drinker in his establishment, tolerates him no longer. He must get cured or lose his employment. The cured man is more certain of employment and advancement in any of the great houses of Chicago, if he wears the badge of the Keeley League, or shows a certificate of cure from a Keeley Institute, than if he had never been addicted to the immoderate use of liquor. Why? Because experience has taught the employers that they can place more dependence upon the cured man than they can upon the man who drinks moderately. The latter is likely to become diseased at any time, while the former has been vaccinated against a relapse.

Chicago is mentioned because Chicago is the nearest great city to the parent Keeley Institute, and in Chicago more than in any other great city has the Keeley treatment been subjected to the closest scrutiny and the most severe criticism. In Chicago more than in any other city, thus far, have the mercantile and corporate employers of labor made intelligent and systematic inquiries into the results attending the treatment of the liquor and

drug habits at the Keeley Institute. And these inquiries have resulted in conclusively establishing the fact that drunkenness is a disease and that the disease can be cured. It is the mission of the Keeley League to see that the confidence reposed in the Keeley treatment by the employers of the country, is not imposed upon or violated; to protect the good name which Keeley graduates have established for themselves everywhere, and to do its utmost toward elevating the moral tone of those who, after graduation, are placed in positions of importance and of trust.

Let the Keeley League but maintain for a few years its present ratio of growth, and its influence will be felt in every workshop, in every mercantile house, on every railroad, in every industry where labor is largely employed. It will make drunkenness a thing to be as much feared and avoided as any other loathsome disease. When employer and employee disagree, the employer will have sober and not drunken men to deal and reason with. Strikes will be fewer, because disputes will be settled without them. The man at the bench will have a brain as clear as the man at the desk. The one will be as quick to discover an imposition and as capable of determining his exact rights as the other. The mission of the Keeley League is to reach the artisan and the laborer as well as the merchant and the lawyer. Indeed, it is more the mission of the League to reach the laboring class, so-called, than any other, for they are the greatest sufferers from the curse of alcoholism and the least able to bear the suffering. It will require time, hard work, and strong argument to convince the laboring classes that liquor is the one enemy above all others with which they have to contend, and that this enemy can be crushed, but neither time, energy, nor argument will be spared, and success is as certain to follow the efforts which will be put forth to accomplish this grand result, as day is to follow night.

The mission of the Keeley League unfolds itself as the days go by. Its field is the world. Its opportunities are limitless. Its possibilities are boundless.

JOHN J. FLINN.

ODDS AND ENDS.

BY A. J. PALM.

THE DEATH PENALTY.

IF any reason, in addition to those that have long been urged, were needed to abolish legalized murder in this Christian nation, it has been furnished by the late census reports. The only reason worthy of notice set forth by the advocates of the death penalty in favor of the law of retaliation, is that without the fear of death staring the evilly inclined in the face, human life would become more insecure than it is with the black shadow of the gallows to serve as a warning to those who need restraint.

Those who believe that a firm conviction of the sacredness of human life is the strongest safeguard against its violation do not need the statistics of experience to convince them of the bad public policy of putting men to death either as a punishment or an example; but there are many who, in spite of the world's experience to the contrary, still think that man is a physical coward to be frightened into good behavior by the threat of punishment. These should study carefully the statistics furnished under oath and after a thorough investigation by the census authorities regarding the death penalty as a deterrent for the crime of murder.

The figures show that in Michigan, where no man has been killed legally for killing illegally since 1846, in Rhode Island, where capital punishment was abolished in 1852, and in Wisconsin, where judicial murder has not disgraced the fair name of the state since 1853,—in these states the crime of murder has been less frequent the past ten years, in ratio to the population, than in the remaining northern states where life has been exacted for life.

Comment is unnecessary. If capital punishment can live

after this authoritative declaration, it must continue to live in the future as it has done in the past, on prejudice, superstition, and stupid ignorance. The legislator who is familiar with the facts bearing on the subject and who will vote to continue this old Jewish barbarism or who will refuse to vote for its abolition, is false to his race and a stumbling block to true civilization.

This barbarous law now has a victim within its grasp whose case appeals to the higher sentiments of every true man and woman. A boy only sixteen years of age in the great Empire State has been sentenced to die in the horrible death chair the first week in December. Deliberately and willfully putting a human being to death is always horrifying and brutalizing, but it becomes doubly so when one of nature's forces, intended to conserve only to man's comfort and happiness, is made to burn the young life out of a child. We trust that every man who believes in progress, who respects the principles laid down in the New Testament, who believes that human life is sacred at all times and under all circumstances, will petition Governor Flower in the name of civilization and in behalf of the better impulses of nine tenths of the American people, to spare his state and the nation the demoralizing, inhuman spectacle of willfully taking the life of a child.

SOMETHING NEW.

Improvements, inventions, and innovations are thick on every hand, and if a man is not progressive enough to take advantage of them voluntarily, they are almost forced upon him without his consent. Among the latest novelties proposed is that of collecting the ballots on election day by sending men out for that purpose, and thus taking the polls to the man rather than obliging the man to go to the polls to discharge one of the highest duties of citizenship. It is urged that the census, which is a far more complicated and laborious matter, is successfully taken in this way, and that the expression of the popular will as to men or measures could be ascertained in the same manner.

Another proposed innovation is that of delivering mails. At least one of the national political platforms declares itself in

favor of delivering the mails in country districts, so that the man who gets one paper a week and two letters a month may thereby have them put into his hand at his cabin door though it be in the mountains away from the haunts of civilization. This plan would be advantageous in more ways than one. It would accommodate the man who gets the mail ; it would give employment to a large number of government appointees, and would be an additional source of strength to the political party that has the naming of the first set of carriers.

The members of the Concord (Mass.) Board of Education have introduced something new. Finding it difficult for children in outlying districts to reach the central schools they conceived the novel plan of sending out wagons to collect the children and bring them to the schools. The experiment has proved so satisfactory that it is not only to be continued in Concord, but several other Massachusetts towns have adopted the same plan. This gathering in of the children has suggested to the editor of one of the religious journals the practicability of sending out gospel wagons to gather the worldlings in to hear the word preached on Sunday. This would be somewhat after the plan of the man in the New Testament who made a feast and, on the failure of the invited guests to put in an appearance, sent out his servants to constrain men to come and enjoy his hospitality. If the church people, in addition to sending out gospel wagons to convey the people to the sanctuary, will promise them a good square meal after a short sermon, the plan would no doubt add materially to the size of the congregations ; at least until that happy Bellamy period arrives when every man will have a good meal at home and when every dwelling has telephone connection with church, theater, music hall, and lecture room, so that a man may recline on the sofa in his own parlor and still enjoy the sermon, lecture, or concert.

Verily there is no telling where improvements may lead us. It has even been proposed, by a very sensible writer too, that we should employ honest, able men to do a large part of our political thinking ; that instead of every man's being expected to break his head in wrestling with the questions of tariff, taxation,

foreign relations, etc., and vainly trying to understand them, the great majority should pursue the even tenor of their way, attend to their regular employment, and elect honest, capable men, without hedging them about by party lines, to study and settle these vexatious problems for us as in their honest wisdom they may think best for the public good. When some one can suggest a plan whereby these wise and good men can be secured having the confidence of the people, this labor-saving proposition will have made one great step forward. There is, without any doubt, too much worrying and bickering over political questions on the part of the many and too much partisanship in their treatment by the few who are selected to deal with them as guardians of the public interest.

PENSIONS.

This is an age of pensions and the United States may properly be called the nation of pensions, for we are said to be paying more pension money to-day than all the world besides. If Uncle Sam is not rich enough to give us all a farm, as the song has it, he may be able and willing in the near future to give us all a pension and, judging by the mutterings of discontent that come from farmers all over the country, getting a pension of moderate size would be better than getting three hundred and twenty acres of government land. A book recently published advocates pensions for all needy persons after reaching a certain age and the idea seems to have struck a responsive chord.

It has been the policy of governments to restrict pensions to those who have served in the army or navy, but there seems to be no reason why the trade of war should be selected as the only one in which a man can so well serve his race that his services should still be rewarded after he is worn out and no longer able to earn a livelihood.

It is now the custom in some cities to pension firemen and policemen on reaching a certain age or when disabled. Teachers have been trying for years to convince the school authorities of this and other countries that their profession is as important and as honorable as that of the soldier, and that they should re-

ceive pensions on being compelled by the infirmities of age to give their work over into younger hands. Some countries have heeded the demand, and teachers after a certain term of service are permitted to retire on part pay, and before many years the custom will doubtless become general.

New York City is likely to have the honor of being the first city in the United States to pension her faithful teachers. A member of the Board of Education has presented the matter in so favorable a light that the board referred it to a special committee which is to formulate a pension bill.

When superannuated teachers may retire on part pay the teaching force in our schools will be greatly strengthened. There are but few in any profession or calling who do not find themselves falling behind the spirit of the age when advancing years overtake them, and particularly is this true of the teacher. There are teachers in almost every city who have outlived their days of successful school work, and who in justice to the public welfare should be retired, but are kept through sympathy for the good they have done rather than for any they are able to do now. This kind of pensions is more expensive than that which pays only on retirement from service.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

Direct Legislation by the People. By Nathan Cree. 16mo. cloth, 194 pp. Price, 75 cents. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.

This is an interesting discussion of a subject comparatively new in American politics, but one that may in the near future become a prominent topic of national interest. The people of a republic are jealous, as well they may be, of their rights, privileges, and interests and whether with or without good reason, there is a growing distrust among the masses against those who are chosen to represent the public will and public welfare. It is thought that men selected to care for the public interests too often forget their campaign pledges when they enter legislative halls and subvert the public good to private welfare. Hence we may expect that people will begin to demand changes that will lessen rather than enlarge delegated authority, or in

other words, they will attempt to do more themselves and entrust less to others. This is what has given rise to the question of direct legislation by the people.

Mr. Cree's position is indicated by a quotation from May's "Democracy in Europe" :

"Representatives may be deceived or corrupted ; they may betray their constituents or exceed their powers ; they cannot be trusted to make laws absolutely binding upon the whole people. It is for them to deliberate and mature laws for the government of the state ; but it is for the sovereign people to approve or reject them."

The author of this work maintains that new methods to form and express public opinion are needed and he would adopt a modified form of the Swiss Referendum and the Popular Initiative as a part of our governmental machinery. Under the Referendum, acts passed by the Swiss legislature are submitted to a popular vote for approval or rejection when eight cantons or thirty thousand voters petition for such privilege. The act then becomes a law or not as the popular will may decide. Under the Initiative when fifty thousand voters petition for a constitutional amendment or for a new statute law, the legislature must submit the draft of such amendment or statute to the people for their rejection or approval.

Mr. Cree does not wish to be understood as proposing direct legislation as a sovereign remedy for all the political ills of society, but he urges it as an important practical reform worthy not only of consideration but of adoption. The book is well written and the argument enforced by apt quotations from high authorities.

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It is fitting, however, to say that the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS will be devoted to the discussion of social and political subjects of general interest. It will be non-partisan, and will aim to present the opinions of able writers who are specially qualified to discuss the topics upon which they write, from their respective points of view.

The August number will contain contributions from Speaker of the House Charles F. Crisp, Hon. John Dalzell, Member of Congress, Hon. Sidney Dean, Frances E. Willard, Mrs. Potter Palmer, Prof. George J. Luckey, Sup't City Schools, Pittsburg, Prof. Samuel Dickie, Chairman National Prohibition Committee, Mortimer Whitehead, and others. Hon. David A. Wells, Hon. Joseph R. Hawley, and Hon. John Jarrett will contribute articles on the tariff question in an early number.

We shall be pleased at any time to examine, with a view to publication, well-written articles on subjects that come within the scope of our domain. Intelligent young men and women who may desire to solicit subscriptions should write for terms. Single copies, 35 cents; yearly subscription, \$4.00.

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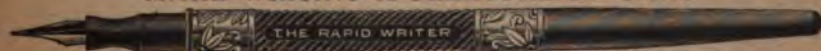
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